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WITH A

COMMENTARY

BY

JOHN CONINGTON, M.A.

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P. VERGILI MARONIS

OPERA.

THE WORKS OF VIRGIL,

WITH A

COMMENTARY

BY

JOHN CONINGTON, M.A.

LATE CORPUS PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD;
LATE FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD.

VOL. II.

CONTAINING THE FIRST SIX BOOKS OF THE AENEID.

FOURTH EDITION, REVISED, WITH CORRECTED ORTHOGRAPHY AND ADDITIONAL NOTES,

BY

HENRY NETTLESHIP, M.A.

CORPUS PROFESSOR OF LATIN LITERATURE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

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PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

THIS volume has not undergone a thorough revision since Mr. Conington's death, after which a second edition was published with such additions and corrections as had been inserted by Mr. Conington himself. The reprint was revised by Mr. Long and myself. The editors corrected a few errors, and inserted also a few notes which had been sent to Mr. Conington by the Rev. Mr. Backhouse, of Felsted School, Essex.

The third edition, published in 1876, was merely a reprint of the second. For the fourth edition I have dealt with the volume as with the first and third, recasting the Latin orthography, adding a great number of notices of manuscript variants, correcting and re-writing the notes where this appeared to be necessary, and altering the references to Pliny and Catullus as in the other volumes. All notes added by myself are marked by my initials. [H. N.]

Fourteen years have elapsed since this volume was last revised, and it is not surprising, considering the advances which have been recently made in Latin scholarship, that much has had to be done in the way of addition and correction. Besides revising the notes, which has been a matter of considerable labour, I have added to the volume an essay, formerly published in the Journal of Philology, on the story of Aeneas' wanderings, and two short papers on the relation of the Aeneid to the Epic Cycle, and on the evidence to be gathered from ancient authors as to the

composition of the Aeneid. At the end of the commentary on the second Aeneid I have inserted a short excursus on the question of Virgil's alleged debt to Pisander.

I have carefully read the commentaries of Servius and Tiberius Donatus and the Verona Scholia,[1] and added from them and from other sources a considerable number of new notes to Conington's commentary. I have occasionally obtained some new light from glossaries. The abbreviations *Gloss. Labb.* and *Gloss. Amplon.* denote respectively the glosses collected by Labbé, and published after his death by Ducange, as printed in Valpy's Stephanus: and the glossaries in the Amplonian library at Erfurt, edited by Oehler in the *Neue Jahrbücher* Suppl., Band 13 (1847). Thilo has conferred a great boon upon scholars by the publication of the first instalments of his new edition of Servius, which will, I hope, be speedily completed. Of this work I have spoken at length in the twentieth number of the Journal of Philology.

I have consulted Dr. Henry's *Aeneidea*[2] throughout, with the greatest pleasure and profit.

HENRY NETTLESHIP.

OXFORD, 1884.

[1] See vol. i. (fourth edition), pp. xcix—cvii.

[2] See Preface to vol. iii. (third edition), p. vii.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND AND THIRD EDITIONS.

[1872.]

THE following remarks comprise the greater part of the original Preface prefixed to this volume on its publication in 1863, with some alterations and one or two additions.

Like its predecessor, this volume is the result of considerable labour, labour too of a kind which tends to diminish an author's confidence in his work. A commentator on Virgil is not likely to feel that those difficulties which weighed heavily on him while engaged on the Eclogues and Georgics have become fewer or less formidable when he passes to the Aeneid. To grapple with his subject thoroughly, he is still required to be an aesthetical judge of language, a Latin scholar, if not a philologer, a competent textual critic; and though no longer expected to display a knowledge of agriculture and rural life, he has to exhibit instead an acquaintance with mythology and legend, with Roman antiquities and Roman history. Virgil is confessedly one of the most learned of poets: and a commentator who would do him justice ought to be still more learned. The learning of a poet, even when extensive and multifarious, may be desultory, uncritical, inexact: he may show ignorance as well as knowledge, but he will be a learned poet still. It is the business of a commentator to understand both that knowledge and that ignorance: and his learning accordingly ought to be accurate, searching, and profound. I need not say how

little I profess to approach the ideal which the nature of my work keeps of necessity continually before my mind. Virgil interests me chiefly because he is a Latin poet: as a student of poetry, I take delight in tracing, word by word, his delicate intricacies of expression, which stimulate curiosity while they baffle analysis, as well as in endeavouring to appreciate the broader features of his work as a whole and its place in the history of literature: as a student of Latin, I am interested in comparing his language with that of his predecessors and successors, and in observing the light which his use of his native tongue throws on the various unsolved or half-solved problems in Latin grammar. Other questions, whatever may be their relative importance to the scholar, I have ventured to regard as subordinate: they appear to me to be less immediately connected with the interpretation of Virgil, as they certainly have less affinity to my own tastes and the course of my studies. I have not neglected them: when they have crossed my path, as they have in almost every page, I have sought to obtain the requisite information about them: but I have generally been content to trust the knowledge which has been accumulated by others without trying to add to it, or indeed affecting to form an independent judgment.

Since this work was first undertaken, the criticism of the text of Virgil has been placed on a new basis by the publication of Ribbeck's edition. Previously, though we had reports of the readings of a great variety of copies, we were unhappily without accurate collations of several of the most important; in the case indeed of one of them, the Palatine, we seem to have been without a collation at all. We now possess collations of all the uncial MSS., fragmentary and entire, and of four or five of the most important of the cursives, which for minute and painstaking accuracy apparently leave but little to desire: and great care has been taken not only in collecting the testimonies of the different grammarians who quote passages from Virgil, but in noting the readings of the various MSS. of each witness. There can be no doubt that our present critical materials surpass most of those

with which we have had to content ourselves till now, not only in degree but in kind, and that their use is likely to effect a considerable change even in that text of Virgil which, since the time of Nicholas Heinsius, has been generally accepted as the best. That text indeed has now but little to fear from the competition of the text or texts which it superseded: the authority which they were supposed to derive from the Palatine has disappeared for ever now that that copy has been actually examined, and their real support is apparently to be found in most cases partly in copies of no name or weight, partly perhaps in the arbitrary conjectures of early editors. But the testimony of the Medicean, on which Heinsius chiefly rested, has been considerably weakened by the results of the new collations: in very many instances the other uncial MSS. are seen to be arrayed against it, while its readings may not unfrequently be accounted for by the parallelism of other passages in Virgil, which the transcriber apparently remembered. Probably however it is premature as yet to decide on the whole question: we shall learn the real value of our newly collated MSS. better as we become used to them, and there may be a danger of accepting novelties of reading simply as novelties—a danger which I seem to see exemplified in Ribbeck's text, and which my readers will perhaps find to be exemplified in mine. The general result certainly confirms what I ventured to assert in my former Preface, both as to the existence of many varieties of reading which can hardly be accounted for on palaeographical or other external grounds, and which must often be estimated by the somewhat wavering measurement of individual preference, and as to the sufficiency of a text made up from one or other of the MSS. or early authorities without critical conjecture. In the more important of the two instances in the Eclogues where, following others, I had ventured to depart from the MSS., I have now learnt from Lachmann and Madvig that no change was necessary: and if there are any places in the present volume where a word has been introduced from the dictum of a critic without some ancient authority, it will be

found, I think, to be in a case which, to a transcriber, was really a case of spelling, such as 'Cyclopius' for 'Cyclopeus,' or 'deripere' for 'diripere.' Here I am sorry to say Ribbeck is still less to be commended than in the choice of MS. readings. In several places he has introduced emendations into the text, generally conjectures of his own, which are in every case, in my judgment, worse than needless: nor is he in general more happy in his attempts to point out interpolations or to indicate lacunae. Hitherto the text of Virgil has enjoyed a singular immunity from arbitrary criticism. In the last century, while Horace was being transformed alternately by the splendid audacity of Bentley and the more formal and pedantic dogmatism of Cunningham, Virgil remained nearly in the state in which Heinsius had left him. Cunningham indeed proceeded from Horace to Virgil, whose text he reformed in obedience to certain canons which he supposed himself to have drawn from a scrutiny of the best MSS.; but his edition, though curious and interesting, seems to have produced no effect, whether as being a posthumous publication, or from the absence of the éclat which attended a controversy with an adversary like Bentley, even when that adversary declined to reply, or perhaps because the labours of Heinsius rested on a basis too firm to be easily disturbed. Gilbert Wakefield, towards the end of the century, edited both Horace and Virgil: but his attempts at innovation were too desultory seriously to affect either. Probably the greatest amount of misapplied ingenuity that has been bestowed on Virgil, till we come to Peerlkamp in the present century, is to be found in the conjectures of Schrader, which I know only as reported by Heyne and Ribbeck. They are always, or almost always ingenious, showing that degree of insight which is required to perceive an anomaly of expression, and that degree of tact which hits on a word that might possibly have been used instead; but there their praise must cease. Such ingenuity is, I believe, almost wholly inapplicable to an author like Virgil, whose text, supported as it is by an ample variety of testimony, requires not emendation but illustration. If he has

hitherto escaped the fate of Sophocles, whose peculiarities of expression, so curiously analogous to his, have too often been changed by critical licence, the gain is his and that of Latin literature. Whether it would be desirable that our knowledge of MS. materials should be still farther extended by an equally accurate collation of the cursives not examined by Ribbeck, I do not presume to say. There can be no doubt that an apparatus criticus like Ribbeck's is far preferable to one like Heyne and Wagner's: as little doubt can there be that to collate the remaining copies satisfactorily would be an almost endless task. In the Bodleian Library at Oxford[1] alone there are about twenty MSS. of Virgil, hardly any of which seem to have been collated (I except of course the Canonician MS. which Mr. Butler has examined so thoroughly); the College Libraries too contain a few, the readings of one of which, a copy in Balliol College Library, No. 140, referred by Mr. Coxe to the fifteenth century, have been noted with scrupulous care by my friend Mr. E. Palmer, and placed at my disposal. I myself examined ten or eleven of the Bodleian MSS. to discover the authority for the readings 'litus harenosum Libyae' in Aeneid 4. 257 (see Note on 4. 257 at the end of the Fourth Book) and 'Trinacriis' in Aeneid 5. 573 (see Note there), doubts having arisen about the existence of each; but almost the only other passages I turned to were Aeneid 1. 668, where all agreed with the Medicean in giving 'iniquae' and the celebrated lines about Helen in the Second Book, which they were unanimous in omitting in the text, one of them adding the passage in the margin. On the whole it would seem that while it may be advisable to apply to an inferior MS. in a case like that which I have mentioned, to ascertain a reading not otherwise certified, it would be waste of time to perform partially a work which, to have any value, should be performed entirely. It is one thing to find that a particular reading which seems necessary to the sense has probably some better support than mere con-

[1] [This statement has been shewn to be incorrect by Mr. Madan: see vol. i. (fourth edition) p. cxii.—H. N.]

jecture: it is another to collect all the readings of a copy without knowing what place it holds among the members of one or other of the various families of MSS. through which the text of a popular classical author has been transmitted to us, or indeed before it has been distinctly ascertained what those families are, and what their history has been. A critic of the New Testament may be laudably employed in establishing a theory of recensions inductively by the examination of cursive no less than uncial MSS.; but in the present state of classical studies we shall probably have to wait long before any one will think it worth while to qualify himself for writing a detailed history of the text of Virgil.

In reporting MS. readings I have in general made a selection from Ribbeck's materials, noting all such variations as appeared of any sort of importance, and rejecting only those which seemed obvious errors, pointing to nothing but the carelessness of the transcriber. The case is one where it is difficult to draw the line; and I fear I shall be thought with reason to have done too little for scholars, too much for ordinary readers. I am sorry to say that I have not been consistent in speaking of different classes of readings in the same copy: in the case of the Medicean I have discriminated what are called the first or second reading from what are called the reading 'a manu prima' or 'secunda;' in the case of the other MSS. I have for the most part spoken more generally, talking of 'original' or 'corrected' readings. Were the work to be done again I should adopt the general designation in all cases, as better suited to the ordinary reader: as it is I trust the discrepancy will be pardoned.

The commentaries which I have used have been in general the same as those employed for the Eclogues and Georgics. I have lost the companionship of Mr. Keightley, and have gained that of Gossrau and Dr. Henry. Gossrau's commentary is neat and compendious, more convenient than Forbiger's, though not so full, and with more traces of independent judgment. He has studied Servius with care, and quotes him at times very appositely: and

he has paid considerable attention to his author's peculiarities of language and metre, to the latter of which subjects he has devoted an elaborate appendix. His fault is an occasional tendency to see insuperable difficulties and suspect interpolations: but it is kept within bounds, and may perhaps only operate on the student as awakening a wholesome spirit of inquiry. Dr. Henry's work is rather a collection of copious observations on numerous detached passages ('Notes of a Twelve Years' Voyage of Discovery,' as he somewhat quaintly calls it) than a regular commentary: but I have found it of the greatest use, as my frequent references to it will show.[2] The form is, perhaps, a little cumbrous, and the endeavours after precision not always successful: but there is freshness and originality in every page: a large number of the views are at once novel and sound: and the illustrations from other authors are good and apposite, though we may sometimes feel that the more obvious sources have been neglected for the less obvious. I have consulted an elaborate commentary on the first and second books recently published by Weidner (Leipzig, 1869), which I am glad to welcome as a proof that German scholars are applying to exegesis that spirit of extensive and systematic research which of late years has been almost confined to textual criticism.

For the notices I have given from time to time of varieties in the Trojan legend and the story of Aeneas' migration unknown to Virgil, or recognized only in the way of distant allusion, I have been indebted almost entirely to Heyne's Excursuses, which seem to me to present a rare union of learning, sagacity, and sobriety. I have also referred to the first volume of Sir George Lewis' 'Inquiry into the Credibility of Early Roman History.' My introductions to the several books of the Aeneid are naturally longer in some cases than those prefixed to the several Eclogues and books of the Georgics: indeed, the Introduction to the Sixth Book has grown into a short Essay. In the general Introduction

[2] [Henry's remarks are now embodied, and in some cases modified, in his *Aeneidea*. —H. N.]

I have controverted Mr. Gladstone's view of the relation of the Aeneid to the Homeric poems, as expressed in the third volume of his 'Studies.' In my former volume I was thought, I believe, to have disparaged unduly Virgil's claim to originality: I may now be considered to be taking the opposite side, in vindicating his right to be criticized independently of Homer. Both views are, I believe, true, and therefore consistent: but it is possible of course so to maintain either as to appear unmindful of the other.

My obligations to my former colleague, Mr. Goldwin Smith, are unfortunately confined in the present volume almost wholly to the notes on the First Book, which we originally composed together in 1853: and even they have since been so completely recast that it would be difficult now to point to any part of them as specially due to him. I need not say that I have still had the benefit of Mr. Long's assistance.

JOHN CONINGTON.

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ERRATA.

Page xlvi., line 4, *for* "Nerona" *read* "Narona."
,, 326, heading, *for* "secundus" *read* "quintus."
In note on 5. 242, *for* ὀιστῷ *read* ὀϊστῷ.
,, 5. 265, *for* καl *read* καὶ.
,, 5. 363, *for* φιλον *read* φίλον.
,, 5. 504, *for* "mast" *read* "oar."
,, 5. 564, *for* "refrens" *read* "referens."



INTRODUCTION.

In turning from the Eclogues and Georgics to the Aeneid, we are no longer confronted by the opinion which insists on Virgil's claims as a strictly original poet. The days are past when Scaliger could compare Virgil and Homer in detail, and pronounce that the scholar had in almost every instance excelled his master; nor would a modern reader easily tolerate even those less invidious parallels, such as were not infrequent in the last century, where Virgil was measured against Homer on the same principles on which Johnson has measured Pope against Dryden, and with substantially the same results. It is hard to read without a smile the apologetic tone in which Pope himself vindicates Homer against the admirers of Virgil, pleading that the old Greek has at all events the advantage of having written first; that if he had a less cool judgment, he holds the heart under a stronger enchantment, and that to endeavour to exalt Virgil at his expense is much the same as if one should think to raise the superstructure by undermining the foundation.[1] It is now the turn of the critic of the Aeneid to use the language of extenuation and speak with bated breath. On the one side it is admitted, as it is asserted on the other, that in undertaking the Aeneid at the command of a superior[2] Virgil was venturing beyond the province of his genius, and that all we can expect to find is the incidental success which could not fail to be obtained even on uncongenial ground by the poet of the Georgics. I have elsewhere explained the reasons which lead me to question the appropriateness of the special praise usually given to Virgil's agricultural poetry, and conceded, though with more hesitation, to his pastoral compositions, as if the true bent of his mind were to be found in his sympathy with external nature, at the same time that I have spoken as strongly as it was in my power to speak of the marvellous grace and delicacy, the evidence of a culture most elaborate and most refined, which shine out in the midst of a thousand incongruities of costume and outward circumstance, and make us forget

[1] Preface to Homer.

[2] [That the Aeneid was undertaken "at the command of a superior" there is no evidence. See p. lxvi.—H. N.]

that we are reading Bucolic poems of which line after line is to be found in Theocritus, and precepts about husbandry which are far more intelligibly stated in Theophrastus or in the Geoponica. It is precisely this measure which I would wish now to extend to the Aeneid. So far it may seem that I am substantially at one with the opinion which I have mentioned as that which is now generally entertained on Virgil's claims as an epic poet. It is possible, however, that the habit of sharply contrasting the characteristics of the several works of Virgil may have led to an exaggeration on the one side, as I believe it has on the other,—that the Aeneid may have been brought too exclusively to the standard of the Iliad and Odyssey, and that Virgil may have been blamed, as Pope complains that Homer has been blamed, for not doing what he never intended.

There can be little doubt that too much has been made of Virgil's supposed disqualification or disinclination for epic poetry. We have his own confession in the Sixth Eclogue that his early ambition was to sing of kings and battles: and though Phoebus may have whispered in his ear that such themes were too high for one so young, so humble, and so unknown, we are not obliged to conclude that the aspiration was then and there finally abandoned, or that as he rose naturally from short pastorals to a long didactic poem, he may not have cherished the hope of rising by an equally natural ascent to a still longer epic. If Pope's epic poem of Alcander was the dream of his boyhood, when he fancied himself the greatest poet that ever lived, his epic poem on Brutus was no less the vision of his later years, when he had come, as he thought, to take a just measure of his powers. That Augustus may have exercised some pressure on Virgil, urging him to undertake heroic poetry, is very possible; but Virgil's words in the Third Georgic, and the similar language held by other poets, such as Horace and Propertius, would lead us to agree with a recent German editor,[3] that what the emperor wished for was a direct celebration of his own actions; nor is there anything in the notices of Suetonius[4] to compel us to any other conclusion. It was only natural that Augustus should take an interest, as we know him to have done, in the progress of a poem which, in grandeur of scope and compass, promised to transcend any previous effort of the Roman muse, and so could not but reflect indirect glory on his reign. We may observe, however, that in the only words of Virgil on the subject which have come down to us[5] the poet expresses himself with considerable reserve, and is by no means forward to gratify the imperial curiosity. Nor need we lay any stress

[3] Gossrau, Praef. ad Aeneidem.
[4] [See Suetonius quoted on p. lxvi.—H. N.]
[5] Macrobius, Sat. i. 24.

on the story which, supported as it is by the authority of the elder Pliny,[6] there seems no reason to doubt, that Virgil himself, when dying, condemned his Aeneid to the flames. Rightly understood, that story seems to contain, not a confession that he had mistaken his powers, but simply one more instance of the fastidious and exacting nature of his self-criticism. The explanation is consonant to all that we know of Virgil's character, as shown in his writings; and it can only be a private opinion which we may ourselves entertain about the merit of the poem that would lead us to seek for any other. Suetonius tells us that Virgil was overtaken by death at the time when he was intending to spend three years in polishing and elaborating the Aeneid: and we may imagine for ourselves what would be the value of three years of correction in the judgment of a poet like Virgil, and how abortive he might consider the work which had lost the advantage of so long a gestation. We cannot, indeed, tell, except in a very few obvious cases, such as the hemistichs, and perhaps also certain inconsistencies in the narrative, of which I have spoken elsewhere,[7] what may have been the actual shortcomings of the poem as they appeared to its author. He may have introduced verses, as the story says he did, which were intended as mere temporary make-shifts,[8] props to stay the building until more solid supports should be forthcoming; but modern criticism has not in general been very happy in pointing out these weak places, and for the present we must be content to admit that, as regards the execution of the poem, at any rate, our conceptions of what is required fall infinitely short of Virgil's own; and that though we may hope, in some measure, to appreciate what he has done, we can form no notion of what he left yet to do. Such an admission of ignorance is no more than the tribute which we pay, naturally and cheerfully, to a consummate artist. In any case, we need not doubt that the feeling which made Virgil wish to rob the world of his greatest poem was simply the mortification of leaving in a state of comparative imperfection a work which he had intended to be his masterpiece. To imagine that he was sensible of the unreality which, to a certain extent, characterizes the Aeneid, as compared with the Homeric poems, is to imagine an anachronism and an impossibility, to attribute to him a thought which is inconsistent with the whole tenor of his writings, and must have been alien to the entire current of sentiment among his contemporaries, whether admiring or adverse. He seems never to have tormented himself with doubts that he had not realized the rustic vigour of

[6] Nat. Hist. vii. 114. Comp. Gell. xvii. 10 [Sueton., Vita Vergilii 39, Macrobius, Sat. 1. 24.—H. N.]

[7] See Introductions to Books 3 and 5.

[8] Suetonius, Vita Vergilii 24.

Theocritus, or the primitive simplicity of Hesiod. He appropriates their form boldly and openly, and does not ask himself whether he has reproduced their spirit. To be the Roman Homer; to write the sequel of the tale of Troy, not as an inferior, but as an equal, not as a younger son of the victorious race, but as the heir of those many ages which had lifted the conquered people to a height far above their conquerors; to combine the glories of the heroic age with the august antiquities of his own nation; this was an ideal which might well captivate a mind like Virgil's, and which less partial voices than those of an applauding court might have told him that he was able to attain.[9]

The chasm which separates the Aeneid from the Iliad and Odyssey is undoubtedly one which is not easily spanned. It is true that sufficient account has not always been taken of the numerous intervening objects which break the distance and afford resting-places to the eye. The substance of the Homeric poetry, the conduct of the action and the conception of the actors, came to Virgil modified by the intermediate agency of the Greek drama. His view of the form may have been similarly affected by the example of those later Greek epics of which the poem of Apollonius is the only surviving specimen, and by the precepts of that critical fraternity of which the author of the Argonautics was no undistinguished member. But the unsurpassed eminence of the two writers, the bard or bards of pre-historic Greek and the poet of Augustan Rome, will always make them prominent objects of comparison or contrast; and the parallel is itself one which Virgil, far from avoiding, has done his utmost to challenge. To a modern reader the exactness of the parallel only serves to make the contrast deeper and more unmistakable. Mr. Gladstone says nothing which a critic, not sworn, like himself, absolutely to the service of Homer, need hesitate to admit, when he calls attention to the extraordinary amount of admitted imitation and obvious similarity on the surface of the Aeneid, and pronounces nevertheless that the poem stands in almost every fundamental particular in the strongest contrast to the Iliad.[1] Both features, the identity and the diversity, are, as I have just said, sufficiently familiar to us; we have seen them in Virgil's treatment of Theocritus and Hesiod, and we shall not be surprised to meet them again in his treatment of Homer. On the identity, indeed, there is but little for me to say which has not been anticipated in what I have

[9] [For the verdicts of ancient criticism on the Aeneid, see vol. i. (fourth edition), pp. xxix. foll.—H. N.]

[1] Studies on Homer, vol. iii. p. 502. I may here express my obligations generally to this part of Mr. Gladstone's work, which has in fact suggested much of the present Essay, though I have mostly found myself unable to agree with his views.

advanced in my Introduction to the Eclogues. The diversity is a more complex question, and may well occupy us somewhat longer.

The production of the Aeneid was part of that general burst of literary enthusiasm which distinguishes the Augustan period. Roman literature had always been imitative; Pacuvius and Attius had set themselves to make the best they could out of Sophocles and Aeschylus;[2] and it was doubtless in his own judgment, as well as in that of eulogistic critics, that Ennius appeared to be wise and brave, and a second Homer.[3] But the period which witnessed the establishment of the empire generated new hopes and aspirations among the poets of Rome. The fervour of an age, half revolutionary, half organic in its character, had produced intellectual activities which the imperial system was not slow to welcome and cherish. The writers of the new era saw that Greece had as yet yielded but few of her spoils to her semi-barbarous invaders; and they planned fresh expeditions, which should be undertaken under more exalted auspices, and return crowned with greener and more luxuriant laurels. The ebullition of anticipated triumph which opens the Third Georgic doubtless represents the real feeling of the poet, though the vision which he there professes to see does not correspond in its details with that which his better genius afterwards revealed to him. Greece was to be conquered, and conquered with her own weapons. The games were to be the veritable Olympic games, transplanted to the banks of the Mincio, those games of which the race and the caestus are the type; and the ceremonial of the day is to be varied with the accessories of a Roman triumph. It was in this spirit that he addressed himself to the task of reproducing Homer. The imitation of externals was a thing not to be avoided or dexterously concealed, but to be openly and boldly embraced; and it was the hitherto unapproached excellence of the model which was held to constitute the glory of the success. Even in his own day there appear to have been critics, probably rival versifiers, who reproached him with having taken so much from Homer; and the answer which he is said to have made shows the light in which he wished his own labours to be regarded.[4] "Let them try to steal for themselves as they say I have stolen for myself, and they will find that it is easier to rob Hercules of his club than to rob Homer of a

[2] Hor. 2 Ep. 1. 161 foll.

[3] Hor. 2 Ep. 1. 50 foll. The 'somnia Pythagorea' are evidence enough of what he thought of his relation to Homer.

[4] [Suetonius, Vita Vergilii 46. "Asconius Pedianus libro quem contra obtrectatores Vergilii scripsit pauca admodum obiecta ei proponit, eaque circa historiam fere et quod pleraque ab Homero sumpsisset; sed hoc ipsum sic defendere adsuetum ait, 'Cur non illi quoque eadem furta temptarent? verum intellecturos facilius esse Herculi clavam quam Homero versum subripere.'"—H. N.]

single verse." It was an act of high-handed brigandage, which, rightly appreciated, carried with it its own justification. In the long hours of laborious days, paring down and refining the verses which had been poured out in the exuberance of the morning,[5] he had grappled with the Grecian Hercules, and had again and again wrested from him that weapon which had so long been the terror of meaner freebooters.[6] I have elsewhere remarked on Virgil's absolute silence about Homer, who, throughout the Aeneid, is never named or even indicated; but no one would interpret it as the silence of a writer anxious to ignore or conceal his obligations. Even were epic narrative as favourable to the introduction of personal notices as pastoral dialogue or didactic disquisition, it would have been superfluous to mention Homer in a poem which invites comparison with the Iliad and Odyssey in its whole external form, and even in its very title, and contains an imitation or translation from Homer in almost every page.

This avowed rivalry, I venture to think, should be borne in mind in estimating, not only the similarity of the Homeric and Virgilian epics, but their discrepancies. When we require that Virgil, drawing as he does his characters from the circle of Homeric legend, should exhibit them as they are exhibited in Homer, we are not only forgetting, what Virgil could scarcely have forgotten if he would, the changes which those characters underwent as they passed under the hands of Attic and Alexandrian schools of poetry, but we are mistaking the whole attitude assumed by Virgil with reference to his illustrious predecessor. Homer, in his eyes, is not the father alike of history and of poetry, the sole authority for all our knowledge about the Greeks and the Trojans, their ethnology, their polity, their moral relations to each other; he is the rival poet of a rival nation, the party chronicler of a quarrel which the Trojans had bequeathed to their successors, and those successors, after many centuries, had pushed to a victorious issue. Was it likely that a Trojan would have accepted the Homeric estimate of his nation and his nation's cruel enemies? and was it to be expected that the heir of the Trojans should dwarf his representation of Trojan worth and Trojan valour to a Homeric standard? The lions had at last come to be the painters; and though they could not represent their progenitor as victorious over the man in that great legendary struggle, they could

[5] Gellius, 17. 10, Suetonius 22. Quintilian, Inst. 10. 3, cites Varius for the statement that the number of verses composed by Virgil daily was very small.

[6] That this view of the character of Virgil's imitations was taken by the ancients themselves is shown by a passage in the Third 'Suasoria' of the elder Seneca (quoted by Heyne, Dissertatio de Carmine Epico Vergiliano), who says, speaking of a supposed appropriation of Virgil's words by Ovid, "fecisse quod in multis aliis versibus Vergilius fecerat, non surripiendi causa sed palam imitandi, hoc animo ut vellet adgnosci."

portray it as a contest of fraud and cruelty with heroic endurance and genuine bravery; they could poise the event more doubtfully in the balance, and call down indignation on the crimes that stained the hour of triumph; they could point to the retribution which fell, even within the period of the legend, on the homes of those who had made others homeless, and shadow forth in prophetic vision the yet more terrible recompense which history was to bring in the fulness of time. Aeneas is drawn by Homer at a time when, from the nature of the case, he could only play a secondary part in the action; yet Homer admits his reputation among his countrymen, and grudgingly concedes his real prowess, while he makes the Trojan hero's future the special concern of destiny, provided for even by those gods who are the fiercest enemies of Troy. Virgil takes up his story when he is left alone as the one surviving protector of his country, the forlorn hope of those who sought to resist, during the sack of the city, the recognized leader of the Trojan migration. Worsted as he had been by Achilles, and even by Diomed, it was no less true that he had been a terror to the lords of the Danaans and the armies of Agamemnon; nor was there any reason why he and his Trojans should not prove too strong for the Italian nations, though they had proved too weak for the forces of Greece. Even in Homer it is easy to see that the character of Ulysses has more sides than one: he is the prince of policy, because with him every species of fraud is lawful; and it is natural that his stratagems should be differently estimated by those in whose favour they are exercised and those to whom they brought havoc, exile, and death. Virgil, it is true, represents his Ulysses as engaging in crimes from which the Homeric Ulysses would probably have shrunk; but we must not judge a poet as we should judge a historian who were to invent actions in order to support a preconceived theory of character. If the right of independent treatment be conceded, it must be allowed to extend, not only to the interpretation of character, but to the invention of incident. Regarding Homer as a party chronicler, Virgil was not bound to assume that he has recorded all the actions of his hero, any more than that he has given a true colour to those actions which he has recorded. And so the poet of Troy, having taken such a measure as it was in the nature of a Trojan to take of Troy's subtlest enemy, might fairly avail himself of any post-Homeric tradition which might serve the cause that he had to advocate, or even create for himself new traditions, so long as they were plausible and consistent. "Aut famam sequere, aut sibi convenientia finge." To be plausible and consistent are a poet's sole historical duties; and in this instance plausibility and consistency are to be estimated, not according to the view which sets up Homer as the one record of historical truth, but

according to that which regards his poems as pieces of advocacy, the answers to which have been lost. The image is indeed something more than a mere metaphor. We know that in the Greek schools of rhetoric attempts were frequently made to overturn the verdict, not only of history, but of fable; and we may recall with a smile the fact that it was not merely sophistical acumen, but real sympathy with a friendly nation, which led Greek orators to rehabilitate Busiris, and purge Egypt from the stain of a legendary participation in the guilt of human sacrifices. Virgil has obtained leave to reargue the case of his countrymen; and all that is required of him is that his facts and inferences should be such as would have been credible to a Trojan warrior. Bearing this in mind, we may remember that if Aeneas calls Ulysses "fell," "relentless," and "the inventor of crime," it is when he is speaking of the sack of Troy, or of the carrying off of the statue which made Troy impregnable. If Sinon represents him as a treacherous, artful glozer, it is when he is describing plots laid against his friend's life and his own. If Deiphobus knows him only as the counsellor of deeds of wrong, we may pardon the one-sided judgment of a person who has been hewn by him as a carcase fit for hounds, and continues mangled even in his ghostly body. Such men were not likely to sympathize with the admiration expressed by the Homeric Antenor, as, on the day that was to bring the war to a peaceful close, he recalled the impression made on him by his illustrious guest in bygone years, before the war began. Nor is it less perfectly in keeping that the Rutulians should disparage the wiles of Ulysses in comparison of their own more daring exploits, at the same time that it leads us to admire the art of the poet, who has thus condemned the most formidable enemies of Troy out of the mouth of other enemies, who were destined to prove less formidable. As little could it be expected that the Aeneas of Virgil should appreciate the lights and shades distributed over the character of the Homeric Helen. How he regarded her during the siege we are not told; he may have shared the mixed feeling of admiration and disapproval which the old men on the wall express in their hour of respite; he may have partaken of the sense of repulsion with which, as she tells us in her wail over Hector, she was looked upon by all in Troy; but as his eye fell upon her at the moment of the sack of the royal palace, and the savage slaughter of the good old king, thoughts of hatred and vengeance could hardly fail to be uppermost in his mind; and he may well have needed a supernatural interposition to teach him to distinguish between the authors of so terrible a ruin and its wretched instrument.[7] Let us once fix in our

[7] [This assumes the genuineness of the lines Aeneid 2. 567–588. But see the notes on the passage.—H. N.]

minds that Homer is the poet of the Greeks, and that his action is laid during the siege, that Virgil is the poet of the Trojans, and that his action is laid after the burning of the city, and we shall not, I think, be disposed to charge Virgil with mere wanton depravation of the Homeric characters.

The same notion of independent rivalry will explain Virgil's neglect of Homeric traditions in other matters where patriotic feeling or dramatic propriety was not concerned. Virgil doubtless held himself bound to follow Homer's narrative only so far as that narrative had taken hold of the popular mind of Rome. He was not the interpreter of an ancient record, bound to minute and painstaking accuracy; he was the reviver of an old story, which in its broad features was familiar to all lovers of poetry. The relative position of the various members of the royal family of Troy, the distinctions of races among the hosts that respectively made up the Greek and Trojan armies, the extent of the names Pergamus, Ilion, and Dardania, the comparative importance of the Scamander and the Simois, the geographical details of countries which few Romans had ever visited,—these were not points that interested the Roman readers of the Iliad and Odyssey, nor were they likely to be scrutinized by Roman readers of the Aeneid. The very care which Virgil has taken to construct his own catalogue of the Italian forces, might naturally be thought to absolve him from the duty of minutely studying catalogues with which even an educated Roman felt he had no concern. The indifference of the Romans to the history of other countries is a known feature in their character;[a] curious about the antiquities of their own nation, they had but little of that historical spirit which impels a student to investigate records entirely unconnected with himself; and Virgil was a type of his countrymen, alike in his learning and in his carelessness or ignorance. Besides, the body of knowledge already existing at Rome, and the habits of ordinary speech, would have been a serious impediment to Virgil, even if he had wished to follow Homer faithfully. As he was obliged to talk of Jupiter, Juno, and Mars, to a nation which had agreed to identify the Greek gods with those whom they were themselves worshipping daily, so he could hardly have avoided calling the Greeks by that generic name by which the Romans knew them, though it had no existence in Homer's time, and had never really belonged to more than an infinitesimally small part of the Greek people. If we, with our appreciation of historical criticism, find it impossible not to talk of Greece and the Greeks, what would it have been to a Roman, to whom the name was a contemporary fact, and who spoke of 'Graecia' and 'Graeci' as we speak of Germany and Germans? With this

[a] See Bunsen, Egypt, vol. i. pp. 152 foll. (Cottrell's translation).

cardinal offence against history and ethnology staring him in the face, Virgil would have found it in vain to affect or aim at accuracy. Accordingly, he appeals indifferently to all the associations of his readers, whether vague or exact. Here he takes advantage of an obscure tradition; there, of a loose popular identification. He talks of Dorians at a time when the Dorians were scarcely known, and confers on the Trojans the name of their Phrygian neighbours. He generalizes from a part to the whole, and then comes down from the whole to some other part; just as where, in describing the Trojan horse, he first speaks of it as pine-wood, then as maple, and lastly as oak; not, I think, from confusion or forgetfulness, but as an assertion of the poet's privilege to represent, in as many ways as he pleased, the general notion of wood. In short, he is an artist, an Italian antiquary, a Roman of the Augustan period, speaking to the average educated intelligence of his own day; he is anything rather than what modern admirers of Homer would wish him to be, a hierophant of "the inner Homeric world," an expounder of "primitive history, philosophy, policy, and religion,"[9] as contained in Homer.

Such a course of independent rivalry, however, could hardly be pursued without provoking the consequent Nemesis. A story of the heroic time of Greece, treated in an essentially modern and Roman spirit, was sure to leave a sense of incongruity on the mind, not only of a Homeric student, but of a more popular reader. A reader of this sort might be utterly unconscious of a thousand inaccuracies of costume; he might feel the loss of primitive simplicity of manner to be compensated by the greater stateliness of the modern heroic; but he could scarcely fail to be struck with an essential want of consistency in the drawing of the principal figures, which, being Homeric, must necessarily be old, and being Virgilian, must as necessarily be new. It is this, I think, which constitutes the secret of the dissatisfaction which is generally felt with the character of Aeneas. To represent him, as some modern critics have done, as simply mean and feeble, unmanly and unheroic, is unjust, and even absurd. His appearances in Homer ought not to prejudice our opinion about his appearances in Virgil; nor perhaps would they, were it not for an error in judgment committed by the poet himself, who, in his spirit of dramatic fair dealings towards his hero's enemies,—a spirit which will call for our notice again very shortly,—makes them taunt him with his Homeric escapes and evasions of danger, allowing them, at the same time, to confound what Homer never would have confounded, and identify a warlike Trojan with an effeminate Phrygian. We are wearied, it must be confessed, by being continually reminded of his piety; though that

[9] Gladstone, vol. i. pp. 11, 12.

may be partly owing to our misapprehension of the use of the epithet, which was doubtless intended to be a Homeric one, attached to the name as a sort of prefix, and to be taken as a matter of course; but his piety is not merely nominal: it shows itself in his whole feeling and conduct to the gods, his father, and his son. Heyne, who had a soul to admire and reverence both Homer and Virgil, remarks on the dignity and beauty of Aeneas's address to Evander. His faithfulness to the memory of Pallas is all the more noble, as apparently being not, like that of Achilles to his dead friend, grounded on strong personal affection, but rather the offspring of generous self-reproach for his own involuntary failure to discharge a sacred trust. His long forbearance towards Lausus, and the revulsion of feeling when he sees him dead, contrasts strangely with the "genuine manliness" with which Turnus exults in the prospect of killing Pallas, and glories over him when killed. But the greater the tenderness and grace of these traits of character, the harsher the jar with which we find the hero of the Aeneid exhibiting at other times the savage, indomitable spirit of the hero of the Iliad. There is tenderness, deep tenderness, mingled with the ferocity of Achilles: yet we are not surprised when, after receiving Priam graciously, and losing his own sorrows in sympathy with the poor old king, he is roused to momentary fury by a word spoken out of season. But the temper of Aeneas is less impulsive, and his gentleness more abiding and untroubled, so that our feelings are shocked when we see him plunging his hands in blood as deeply as a Homeric warrior, and reserving the sons of two families to be sacrificed alive on the funeral pile of his friend. It is in keeping with the manners of the heroic age; but it is not in keeping with the humanity with which the poet's modern spirit has led him to invest the rest of the character. It is this inconsistency between the heroic and the modern type which we feel in Aeneas's treatment of Dido. Stripped of its accessories, the conduct of Aeneas to Dido is not very unlike that of Ulysses to Calypso, if not to Circe. He is thrown on her coast; he is treated hospitably; he accepts the position of a husband; he leaves her that he may go to his natural home. It can hardly be said that the deity of Calypso constitutes an essential difference between her and Dido. If she is a goddess, her words show that she feels the love and even the jealousy of a woman; and the criticism[1] which contrasts Ulysses's farewell to her with the language of Aeneas to Dido might perhaps have been spared, if it had been recollected that in Homer she herself receives the order from the gods to part with Ulysses, while in Virgil the whole burden is thrown upon Aeneas, who has not only to justify himself for going, but to vouch for the super-

[1] Gladstone, vol. iii. p. 525.

natural compulsion under which he goes. But for a hero to leave a mortal love was no novelty in the heroic age, as the titles of Ovid's Heroic Epistles sufficiently show. The novelty is in the interest which Virgil has excited in the situation and feelings of his forsaken heroine. He has struck the chord of modern passion, and powerfully has it responded; more powerfully, perhaps, than the minstrel himself expected. Had Homer written of Dido, we should probably have been called on to sympathize with her but little; our feelings would have been with the hero whom she strove to keep from the home whither he was bound. There were reasons which might have induced Virgil to give a similar colour to his narrative. All his sympathies are Roman; and the breach between Dido and Aeneas is the symbol and the prophecy of the quarrel of Carthage and Rome. It is hard, too, to suppose that in sketching the Carthaginian queen, who endeavours to keep Aeneas from his kingdom, he did not think again and again of the Egyptian enchantress to whom Antony would have transferred the sceptre of the western world, whose blandishments had prevailed over the great Julius, and had been successfully resisted by Octavianus alone. Circe might have supplied the legendary framework, Cleopatra the animating historical spirit; and even though the Trojan Ulysses had yielded to the allurements of the charmer, we might have hailed the flash of his drawn sword, and sent our hearts along with him in his journey from the enchanted shore. But Virgil has not chosen to paint a picture like this. Following in the track of Apollonius, he has lavished all his art on the presentation of a vivid portrait of female passion. Dido's flame has been kindled, not from within, but from without, by a supernatural power; the generosity of her nature has already shown itself in the princely hospitality which she extends to Aeneas and his shipwrecked comrades; but, after all, we sympathize with her simply as a woman; it is the mere exhibition of the depths of a woman's heart that stirs our own so powerfully. Other heroes have loved and left as Aeneas does; few have had as strong a justification as he can plead for his flight: but no one seems to us so traitorous as Aeneas, except it be Jason; and the reason lies in the depth of colouring with which Virgil, like Euripides, has painted the agonies of the abandoned queen.

The relation of Virgil to Homer, as I have said already, unquestionably furnishes the most important point of view from which the Aeneid can be regarded by one who wishes to estimate the surrounding circumstances which told upon the genius of the Augustan poet. The expectation of an unknown birth which should be greater than the Iliad was doubtless the vision which illuminated the later years o

Virgil's own life, as we know it to have occupied the mind of his contemporaries. But it was not simply by contemplating Homer, by studying him intently and gradually appropriating his beauties, that Virgil hoped to rival him; he was to be encountered principally indeed with his own weapons, but partly also with those supplied to the hands of a younger competitor by long centuries of subsequent culture. The extent and variety of these appliances are only imperfectly known to us. Virgil probably had access to the whole of what had been written by any author of note from Homer's time to his own; in the remains that have come down to us whole classes of composition are entirely wanting, and those which we have exist only in specimens more or less numerous. The cyclic poets and the other epic writers of Greece proper are mere shadowy figures to us, but to Virgil they had a real personal existence; they may have modified the form of his poem; they must to a certain extent have supplied the data from which he constructed his story. It is not till we come to the Athenian drama that we are able to trace definitely the operation of a really powerful agency upon Virgil's genius. Even there our losses are neither few nor unimportant; we know that a considerable number of the plays of the three great tragedians embraced various parts of the tale of Troy, yet of these we can only be said to possess the Ajax and the Philoctetes of Sophocles, the Rhesus, the Troades, and the Hecuba of Euripides. Of Sophocles especially we are told, that "he so greatly delighted in the epic cycle as to have borrowed whole dramas from its contents," and there is reason to think that no less than three of his plays traversed the ground occupied by Virgil in the second Aeneid; but of the Laocoon we have only a brief outline of the plot, and thirteen lines, six of them significant; of the Ξοανηφόροι, a bare indication of the subject, so bare that it is a question whether it really points to a separate play; of the Sinon, three unimportant words. Great, however, as our losses are, we need not doubt that our gains are greater. That which constitutes the main value of Greek tragedy as a step in intellectual progress can be abundantly appreciated from the specimens that have come down to us, and we are able distinctly to recognize its influence upon Virgil. I have in some measure anticipated what I am going to say, in the observations which I have ventured on Virgil's treatment of character, as compared with Homer's; but the point is one which will well bear to be explained and enforced further.

Mr. Grote has shown his characteristic insight in remarking[2] that "the great innovation of the Athenian dramatists consisted in the rhetorical, the dialectical, and the ethical spirit which they breathed into their poetry." "Of all this," he continues, "the undeveloped

[2] Hist. of Greece, vol. viii. chap. 67.

germ doubtless existed in the previous epic, lyric, and gnomic composition; but the drama stood distinguished from all these by bringing it out into conspicuous amplitude, and making it the substantive means of effect." The structural exigences of form must have combined with the intellectual temper of the time in giving especial prominence to these kindred features. A drama is shorter than an epic; it traverses not the whole of a long history, but some special part of it; and the treatment of that special part may evoke interests conflicting with those which would be called out by the treatment of the whole. Had the plot of the Agamemnon been merged in a longer narrative, we should not have been led to pause on the character of Clytaemnestra, and examine as we now do the ground of her actions. The institution of the trilogy, apparently contrived as a means of taking the hearer through the various stages of a lengthened story, was frequently made to be directly subservient to this conflict of interests, the first and second plays complicating a knot which it was the business of the third to unravel. No more striking instance of this can have existed than that furnished to us by the chance which has robbed us of the first and third plays of the Promethean trilogy and preserved the second. The grounds of Zeus's vengeance are not set before us as clearly as they doubtless were in the opening drama, nor have we more than the faintest glimpses of the terms of reconciliation which were ratified in the third; we simply see the Titan in the first agony of his suffering, we feel his wrongs, we hear of his good deeds, we witness a display of his prophetic power, and our sympathies are wholly on his side. Accident has allowed us to hear but one part of the summing up, and we mistake it, as modern writers of genius have mistaken it, for a piece of powerful advocacy. As the Greek drama advanced, its rhetorical and dialectical aspects became still more apparent. The chorus, gradually divested of its musical glories, yet compelled as a general rule to continue on the stage, becomes a mere moderator between disputants, interposing a couplet of common-place at the end of the animated orations in which the various parties advocate their competing views.

It is needless to dwell on the profound intellectual effect which such a species of composition was calculated to produce. Many modern readers will have experienced the same stimulus in reading contemporary works of fiction; they will vividly remember the time when they came to be interested, not so much in unexpected incidents or a skilfully constructed plot, as in the evolution of character, and the statement or solution of some complex moral problem. Not without a considerable sacrifice of beauty of form, the modern prose fiction combines the depth of tragedy with the breadth of epic poetry,

and a modern reader under the spell of some powerful analyst of character and motive may interpret to himself many of the feelings of an Athenian spectator at the Great Dionysia. Perhaps it would have been impossible for a poet writing after the opening of this new fountain of human interest to return to the simpler portraiture of the elder epic; at any rate there can be little doubt that Virgil is strongly tinctured by the dramatic spirit, and that he has sacrificed to it the general effect of his narrative. I do not say that Virgil's conception of character is so consistent or so vivid as Homer's; doubtless it is not: I only say that the dramatic feeling, the drawing of character for character's sake, the delight in doing rhetorical justice to the personages of the story, is more strongly shown in the Aeneid than in the Homeric poems. One signal instance of this I have already noted in the character of Dido; the character of Turnus affords another not less remarkable.

It has been ingeniously suggested that the reason for the enthusiasm with which Virgil throws himself into the character of Turnus, is that here at least he feels himself to to be "an Italian minstrel, singing to Italians about an Italian hero."[3] National feeling did undoubtedly work in Virgil, but not, I think, national feeling of this kind. Like the rest of his countrymen, he cared for Italy not independently of Rome, but as the broad base on which Roman power was built. His creed as a patriot would be expressed by the words of Varro, "Licet omnia Italica pro Romanis habeam." The Virgil of Dante's vision may talk of "that low Italy for which Camilla the virgin, Euryalus, and Turnus, and Nisus died of wounds;"[4] but with the poet himself the object of the struggle is the establishment of Rome; and those who resisted the Trojan invaders were not Italian patriots, but men deaf to the voices of the gods, and blind to the course of destiny. Here again the secret seems to be, that Virgil is impregnated with modern feeling, and that Turnus occupies ground which, to modern feelings, appears unassailable. As in the case of Dido, the fact that the gods are on the side of Aeneas makes but little impression on us; we hear their dictates and their warnings, but the note does not ring with the same awful clearness as in the Homeric poems; our human feelings are roused, and our ears are filled with other sounds. The words of the oracle are express, and we feel that Amata's interpretation of them is a mere gloss;

[3] Gladstone, vol. iii. p. 512. Gossrau makes a similar remark on Aeneid 9. 155; but it is obvious to reply that we are not expected to take Turnus and his friends at their own valuation. One curious fact, however, he mentions, that Silius Italicus uses "Rutuli" as one of his poetical synonymes for the Romans.

[4] Dante, Inferno, i. 106 foll. (Carlyle's translation).

but it is good enough for the purpose; it gives a verbal sanction to a course which our hearts tell us to be the true one, and we are satisfied with it accordingly. Aeneas is called the Phrygian freebooter, who comes to drive peaceful inhabitants from their homes, and break the plighted engagements of a royal house; and we sympathize with topics so well adapted to conciliate modern readers. Homer would not have allowed us to feel so; he would have given no space to the pleadings of the natives for their rights, but would have thrown his whole strength on the case of the invaders, as being perfectly conformable to the code of the heroic age. Virgil must have sympathized with Aeneas, not only as realizing the adopted type of heroic action, but as representing the undeviating and relentless march of Roman greatness. But the modern spirit was too strong for him; in describing Turnus as he conceived him to have been, he was led, in fact, to advocate his cause, and to record a protest against heroic and Roman aggression alike. It is the spirit of the drama allowing itself free play; and the result is the enlargement of human sympathy, the vindication of the weaker as well as of the stronger. In many respects, as I have intimated, the character of Turnus does not command our approval; there is fierceness in it, and blind fury, and, in the case of Pallas at least, savage cruelty. But this barbarity is the outgrowth of weakness; it is the impotent beating of a captive against the iron bars of destiny; and as an exhibition of weakness we sympathize even with it. So it is weakness, rendered hopeless and helpless, that engages our interest in the closing scene. It is modelled, no doubt, on the fall of Patroclus, who is paralyzed and disarmed by Apollo before he is killed by Hector; but the incidents which, as we read them in Homer, touch us as we are touched by a fairy tale, are wrought up by Virgil to a terrible moral significance. The fates of the combatants have been balanced by Jupiter, and we know that in a short time the only obstacle that keeps Aeneas from his destined empire will be removed by Turnus's death. Yet that brief space only serves to intensify our interest for the doomed man; our wishes lend him wings as he is flying for his life, and calling by name on each of his terrified comrades; and we echo the agonized prayer in which he implores the gods of his native land to hold fast Aeneas's spear. The strife of the Olympian deities is over; Juno herself has abandoned Turnus, and is reconciled to the prospect of a Trojan empire without the name of Troy; but we refuse to look so far into the future. We follow Turnus through the few remaining stages of helpless effort, dreamy bewilderment, and final overthrow, feeling that till he is dead we can spare no thoughts for the conqueror and the fruits of his victory. All this, I repeat, is simply the tribute

we pay to the profound human interest with which Virgil's dramatic power leads him to invest a person for whom no minstrel of the heroic age would have claimed a tear. If Virgil had been the poet of the Odyssey, it is possible that our recollections of insolence, cruelty, and lawless sensuality would not have wholly hindered us from feeling for the slaughter of the suitors.

The influence of the Greek drama is also to be observed in the prominence given throughout the Aeneid to female characters. Mr. Gladstone[5] has remarked with justice, that while Homer's women are uniformly feminine and retiring, Virgil's are slightly masculine and generally of a pronounced type; they are agitated by violent passions and meet with violent ends. This is ascribed by an able critic in a weekly journal[6] to Virgil's experience of his own age, when, for the first time in Roman history, women came upon the stage of public life: it is, I think, no less due to the influence of the actual stage of Attica. Whether or no women were admitted as spectators of theatrical representations at Athens, in the stories that were represented they had to bear as conspicuous a part as men: the exigencies of dramatic art required it; and perhaps the fact that their parts were not only written but acted by men, tended still further to give them an equality which Homer would never have dreamed of, and which Athenian life did not sanction. They are not only merged in the aggregate of a sympathizing but subordinate chorus, accompanying the action as it were with an under-song; they occupy individually a large portion of the drama, sometimes, like Io or Electra, as sufferers, sometimes, like Clytaemnestra or Hecuba, as actors rising to masculine importance. Virgil may have had actual precedents, in history or fiction, for the characters of Dido, Amata, Juturna, and Camilla: but even if he had not, his recollections of Greek art must have been amply sufficient both to suggest the thought and to guide the pencil.

Of Virgil's more palpable and measurable obligations to the writings of the Greek tragedians there is less to be said. As I have already intimated, several of the plays from which he is likely to have borrowed are lost; and in the remainder the question is one rather of conjecture and inference than of direct observation. There can be no doubt, however, that the changes which the Homeric characters sustained in passing through the hands of the dramatists, as well as in the wear and tear of common tradition, had their full effect on Virgil's conception of the personages who make up his gallery of the heroic age. The appearance of Helen in the Troades of Euripides,

[5] Vol. iii. p. 527. He remarks later, p. 594, on the change produced in the Homeric women when they appear as stage heroines.

[6] Saturday Review, Sept. 25, 1858.

where her more than feminine logic is overpowered by the superior logic of Hecuba, intensified by hatred, made it easier for Virgil to represent her as he has done in the second and sixth books of the Aeneid, though that representation, as I have said previously, was forced upon him by the circumstances of his story, and is sufficiently justified by them. So it was natural that Aeneas should be antipathetic to Ulysses; but the grounds of antipathy are strengthened by the later Greek representations of the wily Greek, who is made, by a substitution characteristic of an Athenian writer during the Peloponnesian war, to exchange his part of a popular counsellor for that of a mere mob orator, and whose nobler qualities are transferred to a rival character, Palamedes, of whom he is the enemy and treacherous murderer. Probably, also, there are situations which Virgil has conveyed from the Greek drama less directly and openly. One such I seem to observe in the steps by which Dido approaches the resolution of putting herself to death, talking freely and wildly of the thought while it is only a thought, carefully concealing it when it has passed into a purpose. This appears to me to have been suggested by that celebrated change of feeling in the Ajax of Sophocles, who in one scene breathes nothing but self-destruction, and in the next is won to a calmness which the subtlety of modern critics will not allow to be altogether feigned. Of such slight matters as the actual appropriation of phrases and forms of expression, this is not the place to speak. They are far from numerous, and will be found noticed, so far as I have observed them, in the notes. But it is not less true that Virgil's debts for language and phraseology, to one at least of the masters of Athenian tragedy, are real and great. That which is so remarkable a feature of Virgil's style, his practice of employing combinations of words so constructed as to remind the reader of other and yet other combinations, could hardly be better illustrated than by a comparison of the language of Virgil with the language of Sophocles.[7]

The Argonautics of Apollonius Rhodius would have their value for the critic of the Aeneid, if only as the single representative which has come down to us of the later epic poetry of Greece. A poet like Virgil, studious to embody in himself all that was best in previous culture, could not be wholly independent of writers whose conception of their art was so far analogous to his own, that they strove to represent the Homeric spirit under more modern forms: and the Alexandrian school in particular must have had singular attractions for the chief poetical artist of an era which itself displayed so many of the

[7] The influence of the Greek drama on the Aeneid is briefly noticed by Heyne, Dissertatio de Carmine Epico Vergiliano, p. 15 of vol. ii. of Wagner's edition of Heyne's Virgil.

characteristics of a period of renaissance. But the connexion between Virgil and Apollonius is closer than could have been presumed from any mere general considerations. After the Iliad and Odyssey, the Argonautics is the only poem which the intelligent criticism of antiquity declares to have furnished an actual model to the author of the Aeneid, and the similarity is one which the reader of the two works does not take long to discover. Not only is the passion of Medea in Apollonius' Third Book confessedly the counterpart of the passion of Dido in Virgil's Fourth, but the instances are far from few where Virgil has conveyed an incident from his Alexandrian predecessor, altering and adapting, but not wholly disguising it. The departure of Jason from his father and mother resembles the departure of Pallas from Evander; the song of Orpheus is contracted into the song of Iopas, as it had already been expanded into the song of Silenus; the reception of the Argonauts by Hypsipyle is like the reception of the Trojans by Dido, and the parting of Jason from the Lemnian princess reappears, though in very different colours, in the parting of Aeneas from the queen of Carthage; the mythical representations in Jason's scarf answer to the historical representations which distinguished the shield of Aeneas from that of Achilles; the combat of Pollux with Amycus is reproduced in the combat of Entellus with Dares; the harpies of Virgil are the harpies of Apollonius, while the deliverance of Phineus by the Argonauts may have furnished a hint for the deliverance of Achemenides by the Trojans, an act of mercy which has another parallel in the deliverance of the sons of Phrixus; Phineus' predictions are like the predictions of Helenus; the cave of Acheron in Asia Minor suggests the cave of Avernus in Italy; Evander and Pallas appear once more in Lycus and Dascylus; Here addresses Thetis as Juno addresses Juturna; Triton gives the same vigorous aid in launching the Argo that he gives to the stranded vessels of Aeneas, or that Portunus gives to the ship of Cloanthus in the Sicilian race. Minor resemblances of thought or expression are easily detected by a very cursory perusal of the Argonautics; I have myself noted at least fifty of them, which will be found in their places in my notes on the Aeneid. Altogether it might naturally be supposed that we possess what every critic would admit to be an invaluable treasure, a poem occupying a middle position between the Homeric epics and the Aeneid, and making the transition from the one to the other intelligible.

Yet I am greatly mistaken if the reader of the Argonautics will find any such expectations fulfilled in any adequate sense. The similarities of detail are there, doubtless more than I have enumerated or discovered: but the poem, taken as a whole, does not remind us of the

Aeneid, or enable us to understand the form under which Virgil has chosen to represent Homer. Virgil resembles Homer far more strongly than he resembles the supposed intermediary. It is a signal instance of the kinship of genius asserting itself against the rival affinities of outward condition and circumstance. The style of Apollonius is a literary style, the epic language of Homer reproduced and modified by a modern student: but though it is sometimes graceful and ingenious, compared with the style of Virgil it is the mere jargon of a grammarian, seeking to revive a mode of speech of which he had no living appreciation. His treatment of his subject makes us think of the Iliad and the Aeneid, but it is by the way of contrast; where he is felicitous, the felicity is not of an epic character, and the general tenor of the narrative is tedious and uninteresting, and therefore neither Homeric nor Virgilian. A catalogue of heroes is in itself a sufficiently epic thing, yet we feel that neither Homer nor Virgil would have dreamed of commencing a poem with it, as the reader must be made to sympathize in the object of the muster before the muster-roll can have any meaning to him. The incidents of the voyage have either no interest at all, or an interest unconnected with the main purpose of the poem. In the narratives of the Odyssey and the Aeneid everything bears on the fortunes of Ulysses and his crew, or on those of Aeneas regarded as the future founder of the Trojan nation; the voyages are sufficiently diversified, but the object of every event is to illustrate the action of the contending powers whose strife keeps the prince of Ithaca from his home, the chief of Troy from his destined kingdom. But in Apollonius there is little or nothing of this; the voyage was part of his poem; it had to be made an eventful one, and events are produced accordingly. We do not see the object of the sojourn in Lemnos, or of the fight between Pollux and Amycus; even Phineus seems to be introduced rather for his own sake than for the aid which his prophecy affords to the voyagers. They lose some of their comrades; but even the loss of Hercules scarcely impresses itself on us, and that of Tiphys is more easily remedied than we should have expected. The Third Book is the gem of the whole poem, and may be read with real pleasure, even by those whose recollection of Virgil is fresh and vivid. Virgil, indeed, has not chosen to contend directly with Apollonius; he concentrates his strength on the picture of Dido in her abandonment and despair, and touches more lightly the early approaches of the love that was to undo her. The object of Apollonius is different; Medea, the forsaken and desperate wife, formed no part of the argument of his poem; his Medea is a maiden in her father's palace, and he has to paint the steps by which, under the agency of the god of love, she resigns all her feelings for home, and is delivered heart and soul to the

power of enchantments more mighty than her own. Accordingly, when she retires to her chamber we have her thoughts and also her dreams; the last not simply mentioned, like Dido's on the night after Aeneas's story, but recounted. She goes to her sister, who is fortunately as excited as she, though from a different cause; and even an arrangement which gives her hope of binding Jason to herself does not prevent her from passing the dreary midnight hours in an agony of hopeless longing, which she is at one time nearly ending by swallowing a drug from her own casket of poisons. Yet, though there is power and beauty here, it is not the power and beauty of Virgil. Even the passage in which Medea, with the casket lying open on her lap, is struck with a sudden horror of death, and feels as she never felt before, that "the light is sweet, and it is a pleasant thing to behold the sun," deep as is its truth and pathos, does not affect us as we expect to be affected by an incident in an epic poem. It is too modern for Homer; Virgil might have owned the feeling, but he would have been content to indicate it in two or three lines. The conference of Here and Pallas, and their joint visit to Aphrodite, are evidently imitated from Here's visit to Aphrodite in the Fourteenth Book of the Iliad, and are as evidently Virgil's model in the scene between Venus and Cupid at the end of the First Aeneid, and that between Juno and Venus at the beginning of the Fourth; but they do not impress the reader as he is impressed by their Greek original, or by their Latin copy; they are graceful, fanciful, in a word, Ovidian; but they are not epic. The description of Love overreaching Ganymede at dice, the boy-god erect and radiant, his playmate pouting and pettish, is obviously made for painting; but the picture would not find a place in a heroic gallery. Nor is Apollonius writing in the 'grand style' when he introduces Aphrodite playfully pinching her son's cheek, and bribing him to attack Medea by a promise of the magic ball with which Zeus played when a babe in his cavern-nursery of Ida. The interview between Jason and Medea in the temple of Hecate is tender and touching; but Virgil would never have descended to the prettiness of the comparison of the two lovers, bashful and silent, to tall pine-trees at first standing still in the calm, and then breaking into a rustle under the agitation of the wind: a smile which Valerius Flaccus has to tone down and render less graphic in order to adapt it to the genius of his quasi-Virgilian imitation.[8] When the voyage recommences, the poem again ceases to interest us. The treacherous murder of Absyrtus is narrated

[8] τὼ δ' ἄνεῳ καὶ ἄναυδοι ἐφέστασαν ἀλλήλοισιν
ἢ δρυσὶν ἢ μακρῇσιν ἐειδόμενοι ἐλάτῃσιν
αἵτε παράσσον ἕκηλοι ἐν οὔρεσιν ἐρρίζωνται
νηνεμίῃ· μετὰ δ' αὖτις ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς ἀνέμοιο

in a manner to excite pity and terror; but we have heard too little of the youth to feel much personal concern in his fate. The ineffectual appeal of Medea to the greater sorceress, Circe, is better in conception than in execution. The adventures of the suppliants in Phaeacia have rather the grotesqueness of romance than the dignity of epic narrative. The other incidents of the homeward voyage, like those of the voyage out, seem as if related for an emergency, not involved by the internal necessities of the story; and the few lines in which the heroes are at last dismissed may perhaps show that the poet had come to be as weary of the subject as his readers. The Homeric poems, according to Longinus,[9] contain many slips, the Argonautics none; yet, asks the critic, who would not rather be Homer than Apollonius? It required but little confidence to put the question; but few, I imagine, would now accept the previous judgment on which it is based. If Homer sometimes nods, Apollonius may be said to be only occasionally awake, though his long fits of somnolency are relieved by fanciful and even attractive dreams.

Of the earlier epic poetry of Rome we know still less than of the later epic poetry of Greece. We know, however, enough to assure us that it had some influence on Virgil; enough also to warrant us in assuming that its influence, could it be thoroughly estimated, would be found not to have penetrated very far. To inquire into the influence of Naevius and Ennius upon Virgil is, in fact, as unfruitful a subject as to inquire into the influence of Chaucer and Spenser, or perhaps Cowley, upon Pope. Incidents and external colouring may occasionally have been borrowed; forms of expression and turns of rhythm may have been appropriated by a writer of whom it might be said, as it has been said of Pope, that "there is scarcely a happy combination of words, or a phrase poetically elegant, in his native language, which he has not inserted into his poems;"[1] but the use he made of his predecessors cannot have borne any analogy to the use he made of Homer. In the one case it is an ancient conqueror who, having overcome a veteran worthy of his steel, converts his body into merchandise, and wears his

κινύμεναι ὁμάδησαν ἀπείριτον· ὣς ἄρα τώγε
μέλλον ἅλις φθέγξασθαι ὑπὸ πνοιῇσιν Ἔρωτος.
Apoll. 3. 967, foll.

In mediis noctis nemorisque tenebris
Inciderant ambo attoniti iuxtaque subibant,
Abietibus tacitis aut inmotis cyparissis
Adsimiles, rapidus nondum quas miscuit Auster.
Val. Flacc. 7. 403, foll.

[9] On the Sublime, § 33.

[1] Watts, quoted in Johnson's Life of Pope.

armour as his own; in the other case it is a despot, who walks through the houses of his subjects, and takes away anything that strikes his fancy, for the adornment of his own palace. Almost all that we know of the actual obligations of Virgil to the Punic War of Naevius, is that in Naevius' poem, no less than in Virgil's, Aeneas is supposed to be questioned about his departure from Troy, that Naevius speaks of Dido and her sister Anna, from which it is inferred that the questioner of Aeneas is the Carthaginian queen, and that the consolation addressed by Aeneas to his crew in the First Aeneid and the discourse between Venus and Jupiter in the same book are, as we are told in words which must necessarily be understood with some latitude,[2] 'entirely' taken from the old poet. It must be confessed that the two or three lines quoted by Servius in exemplification of the hints which Naevius gave to Virgil do not suggest the notion of any very close imitation. When Naevius says of the wives of Anchises and Aeneas—

> "Amborum uxores
> Noctu Troiad exibant capitibus opertis
> Flentes ambae abeuntes lacrimis cum multis,"

we are not obliged to think that but for them Virgil could not have written—

> "Litora cum patriae lacrimans portusque relinquo
> Et campos ubi Troia fuit." [3]

And we feel that the Virgilian Aeneas might have represented himself as 'wondering at the multitude'[4] of those who followed his fortunes 'animis opibusque parati,' even if Naevius, speaking of the same gathering, had not specified the three points of numbers, 'eorum sectam sequontur multi mortales,' bravery, 'multi alii e Troia strenui viri,' and wealth, 'ubi foras cum auro illi exibant.'[5] Nor is it likely that the Saturnian measure, 'the barbarous utterance of wood-gods and bards,'

[2] Serv. on Aen. i. 198: "*O socii* . . . et totus hic locus de Naevio belli Punici lib. translatus est." Macrob. Sat. 6. 2: "Sunt alii loci plurimorum versuum quos Maro in opus suum cum paucorum inmutatione verborum a veteribus transtulit. . . . In principio Aeneidos tempestas describitur, et Venus apud Iovem queritur de periculis filii, et Iuppiter eam de futurorum prosperitate solatur. Hic locus totus sumptus a Naevio est ex primo libro belli Punici. Illic enim aeque Venus Troianis tempestate laborantibus cum Iove queritur, et sequuntur verba Iovis filiam consolantis spe futurorum." Niebuhr (Hist., Eng. T., vol. i. p. 192) thinks Virgil took the hint of Aeneas's shield from Naevius, whom he further supposes him to have followed in making Romulus the grandson of Aeneas (Lect. vol. i. ed. 1844, p. 26); but the first notion rests on an arbitrary interpretation of Naevius, the second on a misunderstanding of Virgil.

[3] Aen. 3. 10. Serv. ad loc.

[4] Aen. 2. 797. Serv. ad loc.

[5] In the quotations from Naevius I have followed Vahlen's edition: 'Cn. Naevi De Bello Punico Reliquiae,' Leipsic, 1854.

should have had more charms for Virgil, the perfecter of the Latin hexameter, than it had for Ennius, who was the first to supplant it by the stately Grecian exotic.

The identity of metre at once establishes a closer affinity between Virgil and Ennius than can ever have existed between the poet of the Aeneid and the poet of the Punic War. As a matter of fact we know that many lines in the Aeneid are taken, more or less changed, from the Annals; indeed, we owe the preservation of not a few of Ennius's hexameters to the early critics who pointed out the imitations of them in Virgil. Every reader of the Aeneid will remember lines resembling "Qui caelum versat stellis fulgentibus aptum," "Teque pater Tiberine tuo cum flumine sancto," "Cum superum lumen nox intempesta teneret," "Ansatis concurrunt undique telis," "Romani scalis summa nituntur opum vi," "Quis potis ingentis oras evolvere belli?" "Semianimesque micant oculi lucemque requirunt;" lines, some of which, when we meet them in Virgil, strike us with no want of smoothness or finish, while others, though somewhat rougher, serve to vary the harmony which they do not really interrupt. The Latin hexameter, under all its modification, has characteristics which distinguish it from the Greek; and as Ennius was its originator, he may claim to be the author of Virgil's versification, even in cases where nothing like imitation can be pretended. Ennius did not naturalize his new importation until the language into which it was introduced had lost some portion of its original plasticity; he had accordingly, as has been ably shown by a German writer,[6] to adopt a certain conventionalism of expression, innovating here, paraphrasing there, in order to avoid obvious words which happened to be unsuitable to his metre; and though Virgil was not likely to follow him in his harsher 'tours de force,' the same necessity which pressed on the elder poet pressed on the younger also, making him fall into the style of epic commonplace which already existed, and augment it by a thousand new and ingenious devices of his own. All this we may admit, as we have made similar admissions in the case of Apollonius; yet it may still be true that Virgil's debt to Ennius is so trifling as to be scarcely worth computation. We know too little of Ennius to be able to estimate his merits as a narrator; hundreds of his verses have come down to us, but very few passages which exceed three or four lines, and of these scarcely any can be called pieces of narrative. There is indeed a description of an invincible tribune in the Histrian war, bathed in sweat and exposed to a hailstorm of javelins, which Virgil doubtless had before him while painting Turnus at the end of the ninth Aeneid; but the model is itself a copy from the single-handed resistance of the Homeric Ajax in the sixteenth Iliad,

[6] Köne, Ueber die Sprache der Römischen Epiker. Münster, 1840.

which would sufficiently account for Virgil's imitation if the fragment of the Annals had never been preserved by Macrobius,[7] while it leaves us no means of judging how Ennius would have treated such a situation if he had not had Homer to draw from. The account of Romulus and Remus waiting for the augury, preserved by Cicero in the first book of his De Divinatione, is not a very remarkable specimen of narrative power. Homer would have introduced more details; Virgil would have treated those which Ennius gives in a more artificial way, dwelling on one or two, and hinting the rest; both would probably have thrown in some short speech, directly or indirectly expressed, to show the feeling of the rival brothers and the attendant multitude. But without venturing farther on the precarious ground of hypothetical criticism, we need scarcely doubt that there was nothing in Ennius' conception of his art which Virgil was likely to welcome as a help towards improving upon Homer. Living in a prehistoric time, Homer (I use the name for convenience' sake, not as taking a side in the controversy about his personality) is the only poet who has attained the grace and finish of a literary period; he is the only primeval poet so complete in himself that it might be questioned whether it would have been an advantage to him to have lived later. There may conceivably be one or two touches in Ennius which appear to show a more modern feeling than Homer's, a keen sense of colour,[8] an appreciation of philosophy[9] and literature as such; for an age, even when relatively less advanced than some former age, is yet in a certain sense the heir of all that have gone before it, and the age of Ennius in particular possessed the rudiments of criticism and aspired after culture; but, regarded in the gross, Homer is mature and articulate, while Ennius is still crude and infantine, and it was not to be expected that the large utterance of the divine foretime of Greece should come mended to Virgil's ear when repeated by the stammering lips of his Italian ancestors. Virgil may have believed, as Ennius did, that the soul which dwelt in his own breast had once animated Homer; but he probably would not have recognized Ennius as the intermediate channel of its transmission.

It is needless to say anything of the rest of the earlier Roman epic writers, who are indeed mere names to us; to speculate on the extent to which Virgil's impressions of Apollonius' poem have been modified by the version of Varro Atacinus, of which five unimportant frag-

[7] Sat. 6. 3.

[8] e.g. 'Russescunt frundes,' Ann. 7. fr. 20 (Vahlen's edition).

[9] "Nec quisquam sophiam sapientia quae perhibetur
In somnis vidit prius quam sam discere coepit."—Ann. 7. fr. 2.
Compare also fr. 1, the celebrated lines about Naevius.

ments remain,[1] or to inquire whether the Aeneid is likely to have benefited by the example of Hostius' work, De Bello Histrico, in any other respect than in the multiplication of the "ten tongues" of the second Iliad into a hundred.[2] As little necessity is there to speak of the possible effect of Roman tragedy on the Aeneid, as, though there are evident proofs that Virgil did not disdain to imitate individual passages,[3] his real obligations are not to Ennius, Pacuvius, or Attius, but to the great Athenian masters whom they copied as Ennius copied Homer.

The result of our inquiry then is this. Virgil imitated Homer, but imitated him as a rival, not as a disciple; his object was not to give a faithful interpretation of his great master, but to draw forth his own genius and satisfy the age in which he lived; and accordingly he modified the Homeric story at his pleasure, according to the thousand considerations that might occur to a poetical artist, a patriot, and a connoisseur of antiquarian learning. Of later influences, the only one which seems to have taken a really powerful hold of him is Greek tragedy, which was in fact the only instance of a genius and culture commensurate with his own, operating in a sphere analogous to his. The epics of Alexandria and of early Rome may furnish occasional illustrations to the commentator on the Aeneid; but his more continuous studies will be better devoted to the poetry of Homer and to the tragic drama of Greece.

[1] Seneca (Controv. 16, p. 238) says that Julius Montanus praised Virgil for having improved (in his description of night, A. 8. 27, foll.) on two lines of Varro:

"Desierant latrare canes, urbesque silebant:
Omnia noctis erant, placida composta quiete."

Virgil, however, is not nearer to Varro than he is to Varro's original, Apoll. 3. 749, foll.

[2] "Homeri est οὐδ' εἴ μοι δέκα μὲν γλῶσσαι, δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἶεν. Hunc secutus Hostius poeta in libro secundo Belli Histrici ait: Non si mihi linguae Centum atque ora sient totidem vocesque liquatae. Hinc Vergilius ait: Non mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum." Macrob. Sat. 2. 3. It is worth noting that Pope, professing to translate Homer, has turned the ten tongues into a thousand. He had, however, some provocation, as Ogilby had made them a hundred.

[3] See on A. 2. 237, 281, 499, &c.

THE STORY OF AENEAS' WANDERINGS.[1]

[*Originally contributed to the "Journal of Philology."*]

Seldom has a great poet had a less promising subject to deal with than Virgil when he undertook to write the Aeneid. The growth of the Roman empire, and with it the spread of a civilization higher, if we take it all in all, than any which had been previously known in the ancient world, was indeed a fact all-important for the historian and the statesman, and inspiring enough to the imagination of a poet. The problem was how to give poetical form and vitality to the great idea. The springs of the native Italian literature had, in the Augustan age, been long choked up. The Italian poets had left Naevius far behind them, and went to Homer for their metre and the handling of their subject. But instead of the fresh and living creations of the Hellenic fore-time, the Romans found, in the legend of Aeneas, only a lifeless mythology, the spirit of which was true to nothing but the vanity of the Greek historians who invented it. In the following remarks an attempt will be made to trace the origin of the story of Aeneas' wanderings, and the various forms which it assumed before Virgil made it classical.

The name Αἰνείας is in formation parallel to Ἑρμείας, Αὐγείας, and perhaps Βορέας, and would seem to be a patronymic from Αἶνος or Αἴνη, as Αὐγείας is formed from Αὐγή and Ἑρμείας from Ἕρμα or *Sarama*. It may be worth while to put together some other traces of the same root which occur in the names of places. The mythical founder of Cyzicus was Αἰνεύς, whose name is another patronymic from the same base; in the Troad itself, if we may believe Strabo (13. 1), there was a township called Αἴνεια and a river Αἴνιον. Coming further west, we find the Thracian town Αἶνος at the mouth of the Hebrus—it is worth while in this connexion to remember Strabo's remark that there were many names common to Thrace and the Troad

[1] As these sheets are going through the press, an interesting essay on the Legend of Aeneas by M. Gaston Boissier (*Revue des deux Mondes*, September 15, 1883) has come into my hands. M. Boissier, among a great number of striking remarks, observes that the story of Aeneas does not seem to have been illustrated by painters or sculptors until about the time of Virgil.

—and yet further west the town Aeneia in Chalcidice. South-west of Thessaly we meet with the Αἰνιᾶνες, or as Pliny (4. 6) calls them, the Aenienses; on the coast of Illyricum was a town called Aenona, reminding us in the termination of its name of Salona, Nerona, Verona, Cremona; Pliny (5. 137) mentions an island Aenare in the neighbourhood of Ephesus, and a kindred name to this appears in that of the well-known island Aenaria off the coast of Campania. It would perhaps be rash to mention the ancient name of the river Inn, Aenus, in this connexion.

It is natural and easy to connect the patronymic Αἰνείας with these names: but this connexion only makes darkness visible. The meaning of the base Αἰνο- it is for Greek etymologists to decipher; but before leaving it it is necessary to notice the adjective Αἰνειάς, genitive Αἰνειάδος, a title of Aphrodite. Temples to this Ἀφροδίτη Αἰνειάς are mentioned as existing in his own time by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1. 49) in Leucas, at Actium near another to the θεοὶ μεγάλοι, at Ambracia, and (*ib.* 53) at Elymus in Sicily. That the ancients should have connected these temples with a supposed presence of Aeneas and his mother in these places was natural enough: but it must surely be remarked by a modern observer that Ἀφροδίτη Αἰνειάς, cannot mean *Aphrodite the mother of Aeneas*, but must signify either *Aphrodite the daughter of Aeneas* on the analogy of Βορεάς the daughter of Βορέας, or (which I think more likely) *Aphrodite of Aeneia* or *Aeneium*, just as Σιγειάς (Strabo, 13. 1) means *of Sigeum*. Klausen in his *Aeneas und die Penaten*, and Preller in his handbooks of mythology, have not, so far as I have seen, noticed this point; but, small as it may appear, it has, I think, an important bearing on the subject before us. For if Αἰνειάς as a title of Aphrodite is a mere local epithet, or at any rate a title associated with the goddess in some way not at present ascertainable, the connexion of this Aphrodite with the hero of the Aeneid will appear to have arisen from a misinterpretation of names, and the words Αἰνείας and Αἰνειάς to have no more in common than their kinship with the words Aenus or Aeneia.

I do not think that the attempts of Klausen and of Fick in his *Personennamen* to connect Αἰνειάς with αἰνεῖν, *to comply*, or to *consent*, can be regarded as successful. The title of *gracious*, *consenting*, *complying*, *placabilis*, might, no doubt, be well applied to Aphrodite, but more evidence should be forthcoming before the question can be taken as settled, especially in the case of a proper name the antiquity of which may, for all that we know, have removed it altogether out of the reach of modern inquiry.

The connexion between Αἰνείας and Ἀφροδίτη Αἰνειάς appears then to be only collateral, not derivative. And, if Αἰνείας is in form a local

patronymic, it may also be observed that *Ascanius*, *Ascania*, *Ascaniae*, and *Ascanium* are names of a city in Aetolia, of a lake near Nicaea, of an island among the Sporades, of a district (?) in Bithynia, and of some islands off the coast of the Troad. The names, therefore, both of Aeneas and his son are closely connected with names of places; indeed, it does not appear that Ascanius is the son of Aeneas in any poet earlier than Stesichorus.

Aeneas in the Homeric poems is the son of Aphrodite, the heaven-protected, heaven-favoured hero whose race is to endure and to rule after that of Priam is destroyed. A family of Aeneadae retained, at Scepsis in the Troad, a memory of their bygone royalty in certain functions, perhaps priestly, which they were for long allowed to exercise (Strabo, 13, 1). I do not venture to offer any opinion as to the actual relation which these Aeneadae bore to the Aeneas of the Iliad; or to decide whether or no the Homeric hero is merely a name, invented to account for the existence of the royal and priestly family, around which the subsequent stories of his wanderings grew up step by step. But I think that we must in any case start from the names of the places with which Aeneas was said to have been connected. If we may trust Dionysius (1. 48), the legends which dealt with the fate of Aeneas after the capture of Troy were various and irreconcilable. Menecrates of Xanthus represented him as having betrayed Troy to the Greeks; others said that he was sent into Phrygia by Priam on some military service. And the stories which represented him as leaving the city of his fathers did not agree how far he wandered, Hegesianax, and Hegesippus the historian of Pallene, bringing him only as far as that peninsula, while others made him leave Thrace and go on as far as Arcadia, where he founded a city which was named Caphyae after the Trojan Capys. Remembering the Thracian city Aenus, and the Pallenian Aeneia, we need find no difficulty, considering the contradictory and untrustworthy character of these stories, in attributing the idea of Aeneas' presence in those places, which is apparently as old as Lesches, solely to their names; nor need the connexion of the Arcadian Caphyae with the Trojan Capys give us any more trouble than the reference of the Italian name Capua to the same hero. It may be added that according to Pausanias (8. 12. 8) there was also in Arcadia a mountain called *Anchisia* with a grave of Anchises.

Before going into the question of Aeneas' voyage to Italy, it will be as well to consider the remaining traces of the legends which brought him into various parts of Hellas. Dionysius (1. 50) assures us that there were many signs of the presence of Aeneas in Delos, whither Aeneas came while the island was governed by King Anius. Delos

and Anius are adopted by Virgil in his third Aeneid. No doubt the similarity of the names Anius and Aeneas has much to do with this part of the legend. What the other evidences of Aeneas' presence there may have been Dionysius does not inform us. A temple of Aphrodite in the island of Cythera seems to have been the centre of a story of Aeneas' former presence there; Dionysius says that the promontory of Κιναίθιον was named after Κίναιθοσ, a companion of Aeneas, who was there buried. In Zacynthus a solemn sacrifice to Aphrodite, and athletic contests for youths, kept up as late as the time of Dionysius a memory of Aeneas; the founder of Zacynthus was supposed to be a son of Dardanus and brother of Erichthonius. Among the athletic contests is especially mentioned a race named after Aphrodite and Aeneas, of whom two wooden statues were kept in the island. In Leucas, Actium, and Ambracia there were, as we have seen, temples to Aphrodite Aineias; in Ambracia there was also, according to Dionysius, a wooden statue said to represent Aeneas, which was honoured by yearly observances. In Buthrotum was another temple of Aphrodite, the foundation of which was attributed to Aeneas; it was from Buthrotum, according to Dionysius, that Aeneas went to consult the oracle of Dodona. In the neighbourhood of Buthrotum there was also a harbour-town bearing the name Anchisos.

So far, with the help of Dionysius, we have traced supposed memories of Aeneas in Thrace, in Delos, in Arcadia, in Cythera, on the promontory of Cinaethium, in Zacynthus, in Leucas, Actium, Ambracia, and Buthrotum. Passing on to the south of Italy we meet with legends which brought Aeneas and his followers to the promontory of Iapygia inhabited by the Sallentini, and the harbour of Aphrodite near the temple of Athene (Aen. 3. 531, *templumque apparet in arce Minervae*); here they only remain for a short time and then go on to Sicily.

The legend which brought Trojan settlers to the north-west of Sicily, Eryx, Elymus, and Segesta, was older than the time of Thucydides, who expressly mentions and accepts it; to follow it into the details given by Dionysius is quite unnecessary. It is, however, of great importance as linking the story of Aeneas on one side with Italy and on the other with Carthage. The main point for our present consideration is the existence of a temple of Aphrodite Aineias at Elymus; on some other features of the story we shall have to remark further on.

The story of Aeneas' voyage to Latium is undoubtedly later than the legends which we have been considering. A whole chapter of Greek mythology, familiar enough to students of that subject, con-

nected Italy with the wandering heroes who were seeking homes after the destruction of Troy. Thus Diomed and Ulysses were brought to the shores of the western seas, and those legends grew up to which Landor in his "Hellenics" has succeeded so well in giving a poetical form and interest. The stories of the Trojans Aeneas and Antenor coming to these regions may doubtless be readily connected with the cycle of Hellenic myths. It seems now to be doubted[2] whether any distinct allusion to Aeneas' Italian voyage can be elicited from the supposed quotation from Stesichorus in the Ilian table, which mentions Aeneas as starting for Hesperia. According to Pliny (3. 57) Theophrastus was the first Greek who wrote with any care on Roman affairs. Before Theophrastus the notion had arisen that Rome had been founded by Aeneas in the company of Ulysses. Dionysius (1. 72) quotes as his authority for this statement the list of priestesses in Argos. The compiler of these lists is assumed[3] by Müller in his Fragments of the Greek historians to have been Hellanicus. In a story little varying from the former Aristotle asserted that Rome was founded by certain 'Αχαιοί, who on their return from Troy were caught in a storm as they were rounding Cape Malea, and were at length carried by the violence of the wind to the coast of Latium. Here they spent the winter, intending to sail with the spring. But some captive women whom they had brought from Troy, anxious to escape the slavery which awaited them in Greece, took the opportunity one night of burning the ships, and making further progress impossible. The name 'Ρώμη was that of the Trojan woman by whose advice this measure was taken. This is the story adopted by Heraclides Lembus, the historian of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes: (Fest. p. 268 Müller, and Solinus 1. 2) *Heraclidi placet, Troia capta quosdam ex Achivis in ea loca ubi nunc Roma est devenisse per Tiberim, deinde suadente Rome nobilissima captivarum quae his comes erat, incensis navibus posuisse sedes, instruxisse moenia, et oppidum ab ea Romen vocavisse.* He mentions another version: *Agathocles scribit Romen non captivam fuisse ut supra dictum est, sed Ascanio natam Aeneae neptem appellationis istius causam fuisse.* In the same spirit the historian Xenagoras made Ulysses and Circe the parents of Romus, Antias, and Ardeas, and Callias, who wrote the history of Agathocles, made Romulus and Remus the sons of Latinus and a Trojan woman named Romê. The story of the women burning the ships was afterwards transferred to the Trojan fleet, which according to one version

[2] Preller, Römische Mythologie, p. 670.

[3] Yet this is difficult to accept, for Dionysius is careful to mention Hellanicus by name in chap. 48, and there seems to be no reason why he should not have done so, had he been alluding to him, in chap. 72.

was destroyed at Caieta,[4] according to another, adopted by Virgil in his fifth Aeneid, in Sicily, where the intervention of Neptune partially defeats the malice of Juno.

Dionysius mentions many other Greek historians who dealt with the foundation of Rome, but, perhaps, fortunately for us, has not chronicled their opinions. Some of these may be found in Verrius Flaccus (Fest. p. 257—9, s. v. *Roma*). So far we have seen that the Greek writers of the fourth century before Christ claimed Greek connexions and a mythical Greek foundation for Rome. There is no sign of any Trojan playing a prominent part in the drama: the Trojan element is represented only by captive women. But probably in consequence of the wars with Greece which began with the beginning of the third century B.C. the Romans adopted a different version of their own from that offered by the Greeks. The historian Timaeus, the long period of whose literary activity coincides in great part with that of the Roman wars against Pyrrhus, examined the Penates at Lavinium, and pronounced the clay of which they were made, together with the heralds' staves of brass and iron, to be of Trojan manufacture. Ernst Curtius (*Sparta und Olympia*, in the fourteenth volume of the *Hermes*) has remarked upon the prominent part which was played by centres of religious observance, such as Delphi and Olympia, in the work of joining or dividing alliances in the world of ancient Greece. It is a sign of the same tendency of feelings and ideas which appears in the claim now laid by the Romans to the Penates of Troy. Pyrrhus, it will be remembered, boasted his descent from Achilles. The Romans on their side claimed as their ancestor the greatest of the Trojan princes who survived the fall of his country. Traces of Aeneas and the θεοὶ μεγάλοι were found, as we have seen, throughout Hellas and in Sicily; it was only a step further to bring him to Latium and give to Rome not a Greek but a Trojan lineage. The anti-Hellenic interest dominant at this time made the Romans eager to seize upon a religious symbol which soon became the centre of a developed legend. The story of the foundation of Rome by Aeneas formed part of the history of Fabius Pictor, and had therefore assumed full shape by the end of the third century B.C.

Livius Andronicus indeed (284—204 B.C.) had adopted the story which made Aeneas with Antenor betray Ilium to the Greeks—a version of quite a different complexion from that which implied the irreconcilable enmity of Troy and Greece. And it may be noticed in this connexion that there are signs in the case of other places, besides Rome, of a double legend, one assigning to them a Greek,

[4] Serv. on Aen. 7. 1, *in hoc loco classem Troianorum casu concrematam, unde et Caieta dictum ἀπὸ τοῦ καίειν*: so on 10. 36.

the other a Trojan origin. Thus the comedian Menander, followed by Turpilius, said of the temple of Venus in Leucas that it was founded by Phaon of Lesbos; whereas Varro attributed it to Aeneas (Servius on Aen. 3. 279). So it was with Baiae, which Postumius, the author of a work *de adventu Aeneae*, and Lutatius, in his manual of *Communes historiae*, said was founded by Boia the nurse of Euximus, a companion of Aeneas. An older account, according to Varro, said that the name was not Boiae but Baiae, and the founder of the city was Baius, a comrade of Ulysses who was buried there (Servius on Aen. 9. 710).

Aeneas was once represented as the founder of Rome, his companions were shown by the historians and poets who succeeded Fabius Picter to have been equally active in other places. Prochyta, according to Naevius, took its name from a kinswoman of Aeneas (Servius on Aen. 9. 715). Capua, according to Caelius Antipater, was founded by a Trojan Capys (Servius on Aen. 10. 145). A Trojan origin was assigned to Corithus (Serv. on Aen. 7. 209) and to Patavium. In the same way Caieta, as we have seen, was said to be the place were the Trojan ships were burnt.

Thus under the pressure of a great national conflict the Romans called in a spurious mythology to dignify their cause. Towards the end of the first Punic war we have another instance of the same tendency. The Acarnanians, in appealing to Rome for assistance against the Aetolians, based their claim on the fact that they were the only Greeks who had sent no contingent to the aid of their countrymen in the Trojan war (Justin. 28. 1). In the same spirit the Romans deprived the Corinthians of Leucas and Anactorium, and made their towns over to Acarnania (Dionysius 1. 51). Soon afterwards comes the Roman alliance with Attalus king of Pergamus, and the transference of the Great Mother of Pessinus, the guardian deity of Aeneas, to Rome (205 B.C.). The peace made with Philip in the same year included the inhabitants of Ilium on the side of the Romans; it may be noticed that Livy (29. 12. 14) mentions Attalus and the Ilienses side by side. Nine years afterwards Flamininus, after proclaiming the freedom of Greece at the Isthmian games, dedicated at Delphi some silver shields and a golden crown with the inscriptions

Αἰνεάδας Τίτος ὔμμιν ὑπέρτατον ὤπασα δῶρον, and
ὅν πόρεν Αἰνεαδᾶν ταγὸς μέγας.

It is worth while also in this connexion to read the account given in Livy (37. 37) of the interview between P. Scipio Africanus and the inhabitants of Ilium during the war with Antiochus in 190 B.C., followed by the cession to them of Rhoeteum and Gergis in 188 B.C.

non tam ob recentia ulla merita quam originis memoria (Livy 38. 39. 10). By the end of the third or the beginning of the second century B.C. the Romans are recognized as Aeneadae in the eyes of the world. In Rome Troy has conquered her ancient enemy; *Aeneas haec de Danais victoribus arma.*

It is therefore unnecessary to speak of the later Greek historians, of Lycophron, and of the Sibylline oracles, and we may pass on to consider the next phase in the development of the story.

Hitherto the legend had been formed and used in an anti-Hellenic sense; it was different, however, in the last century of the republic, after Greece had finally ceased to be an enemy of Rome, and when the Romans had come to regard Greek culture as the main element in their future mental development. The loss of the bulk of Varro's works, and of much other intermediate literature, renders it impossible for us to trace the growth of that change in the complexion of our legend which is so patent and so complete in the pages of Dionysius. This writer is at the greatest pains to prove the truth of Aeneas' arrival in Italy. He quotes many Greek and all the Roman historians on his side, besides a number of oracles, Sibylline and Delphic, and other tokens in the shape of local rites and religious traditions. To the dangerous rationalism which suggested that Aeneas could not have died and been buried in more places than one, and yet that there were many supposed tombs of Aeneas, he replies (1. 54) that this difficulty occurs in the case of many illustrious men, and is easily to be explained by the consideration that though their bodies can only be in one place, it is possible for their memories to be enshrined in several. But Dionysius is not only jealous for the truth of his story; he has also his own reading of its signification. To him the Trojans are Hellenes, the Greeks 'Αχαιοί. Aeneas in his answer to Latinus (1. 58) says, "We are Trojans by race, and were citizens of a city which was one of the most conspicuous among the Hellenes; of this we have been deprived, after a ten years' war, by the Achaeans," and so forth. Latinus answers that on his part he is friendly to the whole Hellenic race. The proof of this connexion, for the truth of which Dionysius refers generally to old authorities (1. 61), is rested on the Arcadian origin of the Trojans. The genealogy is as follows:—

Zeus = Electra
|
Dardanus = Bateia
|
Zacynthus — Erichthonius
|
Aeneas

the same as that given in verse by Virgil, Aen. 8. 134 foll.

Dionysius seems on this point to have followed the same authorities as Virgil, for the notion that the Trojans are of Hellenic race is followed out by Virgil with tolerable consistency in his selection of proper names. His Trojans have mostly Greek names: *Actor*, *Amastrus*, *Amycus*, *Anchemolus*, *Antheus*, *Aphidnus*, *Asbutes*, *Capys*, *Castor*, *Chaon*, *Chloreus*, *Chromis*, *Clonius*, *Clytius*, *Corynaeus*, *Cretheus*, *Diores*, *Dymas*, *Ericetes*, *Erymas*, *Gyges*, and the like. The Italian names, on the other hand, are ranged on the side of Turnus: *Almo*, *Amata*, *Anxur*, *Aquicolus*, *Arcetius*, *Astur*, *Atinas*, *Aventinus*, *Caedicus*, *Camers*, *Camilla*, *Cethegus*, *Clausus*, *Cupencus*, *Ebulo*, *Ebusus*, *Fadus*, *Halesus*, *Herbesus*, *Hisbo*, *Lausus*, *Liger*, *Lucagus*, *Lucetius*, *Magus*, *Messapus*, *Metabus*, *Metiscus*, *Mezentius*, *Murranus*, *Numa*, *Numanus*, *Numitor*, *Quercens*, *Rapo*, *Remulus*, *Remus*, *Sacrator*, *Salius*, *Sarranus*, *Sucro*, *Sulmo*, *Tiburtus*, *Tulla*, *Ufens*, *Umbro*, *Valerus*, *Venulus*, *Virbius*, *Volcens*, *Volusus*.

The story of Aeneas' alliance with the Arcadian Evander points, I need hardly add, in the same direction. I do not know whether a trace of the same idea is to be found in theory supported by Cato, Acilius, and many other Roman historians, that the Aborigines, with whom the Trojans eventually united, were Greeks who had come to Italy long before the Trojan war (Dionysius 1. 11). But it may, I think, be perceived in the account of the part played by Diomed in the later story of Aeneas. Cassius Hemina, the historian of the end of the second century B.C., represented Diomed as giving the Palladium to Aeneas when the latter was passing through Calabria. According to Varro, Diomed also gave Aeneas the bones of his father Anchises. And Virgil, in the eleventh Aeneid, represents the attempts of the Latins to enlist Diomed in their cause against Aeneas as failing altogther.

Let us now for a few moments consider the elements of Italian mythology and religious observance which blended with the Greek fable just mentioned. The familiar names *Lavinium*, *Laurentum*, *Alba*, *Penates*, *Indiges*, *Diuturna*, *Amata*, *Camilla*, are genuine Italian words, and as such point back to a condition of politics and religion long prior to the introduction of the Hellenic legend. Schwegler has rightly pointed out that the Italian centre of the story is Lavinium or Lauro-Lavinium, not Rome. Lavinium, if not the political at least the religious capital of the Alban league, continued down to a very late time to preserve living traces of its ancient importance. At Lavinium were the Penates of the Latins and their worship; at Lavinium the consuls, praetors, and dictators offered sacrifice when entering upon or laying down their public functions. Macrobius 3. 4. 11, *eodem nomine appellavit et Vestam, quam de numero Penatium aut*

certe comitem eorum esse manifestum est, adeo ut et consules et praetores seu dictatores cum adeunt magistratum Lavinii rem divinam faciant Penatibus pariter et Vestae: see also Servius on Aen. 2. 296. The names *Laurentum* and *Lavinium* are probably connected in etymology; the base *lav-*, which may be the same as that which appears in *lau-rus*, being the same in both. The question may also fairly be asked, as Preller has seen, whether the names *Daunus* and *Daunia*, familiar in connexion with Turnus, are not akin to Lavinium and Laurentum, exhibiting the common interchange of *d* and *l*. I do not venture to offer a decided opinion on the meaning of the root *lu-* or *lav-*, which forms the basis of these words, and also of *Laverna* and *Lavernium* (Macrob. 3. 16. 4); whether it is the same as that of *luere* and *lustrum* and contains the idea of purification, as Schwegler is inclined to think, or whether it is not rather connected with *laetus* and *luxuries*. The etymology of the ancients, which connected *Laurentum* with *laurus*, is not to be despised; compare Virgil's name *Quercens* from *quercus*, and *Pomentium* (Strabo 5. 3) or *Pometia* (Plin. 3. 68) from *pomum*. There was a place called *Lauretum* on the Aventine, *ubi silva laurus fuit* (Pliny 15. 138); Macrob. 3. 12. 3, *constat quidem nunc lauro sacrificantes apud aram maximam coronari; sed multo post Romam conditam haec consuetudo sumpsit exordium, postquam in Aventino Lauretum coepit virere, quam rem docet Varro Humanarum libro secundo.* The *laurus* was to the Romans the symbol of peace and prosperity, and was evidently from very early times associated with Italian worship. We may remember Virgil's lines, Aen. 7. 59 foll., *Laurus erat tecti medio in penetralibus altis, Sacra comam multosque metu servata per annos, Quam pater inventam, primas cum conderet arces, Ipse ferebatur Phoebo sacrasse Latinus, Laurentesque ab ea nomen posuisse colonis.*

Lavinium then, the home of the Latin Penates, was the religious capital of the Latin league. The symbol of the league was a sow with thirty young ones, signifying the thirty cities of the confederacy. The story of the sow reminds us of the horse's head of Carthage, the wolf of Rome, the ox of Bovillae (Nonius s. v. *hilla*, and Schol. Persius 6. 55) and Buthrotum (Servius on Aen. 3. 293). On Aen. 4. 196 Servius relates a similar fable about Iarbas following a ram to the settlement of Jupiter Hammon. Varro (R. R. 2. 4. 18) tells us not only that there were in his days at Lavinium bronze figures of the sow and her young ones, but that the priests still showed the actual body of the mother pickled in brine. Now the Latin name for a sow with young was *Troia;*[6] and there was, if we may trust Livy 1. 1. 4,

[6] See Littré's French Dictionary, s. v. *Truie*. The evidence for the Latin word is *troia*, or *troga*, derived from glossaries: but Littré does not, like Diez, deny its *existence*.

a place in the territory of Laurentum called *Troia* where Aeneas was supposed to have landed: so Festus testifies, and other authorities. Servius on Aen. 9. 9, *hanc Castrum Laurens ait dici Varro, oppidum tacet. Sed ubi primum Aeneas egressus sit, eum locum Troiam nuncupari traditur.* A *praedium Troianum* in the neighbourhood of Antium is mentioned by Cicero (Att. 9. 13. 6); Festus mentions a *campus Tromentus*, whence the *tribus Tromentina*. *Trosulus* was the old name of a knight, and *Troia* (not *ludus Troiae*) that of the well-known cavalry tournament. Whatever the ultimate origin and the meaning of the base from which all these words are derived, and on this point I offer no opinion, there seems little doubt that *Troia* and its cognates are genuine Italian words. And if so, especially as there were remains of a large ancient encampment near Lauro-Lavinium (Serv. on Aen. 7. 32), what fact could be more welcome to a Greek dealer in cheap mythology than the appearance of the name *Troia* on Italian ground; what fact easier to combine with the rest of the Italian legend? Livy 1. 1. 23 says that *Troia* was also the name of the place where Antenor landed among the Veneti. Was the name there, as in Latium, the starting-point and support of the legend?

Another Italian feature, upon which all the recent scholars, Klausen, Schwegler, and Preller, have already commented, is the story of the eating of the tables; this, in the *scholia* attributed to Servius, is rightly referred to the *mensae paniceae* of Roman worship. The Latin Penates was easily identified with the θεοὶ μεγάλοι of Samothrace, associated, as we have seen, with the worship of Ἀφροδίτη Αἰνειάς. There was a temple of Venus at Antium (Plin. 3. 57) and at Lavinium (Strabo 5. 3). The latter was probably the *Venus Frutis* to whom according to Cassius Hemina (ap. Solin. 2. 14) Aeneas dedicated the image which he had brought from Sicily. I see no reason for identifying the word *Frutis* with the Greek Ἀφροδίτη; why should it not be a genuine Italian name? Finally, Aeneas himself was made one with the *Iuppiter Indiges* of the country.

It is worth observing that in its main outline the story of the fortunes of Aeneas after landing in Italy somewhat resembles that of the founding of Troy by Teucer as given by Servius on Aen. 3. 108. Servius mentions two versions of the legend; one that Scamander, driven by a famine from Crete, migrated to Phrygia, and after conquering the neighbouring Bebrycians in battle disappeared in the river Xanthus: *victor in Xantho flumine lapsus non comparuit.* So the legend of Aeneas as presented by Cassius Hemina and Tibullus 2. 5. 45, *Illic sanctus eris, cum te veneranda Numici Unda deum caelo miserit Indigetem:* compare Juvenal 11. 60, *alter aquis, alter flammis ad sidera missus,* and Servius on Aen. 4. 619. Scamander's kingdom, it

is added, descended to his son Teucer, as that of Aeneas to Iulus. Another version of the story, which reminds us of the tale of Aeneas and Lavinia, made Teucer marry the daughter of Dardanus, and give his name to the race.

Thus in the last century of the republic the story of Aeneas, born of language and fostered by national interest, had become a fixed article of the Roman creed. Greek historians had asserted it, poets like Naevius and Ennius had adorned it, antiquarians had established it on the firm basis of research. Before examining Virgil's treatment of the story it will be best to put together such notices as remain of the manner in which it was handled by the Roman authors from Fabius Pictor to Varro. For it is the Roman authors, in all probability, to whom the poet is most indebted.

In the version adopted by Fabius Pictor, Aeneas had the whole of his future sufferings and achievements revealed to him in a dream. The story of the swine and her young ones appears in its fully developed form; but the thirty young ones are interpreted as meaning thirty years during which Aeneas is to wait before putting his hand to building his new city. Fabius also had the story of the suicide of Amata, though in a different form from that in which it is given in the twelfth Aeneid.

Postumius Albinus (about 150 B.C.) attributed the foundation of Baiae to Boia the nurse of Boius, one of the comrades of Aeneas. Cato was an authority for the Trojan origin of the Veneti, and pursued the story of Aeneas' landing in Latium, and his subsequent fortunes there, in some detail. He attributed to Aeneas the foundation of the Italian village *Troia;* the name *Latini* he represented as given to the Aborigines after the junction of the Latins with the Volscian Aborigines on the arrival of the Phrygian Aeneas. Cassius Hemina, towards the end of the second century B.C., stated that Aeneas landed in Italy in the second summer after the taking of Troy, and set up his camp with no more than six hundred companions. He brought with him from Sicily an image of Venus, which he dedicated to Venus Frutis. From Diomed he took the Palladium; reigned for three years in alliance with Latinus, from whom he had received a grant of five hundred *iugera;* for two more years, after the death of Latinus, he reigned alone, and disappeared finally on the banks of the Numicius, to be worshipped as *Pater Indiges.* The Penates were identified by Cassius with the θεοὶ μεγάλοι of Samothrace.

Caelius Antipater, a historian of the same period, attributed the foundation of Capua to Capys, a cousin of Aeneas. In the last century of the republic Sisenna took up the Trojan legend, differing

from Livius Andronicus in not exhibiting Aeneas as a traitor to his country. The story of Aeneas was probably treated in great detail and perfect faith by Varro, from whom Servius has several quotations of more or less importance which I have endeavoured to collect. Varro represented the Penates, whom he identified with the *Di Magni*, as wooden or marble figures brought by Aeneas to Italy (Serv. on Aen. 3. 12). Originally they were carried by Dardanus from Samothrace to Phrygia, and afterwards from Phrygia by Aeneas to Italy. The story of the Palladium (Serv. Aen. 2. 166) was treated by Varro in much detail. According to the version which he adopted, the sacred image remained in the hands of Diomed, by whom it was offered to Aeneas while the latter was passing through Calabria. Diomed also gave to Aeneas the bones of his father Anchises (Serv. Aen. 4. 427). Aeneas in his wanderings was guided by a star, Lucifer or the *Stella Veneris*, which moved in front of him until he arrived at the territory of Laurentum (Serv. Aen. 1. 382). In Dodona he received the oracle prophesying the famine and the eating of the tables. In Leucas he founded the temple to Venus attributed by Menander to Phaon the Lesbian. Varro when in Epirus took note of the names of the places where Aeneas had set his foot; his list of names was the same as Virgil's (Serv. Aen. 3. 349). He gave further details about the progeny of the sow, whose body, as we have seen, was shown him preserved in brine at Lavinium (Serv. Aen. 3. 392). Anna, the sister of Dido, perished in the flames of her own funeral pyre for love of Aeneas (Serv. Aen. 4. 682, 5. 4). The name of *Castrum Laurens* (Serv. Aen. 9. 8) kept up the memory of Aeneas' camp near Laurentum.

Thus it is clear that Varro must have brought Aeneas to Carthage. What was his authority for this addition to the current story, an addition of which there is no mention in Livy or Dionysius, and which conflicted in the most glaring manner with the commonly received chronology,[6] is not clear. It is generally assumed that Naevius is responsible for the notion of a meeting between Aeneas and Dido; but the assumption is based upon a line and a half of Naevius, *blande atque docte percontat, quo pacto Troiam urbem reliquerit*, in which the subject of *percontat* is taken to be Dido. It is unfortunate that we cannot trace more closely the *genesis* of the story. Did it rest on a confusion between the Carthaginian Anna and Anna Perenna, the Italian goddess of the year? Some such inference is suggested by the identification of the two in Ovid's Fasti.

[6] Servius on Aen. 4. 459, nam quod de Didone et Aenea dicitur falsum est. Constat enim Aeneam CCCXL. annos ante aedificationem Romae venisse in Italiam, cum Karthago non nisi XL. annis ante aedificationem Romae constructa sit. According to Timaeus, Rome and Carthage were founded on the same day.

Let us now briefly examine the account adopted or invented by Virgil, and compare it with the tradition followed by Livy and Dionysius.

The stages of Aeneas' wanderings as given by Dionysius are as follows:—From Troy he goes to Pallene, where he leaves some of his sick and weakly followers; thence to Delos, thence to Cythera, thence to Zacynthus, where, owing to old ties of blood, he is kindly received. Here Aeneas institutes a gymnastic contest for the youth, which is still kept up. Thence he passes on to Leucas, Actium, Ambracia; from Ambracia Anchises goes to Buthrotum and Aeneas to Dodona, where he meets Helenus and the Trojans with him; next to Italy, where a contingent was left to form a settlement on the Iapygian promontory. Meanwhile Aeneas sails to Sicily, where he founds Elymus and Segesta, and leaves part of his own following, and thence to Italy, where he lands successively at Palinurus, at Leucasia, at Misenum, at Caieta, and at Laurentum.

Livy's account is, compared with this, a mere abridgment. He makes only two stages between Troy and Italy, namely Macedonia and Sicily. Virgil must apparently have drawn upon the same sources as Dionysius, though he varies the details, and (in the case of Carthage) makes an addition of which the historians know nothing. Thrace, Delos, Leucas, Buthrotum, Sicily, appear both in the narrative of Dionysius and in the third Aeneid; Virgil adds Crete and the Strophades. The story of the burning of the ships by the Trojan women, which we have seen to be as old as Aristotle, is localized by Virgil in Sicily. Dionysius mentions games instituted by Aeneas at Zacynthus; of these Virgil knows nothing, but devotes a whole book to games celebrated in Sicily in honour of Anchises, who according to his account had died at Drepanum.

Virgil rightly seized upon the fact that Sicily was the centre of the story of Aeneas. Legends of a Trojan settlement there had been alive since the fifth century B.C., and, what was more important for Virgil's poetical purpose, Sicily was the meeting-point of Rome and Carthage. The great idea which inspires the first part of the Aeneid, the idea with which the poem opens, is that of bringing Rome and Carthage into a mythical connexion. The authority whom Virgil immediately followed in the matter I suspect to have been Varro, who, as we have seen, represented Anna the sister of Dido as perishing in the flames for love of Aeneas. That Virgil drew largely upon the stores of antiquarian information collected by Varro may be taken as morally certain; his view of the Penates is essentially that of Varro; and other features of the legend, as Aeneas' presence in Leucas and his following the prodigy of the white sow, were, as we have seen, emphasized by Varro in great detail.

So familiar are we with the story of the Aeneid that we are apt to forget what violence it does to the tradition generally current in Virgil's time. That tradition is represented by the third Aeneid; there Aeneas is brought as far as Sicily, after a course of wandering corresponding fairly with that described by Livy and Dionysius. But in order to bring in the new element of the story, Aeneas must be carried to Carthage from Sicily before he can be allowed to go on to Latium. The fifth book, as it now stands, implies a second visit to Sicily after the tragedy of Carthage. It is difficult to suppose that so awkward a combination as this can have entered into the original plan of the Aeneid. As things now stand it might occur to the reader that the fifth Aeneid would naturally have followed the third, as the sixth might naturally have followed the fourth. Virgil had not, probably, at the time of his death, harmonized the Sicilian and Carthaginian episodes in a manner satisfactory to himself.

The way in which Virgil, for the purposes of his epic, has altered the story of Dido, is as striking and characteristic as anything in the whole range of his poetry.[7] In the universally accepted tradition Dido's tragic end was due to her resolution not to become the wife of Iarbas; and what in Virgil is represented as coming upon her as a curse for the breach of her vow is, in the genuine story, the honourable result of her constancy. No doubt Virgil felt that Varro's version of the story, according to which not Dido, but her sister, was sacrificed for love of Aeneas, would have been tame and pointless in his epic poem; he therefore ventured on a bolder flight, and carried the day. No part of the Aeneid, if we may trust Ovid, was more eagerly read than the fourth book; and all readers were forced to acknowledge the skill with which he made their tears flow in a fictitious cause.

In comparing Virgil's account of the early fortunes of Dido with that of Pompeius Trogus (Justin 18. 4—6) the reader is struck with some minute coincidences of language which may show that both writers drew upon the same source, but that Virgil for the sake of brevity mutilated the narrative. Take the two accounts of Dido's flight from Tyre. Sychaeus, it will be remembered, is in Trogus' narrative called Acerbas.

Justin 18. 4. 8, *qua (fama) incensus Pygmalion oblitus iuris humani avunculum suum eundemque generum* sine respectu pietatis *occidit.* Dido then is Pygmalion's daughter, and great-niece of her husband. In Virgil Pygmalion is only the *germanus* of Dido, Aen. 1. 346, *sed regna Tyri germanus habebat Pygmalion, scelere ante alios immanior omnes. . . . Ille Sychaeum* Impius *ante aras atque auri caecus amore Clam ferro incautum superat, securus amorum Germanae.* Justin l. c.

[7] See Ausonius, Epigr. 118.

Elissa fugam molitur adsumptis quibusdam principibus in societatem, quibus par odium in regem esse eandemque fugae cupiditatem arbitrabatur. . . . *Sed Elissa ministros migrationis a rege missos navibus cum omnibus opibus suis prima vespera imponit, provectaque in altum compellit eos onera harenae pro pecunia involucris involuta in mare deicere. Tunc deflens ipsa lugubrique voce Acerbam ciet . . . tunc ipsos ministros adgreditur; sibi quidem ait optatam olim mortem, sed illis acerbos cruciatus et dira supplicia imminere, qui Acerbae opes, quarum spe parricidium fecerat, avaritiae tyranni subtraxerint.* Hoc metu omnibus iniecto comites fugae accepit.

This is a clear and intelligible narrative. Dido associates with herself some of the nobles who, as she thinks, hate Pygmalion as much as she does, and she further devises a means to work upon their fears. But Virgil abbreviates the narrative till it becomes difficult to understand: *Conveniunt, quibus aut odium crudele tyranni, Aut metus acer erat.* Servius explains this passage, which evidently appeared to him difficult, by reference to a narrative perhaps not unlike that of Trogus; *metuebant laedendi, hoc est, qui timebant ne laederentur; unde est illud in quarto* (545) et quos Sidonia vix urbe revelli; *quia non voluntate sed aut odio aut timore convenerat.*

Then again Virgil's *naves quae forte paratae* is very vague. Servius explains it by reference to a narrative quite different to that of Trogus: *moris enim erat ut de pecunia publica Phoenices misso a rege auro de peregrinis frumenta conveherent. Dido autem a Pygmalione ad hunc usum paratas naves abstulerat; quam cum fugientem a fratre missi sequerentur, aurum illa praecipitavit in mare, qua re visa sequentes reversi sunt. Licet et alio ordine historia ista narratur.*

The fragment of Timaeus (23 Müller) in which these events are narrated gives an account which compared with that of Justin is an abridgment. τοῦ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς ὑπὸ Πυγμαλίωνος ἀναιρεθέντος, ἐνθεμένη τὰ χρήματα εἰς σκάφος, μετὰ τίνων πολιτῶν ἔφευγε, καὶ πολλὰ κακοπαθήσασα τῇ Λιβύῃ προσηνέχθη, καὶ διὰ τὴν πολλὴν αὐτῆς πλάνην Δειδὼ προσηγορεύθη ἐπιχωρίοις.

The fourth Aeneid, however much it may differ from the received tradition, contains a few touches for which Virgil may perhaps be indebted to it. Justin 18. 6 gives the following account of Elissa's death. *Diu Acerbae viri nomine cum multis lacrimis et lamentatione flebili vocato ad postremum ituram se quo suae urbis fata vocarent respondit. In hoc trium mensium sumpto spatio, pyra in ultima parte urbis instructa, velut placatura viri manes inferiasque ante nuptias missura, multas hostias caedit et sumpto gladio pyram conscendit, atque ita ad populum respiciens ituram se ad virum, sicut praeceperint, dixit, vitamque gladio finivit.* Timaeus l. c. τοῦ τῶν Λιβύων βασιλέως

θέλοντος αὐτὴν γῆμαι, αὐτὴ μὲν ἀντέλεγεν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν συναναγκαζομένη, σκηψαμένη τελετὴν πρὸς ἀνάλυσιν ὅρκων ἐπιτελέσειν, πυρὰν μεγίστην ἐγγὺς τοῦ οἴκου κατασκευάσασα καὶ ἅψασα, ἀπὸ τοῦ δώματος αὑτὴν εἰς τὴν πυράν ἔρριψεν. The vow of constancy, the pyre and the sword, the excuse for raising the pyre, are adopted by Virgil. It may again be observed that Timaeus' account is the shorter, and also that it differs from that of Trogus as to the manner of Elissa's death.

As for the fortunes of Aeneas after his landing in Latium, there were two main traditions, one of which represented Aeneas as obtaining the hand of Lavinia only after war with her father Latinus, the other that there was no fighting with Latinus at all, but that war arose after his death in consequence of the claims of Turnus to the hand of Lavinia.

The first, which is the basis of the version adopted and modified by Virgil, is alluded to by Servius on Aen. 4. 620, who quotes Cato as his authority. A quarrel breaks out between Aeneas and Latinus in consequence of plundering on the part of Aeneas' companions; in the battle which ensues Latinus is slain. So Servius on Aen. 9. 745, *si veritatem historiae requiris, primo proelio interemptus est Latinus.* See also Serv. Aen. 1. 259. Livy 1. 1 gives a slightly different account: *alii proelio victum Latinum pacem cum Aenea, deinde adfinitatem iunxisse tradunt.* The other tradition is given by Livy in the following terms: *alii (tradunt) cum instructae acies constitissent, priusquam signa canerent, processisse Latinum inter primores, ducemque advenarum evocasse ad conloquium: percontatum deinde qui mortales essent, unde aut quo casu profecti domo, quidve quaerentes in agrum Laurentem exissent, postquam audierit multitudinem Troianos esse, ducem Aeneam, filium Anchisae et Veneris, cremata patria et domo profugos sedem condendaeque urbi locum quaerere, nobilitatem admiratum gentis virique, et animum vel bello vel paci paratum, dextera data fidem futurae amicitiae sanxisse.* There is a general resemblance between this description and Virgil's words in the seventh Aeneid (229): *Dis sedem exiguam patriis litusque rogamus Innocuum, et cunctis undamque auramque patentem. . . . Fata per Aeneae iuro dextramque potentem, Sive fide, seu quis bello est expertus et armis.* It may be that Virgil, though varying the tradition for his own purposes, is working upon the same materials as Livy.

The account given by Dionysius represents Latinus as at war with the Rutuli when Aeneas landed. Latinus is forbidden by oracles to fight with the stranger, and advised rather to ally himself with the Ἕλληνες. Aeneas advances his claims, and receives from Latinus an assurance which recalls Dido's *Non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.* The Trojan hero marries Lavinia; the Aborigines and Rutuli receive the name of Latini, but afterwards the Rutuli, under the

leadership of Turnus, who is branded as an αὐτόμολος, desert the alliance. Turnus fights for his lost love, and both he and Latinus die in the battle.

The account given by Dionysius tallies on the whole with that attributed by Servius, Aen. 6. 760, to Cato. The Etruscan element in the story, represented by Mezentius, is treated by Virgil quite in a way of his own. For, however they may differ in details, the tradition as given both by Cato and by the authorities whom Dionysius follows represents Mezentius as falling in a war which arose some time after the death of Turnus. Mezentius is indeed an ally of Turnus, but is not killed until after the final settlement of Aeneas in his kingdom; according to Cato, it was by Ascanius, according to Dionysius' authorities, by Aeneas himself, three years after the battle in which Turnus and Latinus were slain. As in the case of Dido, Virgil does violence to the accepted order of events. Turnus must be slain before Aeneas can finally obtain the hand of Lavinia; thus the last half of the Aeneid is provided with its element of romance; and Mezentius falls before Turnus in a war in which both are simultaneously engaged.

It is evident that Virgil had a tradition or traditions to work upon, many of the details of which are now lost, but which are most fully preserved by Dionysius. Fragments of them are preserved by Servius on Aen. 7. 51, *Amata . . . duos filios voluntate patris Aeneae spondentes sororem factione interemit . . . Hos alii caecatos a matre tradunt, postquam amisso Turno Lavinia Aeneae iuncta est.* Does this imply that there was, independently of the Aeneid, a story according to which Turnus died before the marriage of Aeneas with Lavinia? In any case it implies that Amata survived Turnus, and this is different from the account in the Aeneid. Another instance is mentioned by Asper, quoted in the Verona scholia on Aen. 7. 484, *Tyrrhum aiunt fuisse pastorem aput quem Lavinia delituit tum cum Ascanium timens fugit in silvas. Hic Latini vilicus dicitur fuisse.* Comp. Serv. ad l.

The considerations on which I have been dwelling will be found, I think, to throw some light on the difficulties with which Virgil had to contend. The traditions on which alone he could work had neither form nor life. Aeneas had never, so far as we can see, not even in the Homeric poems, been a hero in the sense in which the word can be used of Achilles, Ulysses, Ajax, or Diomed. Even in Homer the protection of Aphrodite and Apollo hangs heavily around him. In the place where he is worshipped he is a mere name; a shadowy demi-god associated with the worship of Aphrodite. As a founder of cities he has no characteristic to distinguish him from the many fabulous οἰκισταί of Greek and Italian towns. The Homeric

heroes do not found cities, but destroy them; the civilizing and beneficent hero, on whose features Dionysius dwells with pleasure, is the creature, if not of philosophy, at least of a late and reflective stage of mythology. To make out of so shadowy a being as the Aeneas of legend a hero of war and peace, fit to be the founder of an imperial city, was no easy task, especially for a poet who considered it his first duty to construct his epic in words, manner, and arrangement, on the model of the Iliad and Odyssey.—[H. N.]

THE AENEID AND THE EPIC CYCLE.

[*From "Suggestions Introductory to a Study of the Aeneid," Clarendon Press, Oxford,* 1875.]

As far as we can make out from the very scanty materials now existing, Virgil seems to have followed Arctinus more than any other of the Cyclic poets. The Aethiopis of that poet contained the story of the Amazon Penthesileia's arrival, which doubtless suggested to Virgil the introduction of Camilla. See the analysis of Proclus (ap. Welcker, Epischer Cyclus 2 p. 521), Ἀμαζὼν Πενθεσίλεια παραγίνεται Τρωσὶ συμμαχήσουσα, Ἄρεως μὲν θυγατὴρ Θρᾷσσα δὲ τὸ γένος. . . . Μέμνων δὲ ὁ Ἠοῦς υἱὸς ἔχων ἡφαιστότευκτον πανοπλίαν παραγίνεται τοῖς Τρωσὶ βοηθήσων. The last lines (Aen. 1. 489 foll.) of the description of the picture seen by Aeneas in the temple at Carthage, seem to be a condensed representation of the subjects treated in the Aethiopis:

> Eoasque acies et nigri Memnonis *arma.*
> Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
> Penthesilea furens, mediisque in milibus ardet, &c.

Dido's question (Aen. 1. 751), "quibus Aurorae venisset filius armis," doubtless refers to the ἡφαιστότευκτος πανοπλία of Memnon; "Vulcaniis armis usus fuisse narratur," says Servius on the passage.

The Ἰλίου πέρσις of Arctinus, so far as we can judge from the bare analysis of Proclus, must have been followed pretty closely in its main outline by Virgil in the second Aeneid. In his account of the debate about the wooden horse, Virgil keeps nearer to Arctinus than to the Odyssey. Τοῖς μὲν δοκεῖ κατακρημνίσαι αὐτόν, τοῖς δὲ καταφλέγειν, τοῖς δὲ ἱερὸν αὐτὸν ἀνατεθῆναι. The order in which the proposals are mentioned, is the same as that given in the second Aeneid (v. 36), and the idea, mentioned both by Arctinus and Virgil, of burning the horse, is an addition to the account given in Homer. The story of Laocoon, as we have it in the second Aeneid, that of Sinon, and that of the murder of Priam by Pyrrhus, at the altar of Ζεὺς Ἕρκειος, were all contained in the Ἰλίου πέρσις of Arctinus; and so was that of the death of Deiphobus at the hand of Menelaus, which would well agree with the account supposed to be given by the shade of Deiphobus to

Aeneas in Aen. 6. 525. If Welcker is right (Ep. Cycl. 2 p. 235) in saying that the works of Arctinus appear to have been the most considerable among the poems of the Trojan cycle, after the Iliad and Odyssey, Virgil may be supposed to have followed him from poetical preference.

From the story of the capture of Troy, and the Ἰλιὰς μικρά of Lesches, Virgil does not seem to have borrowed much. Indeed, in details, as far as our evidence goes, he seems to have followed an altogether different tradition from that which Lesches adopted. Lesches represented the murder of Priam as occurring not at the altar of Ζεὺς ἑρκεῖος, but at the door of his palace; he made Aeneas' wife not Creusa, but Eurydice, and he gave Aeneas himself as a captive to Neoptolemus (Welcker l. c. p. 538). Pausanias (10. 25 foll.) describes some pictures of the night-battle in Troy, painted at Delphi by Polygnotus, who, he thinks, followed the account given by Lesches. The details of these pictures cannot be brought into harmony with Virgil's account of the night-battle in the second Aeneid, nor do the names of the combatants, as a rule, occur in them. The love of Coroebus for Cassandra, is however mentioned (10. 27. 1).

Whether, when writing the sixth Aeneid, Virgil was at all influenced by the account of Hades and its terrors, which, according to Pausanias (10. 28. 4), was contained in the Μινυάς and the Νόστοι, cannot be ascertained.—[H. N.]

EVIDENCE FROM ANCIENT WRITERS AS TO THE COMPOSITION OF THE AENEID.

Suetonius, "*Vita Vergilii.*"

21. Novissime Aeneidem incohavit, argumentum varium ac multiplex et quasi amborum Homeri carminum instar, praeterea nominibus ac rebus Graecis Latinisque commune, et in quo, quod maxime studebat, Romanae simul urbis et Augusti origo contineretur.

23. Aeneida prosa prius oratione formatam digestamque in XII. libros particulatim componere instituit, prout liberet quidque et nihil in ordinem arripiens. 24. Ac ne quid impetum moraretur, quaedam imperfecta transmisit, alia levissimis versibus veluti fulsit, quos per iocum pro tibicinibus interponi aiebat ad sustinendum opus, donec solidae columnae advenirent. 25. Bucolica triennio, Georgica VII., Aeneida XI. perfecit annis.

30. Aeneidos vixdum coeptae tanta extitit fama ut Sextus Propertius non dubitaverit sic praedicare

> Cedite, Romani scriptores, cedite, Grai;
> Nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade.

31. Augustus vero, nam forte expeditione Cantabrica aberat, supplicibus atque etiam minacibus per iocum litteris efflagitabat ut sibi "de Aeneide," ut ipsius verba sunt, "vel prima carminis ὑπογραφή vel quodlibet colon mitteretur." Cui tamen multo post perfectaque demum materia tres omnino libros recitavit, secundum, quartum, et sextum; 32. sed hunc notabili Octaviae adfectione, quae cum recitationi interesset, ad illos de filio suo versus "Tu Marcellus eris" defecisse fertur atque aegre focilata est. 34. Erotem librarium eius exactae iam senectutis tradunt referre solitum quondam eum in recitando duos dimidiatos versus complesse ex tempore. Nam cum hactenus haberet "Misenum Aeoliden," adiecisse "quo non praestantior alter," item huic "Aere ciere viros," simili calore iactatum subiunxisse "Martemque accendere cantu," statimque sibi imperasse ut utrumque volumini adscriberet. 35. Anno aetatis quinquagesimo secundo impositurus Aeneidi summam manum statuit in Graeciam et in Asiam secedere,

trienniοque continuo nihil amplius quam emendare, ut reliqua vita tantum philosophiae vacaret. Sed cum ingressus iter Athenis occurrisset Augusto ab Oriente Romam revertenti, destinaretque non absistere atque etiam una redire, dum Megara vicinum oppidum ferventissimo sole cognoscit, languorem nactus est, eumque non intermissa navigatione auxit ita ut gravior aliquando Brundisium appelleret, ubi diebus paucis obiit XI. Kal. Oct. C. Sentio Q. Lucretio consulibus.

39. Egerat cum Vario priusquam Italia decederet ut si quid sibi accidisset Aeneida combureret; at is facturum se pernegarat. Igitur in extrema valetudine adsidue scrinia desideravit crematurus ipse; verum nemine offerente nihil quidem nominatim de ea cavit, 40. ceterum eidem Vario et Tuccae scripta sua sub ea condicione legavit ne quid ederent quod non a se editum esset. 41. Edidit autem auctore Augusto Varius, sed summatim emendata, ut qui versus etiam imperfectos sicuti erant reliquerit; quos multi mox supplere conati non perinde valuerunt ob difficultatem, quod omnia apud eum hemistichia absoluto perfectoque sunt sensu praeter illud "quem tibi iam Troia."

42. Nisus grammaticus audisse se ex senioribus aiebat Varium duorum librorum ordinem commutasse, et qui tunc secundus erat in tertium locum transtulisse, etiam primi libri correxisse principium his versibus demptis

> Ille ego qui quondam gracili modulatus avena
> Carmen, et egressus silvis vicina coegi
> Ut quamvis avido parerent arva colono,
> Gratum opus agricolis; at nunc horrentia Martis
> Arma virumque cano.

Macrobius, Saturnalia, 1. 24. 10-11.

Audi, quid de operis sui multiplici doctrina ipse pronuntiet. Ipsius enim Maronis epistula, qua compellat Augustum, ita incipit; "Ego vero frequentes a te litteras accipio," et infra "De Aenea quidem meo, si mehercle iam dignum auribus haberem tuis, libenter mitterem; sed tanta incohata res est, ut paene vitio mentis tantum opus ingressus mihi videar, cum praesertim, ut scis, alia quoque studia ad id opus multoque potiora impertiar."

From the Memoir prefixed to the Commentary of Servius on the Aeneid.

Et in secundo hos versus constat esse detractos

> aut ignibus aegra dedere.
> Iamque adeo super unus eram, cum limina Vestae
> Servantem et tacitam secreta in sede latentem

Tyndarida aspicio; dant clara incendia lucem
Erranti passimque oculos per cuncta ferenti.
Illa sibi infestos eversa ob Pergama Teucros
Et Danaum poenam et deserti coniugis iras
Praemetuens, Troiae et patriae communis Erinys,
Abdiderat sese atque aris invisa sedebat.
Exarsere ignes animo; subit ira cadentem
Ulcisci patriam et sceleratas sumere poenas.
Scilicet haec Spartam incolumis patriasque Mycenas
Aspiciet, partoque ibit regina triumpho,
Coniugiumque domumque, patres natosque videbit,
Iliadum turba et Phrygiis comitata ministris?
Occiderit ferro Priamus? Troia arserit igni?
Dardanium totiens sudarit sanguine litus?
Non ita. Namque etsi nullum memorabile nomen
Feminea in poena est, nec habet victoria laudem,
Extinxisse nefas tamen et sumpsisse merentis
Laudabor poenas, animumque explesse iuvabit
Ultricis famam et cineres satiasse meorum.
Talia iactabam et furiata mente ferebar.

Servius on Aeneid 3. 204.

Hic Pelopis gentes Maleaeque sonantia saxa
Circumstant, pariterque undae terraeque minantur.
Pulsamur, saevis et circumsistimur undis.

Hi versus circumducti dicuntur et extra paginam in mundo

Servius on Aeneid 6. 289.

Sane quidam dicunt versus alios hos a poeta hoc loco relictos, qui ab eius emendatoribus sublati sunt:

Gorgonis in medio portentum inmane Medusae;
Viperae circum ora comae, cui sibila torquent,
Infamesque rigent oculi, mentoque sub imo
Serpentum extremis nodantur vincula caudis.

For a discussion of the questions raised by the above passages I may refer the reader to my edition of the memoirs quoted (*Ancient Lives of Vergil*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1879).—[H. N.]

P. VERGILI MARONIS

A E N E I D O S

LIBER PRIMUS.

The subject of the Aeneid, as propounded in the opening lines, is the settlement of Aeneas in Italy, after years of wandering, and a short but sharp final struggle. It is however only of the events preceding the settlement that the poet really treats,—of the wanderings and the war. In that, as in other things, he follows Homer, who does not show us Ulysses "an idle king, matched with an aged wife, meting laws to a savage race," but leaves him fresh from the slaughter of the suitors, from the first embrace of his wife and father, and from the conquest of his disaffected subjects. Accordingly, the poem divides itself into two parts, the wanderings being embraced by the first, the Italian war by the second. But the two parts naturally involve different modes of treatment, comprehending as they do periods of time widely differing in length, the one seven years, the other apparently a few days. Here again the example of Homer is followed. The long period of wanderings is taken at a point not far from its conclusion; enough is told in detail to serve as a specimen of the whole, and the rest is related more summarily by the help of an obvious expedient, the hero being made to narrate his past adventures to the person whose relation to him is all the time forming one adventure more. This peculiarity of the Homeric story is noticed by Horace in a well-known passage of his Art of Poetry (vv. 146 foll.), and recommended to the adoption of Epic writers generally; but he does not clearly indicate the reason of it, which doubtless is the wish to avoid that fatal dryness which seems to be inseparable from all narratives where the events of many years are told continuously in a short compass. [See vol. I. p. xxxv. foll. (fourth edition).—H. N.]

The First Book of the Aeneid may be said to perform well the objects which it was no doubt intended to accomplish,—those of interesting us in the hero and introducing the story. After a brief statement of the subject, we have a view of the supernatural machinery by which it is to be worked out; and this, though imitated from Homer, where the solitary rancour of Poseidon against Ulysses answers to the solitary rancour of Juno against Aeneas, is skilfully contrived so as to throw a light on the subsequent history of the Roman descendants of Aeneas, by the mention, even at that early time, of their great enemy, Carthage. It is probable, as I have said in the general Introduction to the Aeneid, that the merit of this thought may be due to Naevius, who seems to have been the first to commit the felicitous anachronism of bringing Aeneas and Dido together; but it must be allowed to be in strict accordance with the spirit of Virgil's poem, which is throughout that of historical anticipation. Like Ulysses, Aeneas is shipwrecked in the voyage which was to have been his last, the main difference being that the Grecian hero is solitary, having long since lost all his companions, while the Trojan is still accom-

panied by those who followed his fortunes from Troy. The machinery by which the storm is allayed is perhaps managed more adroitly by Virgil than by Homer, as there seems to be more propriety in representing the inferior god of the winds as counteracted by the superior god of the sea, than in making a sea nymph rescue one whom the god of the sea is seeking to destroy. But if Virgil has obtained an advantage over Homer, it is with the help of Homer's weapons, as the interview between Juno and Aeolus obviously owes its existence to the interview between Here and the God of Sleep. The dialogue of Venus and Jupiter appears to be another appropriation from Naevius; but, as in the former case, Virgil seems to have established his right to what he has borrowed by the perfect fitness with which a prophecy of the destiny of Rome is introduced at the commencement of a poem intended to be a monument of Roman greatness. The remaining incidents of the First Book need not detain us much longer. As a general rule, they are borrowed from Homer; but we may admire the skill with which Virgil has introduced varieties of detail, as where Ulysses, listening to songs about Troy, reappears in Aeneas looking at sculptures or paintings of Trojan subjects, and the art with which a new impression is produced by a combination of old materials, in making the friendly power that receives Aeneas unite the blandishments of Calypso with the hospitality of Alcinous, and so engrafting a tale of passion on a narrative of ordinary adventure. The suggestion of the employment of Cupid by Venus was evidently taken from the loan of Aphrodite's cestus in Homer and the assistance rendered by the God of Love in Apollonius; but the treatment of the thought is original and happy; and the few lines which describe the removal of Ascanius to Idalia might themselves suggest a subject for poetry to some Keats or Shelley, in whose mind the seed casually dropped by Virgil should expand and germinate.

ARMA virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris

1—7.] 'I sing the hero who founded the Trojan kingdom in Italy, his voyages and his wars.'

1.] This line is preceded in some MSS. by the following verses,

"Ille ego, qui quondam gracili modulatus avena
Carmen et egressus silvis vicina coegi
Ut quamvis avido parerent arva colono,
Gratum opus agricolis: at nunc horrentia Martis."

They are not found in Med., Rom., Gud., or the Verona fragments (Pal. and the fragments of Vat. and St. Gall seem to fail here), and the only MS. in Ribbeck's list which contains them (the Berne MS. No. 172) has them written in the margin by a later hand. They appear to have existed in the time of Suetonius, who says (Vita Vergilii 42) that Nisus the grammarian had heard a story of their having been expunged by Tucca and Varius; on which Heyne remarks, "Si res ita se habet, acutior sane Varius Vergilio fuit." [Suetonius, it should be remembered, is a poor authority on matters of criticism; he has no difficulty, for instance, in accepting the *Culex* as genuine. Ti. Donatus knows nothing of these four lines.—H. N.] Those who speak of them as an *introduction* to the poem, forget that if genuine they are an integral part of the first sentence; and that it is, to say the least, remarkable that the exordium should be so constructed as to be at once interwoven with the context, and yet capable of removal without detriment to the construction, just at the point which forms a much better commencement. The words 'arma virumque' are quoted by Martial, 8. 56., 19. 14., 185. 2, and Auson. Epig. 137. 1, evidently as a real commencement of the Aeneid; while Ovid, Trist. 2. 533, and Persius, 1. 96, quote 'arma virumque,' or 'arma virum,' as important and independent words, which they cease to be the moment 'arma' is viewed in connexion with the words supposed to precede it. [The words 'arma virumque'—'litora,' are quoted in an inscription (Corpus Inscr. Lat., vol. 2, No. 4967, 31) assigned by Hübner to the first century A.D. 'Arma virumque cano' has also been found scribbled on the walls of Pompeii. —H. N.] Virg. himself, 9. 777, has (of the poet Clytius) "Semper equos atque arma virum pugnasque canebat." Comp. also Ov. 1 Amor. 15. 25, Prop. 3. 26. 63,

Litora, multum ille et terris iactatus et alto
Vi superum, saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram,
Multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem,
Inferretque deos Latio, genus unde Latinum
Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae.
Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso,

Juv. 12. 71 has "novercali sedes praelata Lavino," though there as in Prop. the quadrisyllabic form might be introduced and explained by synizesis. On the whole, I have preferred 'Laviuaque,' believing the form to be possible in itself (comp. "Campanus," "Lucanus," "Appulus," &c.), and more probable in this instance; the modern editors however are generally for 'Laviniaque.' Lachmann on Lucr. 2. 719 speaks doubtfully. The epithet which belonged to the place after the foundation of the city by Aeneas is given to it here, as in 4. 236, by a natural anticipation at the time of his landing.

3.] The imitation of the exordium of the Odyssey continues, 'multum ille iactatus . . . multa quoque passus,' being modelled on πολλὰ πλάγχθη . . . πολλὰ δὲ ὅγε . . . πάθεν: 'ille,' as so often in Virg., standing for the Homeric ὅγε. 'Multum,' &c., used to be pointed as a separate sentence; it is however evidently constructed with 'venit,' so that 'ille' is ...ually pleonastic. Comp. 5. 457., 6. ... 479. Here it appears rhetori- "Ille ... equal to 'quidem.' 'Iactatus' latus transferred from wanderings Carmen ... anderings by land. In such Ut quamvi... 332, 668, we see the point Gratum op... 5. 627, "cum freta, cum rentia ... emensae ferimur."

...perum' expresses the general They are ... 'fato profugus,' though Juno or the ... is only personal enemy. [Ti. Donatus, like Gossrau in our time, seems to have taken 'vi superum' as = βίᾳ θεῶν, in spite of heaven. "Vis enim non est," he says, "nisi cum fit aliquid contra legem, hoc est, contra fatum."—H. N.] But there is no authority for such an interpretation. ['Saevae:' "non saevam potentem dixit, ut alii volunt, sed revera saevam, quae persequeretur innocentem." Ti. Donatus.—H. N.] For 'memorem iram' comp. Livy 9. 29, "Traditur censorem etiam Appium memori Deum ira post aliquot annos luminibus captum." So Aesch. Ag. 155, μνάμων μῆνις. 'Ob iram,' below, v. 251, 'to sate the wrath.'

5.] 'Passus,' constructed like 'iactatus.' 'Quoque' and 'et' of course form a pleonasm, though the former appears to be connected with 'multa,' and the latter with 'bello.' 'Dum conderet' like "dum fugeret," G. 4. 457, where see note. Here we might render 'in the struggle to build his city.' So Hom. Od. 1. 4 foll., πολλὰ πάθεν . . . ἀρνύμενος κ.τ.λ. The clause belongs to 'multa bello passus,' rather than to 'iactatus.'

6.] "Victosque Penatis inferre," 8. 11. 'Unde' may be taken either as "qua ex re," or as "a quo," as in v. 568., 6. 766, &c. The latter seems more probable. 'Genus Latinum,' 'Albani patres,' 'altae moenia Romae,' denote the three ascending stages of the empire which sprang from Aeneas, Lavinium, Alba, and Rome. Comp. 12. 823 foll., which is a good commentary on the present passage. 'Albani patres' probably means not 'our Alban ancestors,' but the senate, or rather the noble houses of Alba, of which the Julii were one.

8—11.] 'Why was it, Muse, that Juno so persecuted so pious a hero?'

8.] 'Causae' is not unfrequently used where we should be content with the sing., e. g. v. 414., 2. 105., 3. 32., 6. 710, the last of which will illustrate the epexegetical clause 'quo—inpulerit.' 'Memora' is appropriate, as the Muses were connected with memory: comp. 7. 645, and see note on E. 7. 19.—There are various ways of taking 'quo numine laeso.' Some think there is a change of construction, and that "inpulsus fuerit," or something like it, should have followed; so that Virgil should have imitated Homer, Il. 1. 8, τίς τ' ἄρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι; But this, as Heyne remarks, though not unexampled, would be a singular piece of loose writing so early in the poem, and would moreover involve the inconsistency of first saying that it was Juno, 'saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram,' and then asking the Muse what god it was. Others make 'numine' nearly equivalent to 'voluntate,' citing 2. 123, "quae sint ea numina divom;" but even supposing that 'numen' in this sense might be taken dis-

Quidve dolens, regina deum tot volvere casus
Insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores
Inpulerit. Tantaene animis caelestibus irae?

Urbs antiqua fuit, Tyrii tenuere coloni,
Karthago, Italiam contra Tiberinaque longe
Ostia, dives opum studiisque asperrima belli;
Quam Iuno fertur terris magis omnibus unam

tributively, which the passage above quoted does not prove, 'laeso' would scarcely be appropriate to 'numine' in this sense, while the words frequently occur in conjunction in the sense of outraged majesty. Comp. 2. 183, Hor. Epod. 15. 3, and Macleane's note. Heyne accepts Serv.'s proposal of separating 'quo' from 'numine,' and taking it in the sense of "qua re," "qua causa," which would be extremely harsh. It remains then, with Wagn., to regard the expression as equivalent to "quam ob laesionem numinis sui;" referring it to the cases already noticed on E. 1. 53, where the pronoun or pronominal adjective stands for its corresponding adverb. Thus the negative answer to 'quo numine laeso' would be "nullum numen Iunonis laesit." Or we may say that 'numen laesum' alone would stand for "laesio numinis" (see Madv. § 426), and that in such a construction the question could hardly be asked otherwise than by making the interrogative pronoun agree with the noun. [Henry's interpretation now is, "what *arbitrium* of hers being offended, i.e. her *arbitrium* or free will and pleasure being offended in what respect."—H. N.] No charge of impiety strictly could be brought against Aeneas, but there might be 'dolores,' such as are mentioned vv. 23—28, which impelled Juno to persecute even one renowned for piety.

9.] 'Volvere:' see on G. 2. 295, "Multa virum volvens durando saecula vincit." The misfortunes are regarded as a destined circle which Aeneas goes through. [So 6. 748 "ubi mille rotam volvere per annos." Henry now supposes the metaphor to be from a rolling stone or wheel.—H. N.]

10.] 'Insignem pietate' (6. 403) characterizes the hero, as *πολύτροπον* does Ulysses in the commencement of the Odyssey. The contrast, however, between piety and sufferings is made in the case of Ulysses himself, Od. 1. 60 foll., 66 foll. 'Pietas' includes the performance of all duties to gods, parents, kinsmen, friends, and country. "Adire periculum" is not uncommon in Cicero; see Forc.

11.] It is difficult to say whether 'animis caelestibus' is a dat. with an ellipsis of the verb substantive or the ablative. [' Impulerit' Verona fragm., 'impulerat' Rom.—H. N.]

12—33.] 'Juno was patroness of Carthage, which, she had heard, was destined one day to be crushed by a nation of Trojan descent. Hence she persecuted the Trojans, who were already her enemies, and kept them away from Italy.'

12.] 'Urbs antiqua,' said with reference to Virg.'s own age. For the parenthetical construction 'Tyrii tenuere coloni,' comp. v. 530 below, "Est locus, Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt." 'Tyrii coloni,' 'settlers from Tyre,' as "Dardaniis colonis," 7. 422, are settlers from Troy.

13.] [' Carthago' Rom. Verona fragm., —H. N.] 'Longe,' as contrasted with the adjacent islands. The sense is clear ("Against the Tiber's mouth, but far away," Dryden), though it is not easy to determine the exact grammatical position of 'longe.' The choice seems to lie between connecting it with 'contra' and making it an adverbial adjunct of 'ostia,' i. q. 'longe distantia.' The latter is a Grecism (Wund. comp. *τοῦ Τελαμῶνος τηλόθεν οἴκου*, Soph. Aj. 204), but may perhaps be supported by the use of "super" 3. 489, note. It appears that some in the time of Serv. actually took 'longe' with 'dives.'

14.] 'Dives opum,' 2. 22. 'Opum' includes all sources of power. 'Asperrima' is the epithet of war (9. 667., 11. 635., 12. 124) applied to the warlike nation. 'Given to the stern pursuits of war.' "Ad bella studium," G. 3. 179.

15.] Germ. comp. Od. 8. 284, *ἥ οἱ γαιάων πολὺ φιλτάτη ἐστὶν ἁπασέων.* 'Unam magis omnibus coluisse' = "unam omnium maxime coluisse." The Astarte of the Phoenicians is identified, in the loose way common among the ancients, with

Posthabita coluisse Samo; hic illius arma,
Hic currus fuit; hoc regnum dea gentibus esse,
Si qua fata sinant, iam tum tenditque fovetque.
Progeniem sed enim Troiano a sanguine duci
Audierat, Tyrias olim quae verteret arces;
Hinc populum late regem belloque superbum
Venturum excidio Libyae: sic volvere Parcas.

Juno. On the temple of Hera at Samos, see Hdt. 3. 60.

16.] 'Coluisse,' as dweller in the temple. Comp. v. 447. "Pallas quas condidit arces Ipsa colat," E. 2. 61. For Juno's arms, comp. 2. 614, note. Her chariot is from Il. 5. 720 foll. The Phoenician Astarte was represented seated on a lion.

17.] 'Regnum gentibus,' 'the capital of the nations,' instead of Rome. The dative, as in 8. 65., 10. 203. For the pronoun taking the gender of the following substantive, see Madv. § 313.

18.] 'Si qua' is similarly used 6. 882. "Fata sinebant," 4. 652., 11. 701. Med. a m. p. has 'sinunt.' 'Iam tum,' in that early age, long before it became the actual rival of Rome. 'Tendit' determines the construction, the infinitive being the object of both verbs. ["Tendit et fovet, ut regnum esse possit" Serv.—H. N.] 'Tendere' is often followed by an infinitive, the subject being the same as the nominative to the verb, as "aqua tendit rumpere plumbum," Hor. 1 Ep. 10. 20, "si vivere cum Iove tendis," Pers. 5. 139. 'Foveo,' on the other hand, takes an accusative, as "fovere consilium." These two constructions are united, the sentence 'hoc—esse' standing in the relation of an ordinary infinitive to 'tendit,' and of an accusative to 'fovet.' Three MSS. give 'favet,' and 'vovet' has been conjectured. Some have thought 'hoc regnum—fovetque' spurious, on the strength of a notice of Serv., which really refers to v. 534 below.

19.] 'Sed enim,' 2. 164, &c., ἀλλὰ γάρ, 'however,' or 'nevertheless.' The present infinitive, 'duci,' denotes the event as existing in the designs of fate. 'Duci,' as in 10. 145. Gossrau, following a suggestion of Serv., thinks the 'progenies' is Scipio, which is very improbable, and besides makes 'hinc,' v. 21, inexplicable; and the same objection applies to Ladewig's more plausible explanation of 'progenies' as the great Trojan families among the Romans.

20.] 'Quae verteret,' 'to overturn.' See on 7. 99. 'Vertere,' as in 2. 652, &c. As might be expected, some MSS. have 'everteret.'

21.] 'Late regem,' comp. εὐρυκρείων, and "late tyrannus," Hor. 3 Od. 17. 9. 'Populus' is a personification, and therefore takes the epithet 'rex.' 'Hinc,' i.e. 'Troiano a sanguine,' rather than 'ex hac progenie;' but it is not very clear, as, though in the latter case the distinction between the 'progenies' and the 'populus' springing from it seems unmeaning, the former view creates a tautology. In v. 235, where the expression is somewhat parallel, "revocato a sanguine Teucri" seems epexegetical of "hinc." Serv. mentions that Probus marked this and the next line as superfluous; but it seems to have been merely a critical opinion. ["'Superbum,' nobilem: ut (3. 2), 'ceciditque superbum Ilium'" Serv.—H. N.]

22.] 'Venire excidio,' like "venire auxilio" and "subsidio," 'Libyae' being probably the dative, as 'Dardaniae' seems to be 2. 325. But there is room for doubt in both instances. It is hard to fix the precise meaning of 'volvere.' The passage 3. 375, "sic fata deum rex Sortitur volvitque vices," is equally obscure; and we are left to choose between the ideas of a cycle of events (which is recommended by "is vertitur ordo" in the passage in A. 3), an urn in which lots are shaken, the threads of a spindle and a book. ['Volvere' probably refers to the cycle or order of events ordained by fate; so Gellius 7. 2. 1, paraphrasing Chrysippus, says "fatum est . . . series rerum et catena, volvens semet ipsa sese et implicans per aeternos consequentiae ordines," and just below he speaks of "agmina fati et volumina." Was the word suggested to Virg. by the Homeric κυλίνδετο πήματος ἀρχή Od. 8. 81?—H.N.] I have returned to the common orthography 'excidium,' as being apparently the only one known to the MSS. of Virg.: but the word must be derived from "exscindo," as "discidium" from "discindo,"

Id metuens veterisque memor Saturnia belli,
Prima quod ad Troiam pro caris gesserat Argis—
Necdum etiam causae irarum saevique dolores
Exciderant animo: manet alta mente repostum
Iudicium Paridis spretaeque iniuria formae,
Et genus invisum, et rapti Ganymedis honores;
His accensa super iactatos aequore toto
Troas, reliquias Danaum atque inmitis Achilli,
Arcebat longe Latio, multosque per annos
Errabant, acti fatis, maria omnia circum.
Tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem.

unless, deriving it from "excīdo," we pronounce it as a trisyllable by synizesis. "Excidio" on the other hand seems clearly to come from "excido," like "occidio" from "occido," so that we must suppose a synizesis in Plaut. Curc. 4. 3. 2, "Sed eapse illa qua excidionem facere condidici oppidis."

23.] 'Veteris' and 'prima' are applied to the Trojan war, as contrasted with this new antipathy of Juno to the Trojans, caused by her anxiety for Carthage, as the former had been caused by her love for Argos. 'Prima,' adverbially, as in G. 1. 12. ["'Prima' princeps accipienda est," says Serv.—H. N.]

25.] The words from 'necdum' to 'honores' are parenthetical. These 'causae irarum' are distinguished from the 'vetus bellum,' in other words, from the 'irae' themselves, the bitterness displayed in or produced by the war. Virg. had already, v. 24, suggested one cause in her love for Argos; but though this supplies a parallel to her present feeling, it scarcely accounts for its existence; so he goes back to show that her old quarrel with Troy had other grounds. 'Dolores' is the pang, put for the affront. It is only in the sense of the affront that it can properly be joined with 'exciderant animo,' understood of being forgotten. So "dolens," v. 9. Or if 'dolores' is taken in its ordinary sense, 'exciderant animo' will shift its meaning, 'had passed from her soul.'

27.] 'The injury which consisted in her beauty being scorned,' explaining the 'iudicium Paridis.' The legend does not appear in Hom. earlier than Il. 24. 29 foll. [Some ancient commentators explained 'spretae iniuria formae' as referring to the act of Antigona, a daughter of Priam, who boasted in the temple of Juno that she was fairer than the goddess. —H. N.]

28.] 'Genus invisum,' 'the hated stock,' referring to the birth of Dardanus, who was the son of Jupiter by Electra, daughter of Atlas. The carrying off of Ganymede, who belonged to a later generation of the royal house of Troy, was a further provocation.

29.] The construction is resumed after the parenthesis with some variation, 'his accensa super' referring to the subject-matter of the parenthesis. ["'His super,' aut de his, aut super metum Carthaginis his quoque accensa." Sen.—H. N.] For 'super' = "insuper" comp. 2. 71, &c. Weidner connects it with 'aequore,' which is very unlikely. 'Iactatos arcebat' is equivalent to "iactabat et arcebat," or "iactando arcebat."

30.] 'Reliquias Danaum,' who had been left *by* the Greeks. Comp. Cic. de Sen. 6. "ut avi reliquias (i.e. "Karthaginem ab avo relictam") persequare," quoted by Forb. Comp. Aesch. Ag. 517, στρατὸν δέχεσθαι τὸν λελειμμένον δορός. [Serv. spelt 'relliquias.'—H. N.] For the form 'Achilli,' see note on G. 3. 91. Here Rom. has 'Achillis.'

32.] 'Acti fatis,' inasmuch as their destiny forbids them to rest. Comp. "fato profugus," v. 2. The opposition which Henry supposes between the impulse of the fates and the repulse of Juno, though true in fact, does not seem to be distinctly intended here. They are said to wander round the seas rather than over them, doubtless for variety's sake. In v. 667 below Aeneas is tossed on the sea "omnia circum litora."

33.] ['Molis,' trouble, as in Hor. 1 Epist. 14. 30, "multa mole docendus aprico parcere prato."—H. N.] Livy 25. 11, "Plaustris transveham naves haud magna mole." The metaphor may be continued in 'condere.'

Vix e conspectu Siculae telluris in altum
Vela dabant laeti, et spumas salis aere ruebant,
Cum Iuno, aeternum servans sub pectore volnus,
Haec secum: Mene incepto desistere victam,
Nec posse Italia Teucrorum avertere regem?
Quippe vetor fatis. Pallasne exurere classem

34—49.] 'The Trojans were just sailing from Sicily when Juno saw them, remembered the vengeance Pallas once took on the Greek fleet, and chafed to think that hitherto she had done so little.'

34.] Virg. plunges "in medias res," as the commentators remark. See Introduction to this Book. The departure from Sicily closes Aeneas's narrative, 3. 715. Forb. takes 'e conspectu Siculae telluris' to mean 'out of sight *from* Sicily,' or of those who were in Sicily, comparing 11. 903, "Vix e conspectu exierat;" but there the sense is determined by the context: and the common rendering, 'out of sight of Sicily,' is more natural, and equally good Latin. Comp. e. g. "urbis conspectu frui," Cic. Sull. 9. Generally, though not universally, where the noun in the gen. is a thing, the gen. is that of the object; and, in the present case, we more naturally think of the Trojans looking towards Sicily, than of Sicily looking towards the Trojans. ['Vela dabant in altum,' were setting their sails for the open sea: Cic. de Orat. 2. 44, "unde aliquis flatus ostenditur, vela do" Ov. Trist. 1. 4. 15, "sic non quo voluit, sed quo rapit impetus undae Aurigam video vela dedisse rati."—H. N.]

35.] Heyne puts a comma after 'dabant,' which is the punctuation of Med., but MS. authority on such points is of little value. Wagn. omits the comma altogether, on the ground that 'laeti' belongs to both verbs; which of course it does, in sense; but in construction it must be taken with the one or the other, and it is obviously better taken with the former. Virg., in fact, is imitating Od. 5. 269, *γηθόσυνος δ' οὔρῳ πέτασ' ἱστία δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς*, Ulysses's voyage there answering to Aeneas's here. 'Ruebant,' 'were driving before them;' see note on G. 1. 105. "Campos salis aere secabant," 10. 214. "Spumat sale" ("sale" neut. nom.) occurs Enn. A. 14. 1 (378 Vahlen).

36.] 'Sub pectore,' 'deep in her breast,' with a derivative notion of secrecy. Comp. Aesch. Eum. 156, *ἔτυψεν—ὑπὸ φρένας ὑπὸ λοβόν*. [Theocritus 11. 15, *ὑποκάρδιον ἕλκος*. Lucr. 2. 639, "aeternumque daret matri sub pectore volnus:" 1. 34, "aeterno devictus volnere amoris."—H. N.] It is perhaps better to take 'aeternum' closely with 'volnus' than, as the order might warrant, with 'servans.' ['Vulnus' Med. and Rom.—H. N.]

37.] 'Secum:' "sine, conscio," says Serv., comparing v. 225 below and 2. 93. 'Loqui secum,' as opposed to 'loqui cum aliquo,' is to soliloquize, if the person is alone; to think or mutter, if the person is in company. It is the *προτὶ ὃν μυθήσατο θυμόν* of Od. 5. 285, where Poseidon takes the part taken by Juno here. 'Mene—desistere:' for this use of the accus. and infin. to denote indignation or surprise, see Madv. § 399. In Greek the article is not unfrequently prefixed to the infin. in this construction. 'Victam,' 'baffled.' For one aspect of the word we may comp. 7. 310, "Vincor ab Aenea:" for another, Hor. 1 Ep. 13. 11, "Victor propositi."

38.] 'Avertere,' G. 2. 172. As Henry remarks, it means not merely to turn away, but to turn back. Rom. originally and Gud. have 'Italiam.'

39.] 'Quippe' generally gives a reason (comp. vv. 59, 661 below, G. 1. 268., 2. 49., 4. 394), sometimes with irony, and here with indignation.—The use of 'ne,' which implies a negative answer, expresses incredulity that Pallas should have done what Juno cannot. Hom., Od. 1. 326, makes the minstrel sing to the suitors of the *νόστον Ἀχαιῶν λυγρὸν ὃν ἐκ Τροίης ἐπετείλατο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη*. But in Od. 3. and 4, where the return of the Greeks is described in detail, he says nothing of a general storm. Ajax, in Od. 4. 499, is shipwrecked, but saved on a rock, in spite of the enmity of Pallas, by Poseidon, who afterwards, provoked by his impious boast that he would escape in spite of the gods, cleaves the rock on which he is sitting, and drowns him. Aeschylus, like Virg., mentions a general storm, and implies (through the forebodings of Clytaemnestra) that it was the punishment of some impiety. The crime of Ajax is fixed by Lycophron and others to be insolence offered to Cassandra in the temple of Pallas. Virg. however

Argivum atque ipsos potuit submergere ponto,
Unius ob noxam, et furias Aiacis Oilei?
Ipsa, Iovis rapidum iaculata e nubibus ignem,
Disiecitque rates evertitque aequora ventis,
Illum expirantem transfixo pectore flammas
Turbine corripuit scopuloque infixit acuto;

merely mentions him among others in 2. 403, where Cassandra is dragged from sanctuary.

40.] 'Ipsos,' 'Argivos,' the crews, as distinguished from the ships. Forb. comp. Il. 14. 47, πρὶν πυρὶ νῆας ἐνιπρῆσαι, κτεῖναι δὲ καὶ αὐτούς.

41.] So Tryphiodorus v. 650, ἀνθ' ἑνὸς Ἀργείοισιν ἐχώσατο πᾶσιν Ἀθήνη. [Lycophron 365, ἑνὸς δὲ λώβης ἀντί.—H.N.] I that 'unius' is not to be taken with 'Aiacis' have placed a comma at 'noxam,' to show 'Oilei,' but that the second clause is distinct from and epexegetic of the first. Comp. v. 251 below, "unius ob iram." But it is hard to judge in cases like this, where it is a question of minute considerations. See on 3. 162. 'Furias' expresses the Homeric ἄτη, the infatuation which impels to crime. Μέγ' ἀάσθη is twice used of the provocation which Ajax gives to Poseidon, Od. 4. 350, 509. 'Oilei' is not an adjective, but a patronymic genitive, like Ὀϊλῆος ταχὺς Αἴας. In Cic. de Orat. 2. 66, and Ov. M. 12. 622, 'Oileos' is probably the Greek genitive. Hyginus and Dictys Cretensis however are cited by Freund for an adjective, 'Oilëus.' [Wilkins on Cic. l. c. quotes Sen. Medea 664 for an adj. 'Oileus,' scanned as a trisyllable, "fulmine et vento moriens Oileus."—H. N.] For the orthography 'Oilei,' not 'Oili' (which is however the reading of Med., supported by some grammarians, and adopted by Ribbeck), see Wagn. on v. 30 above, who decides that where the nominative terminates only in 'eus,' the genitive must terminate, not in 'i,' but in 'ei.' Rom. and Gud. have 'Oilei.'

42.] So Aesch. Eum. 827, she says of herself, καὶ κλῇδας οἶδα δωμάτων μόνη θεῶν Ἐν οἷς κεραυνός ἐστιν ἐσφραγισμένος. Juno, in Book 4, raises a thunder-storm, but does not herself ('ipsa') hurl the thunderbolt. "Pallas fulminatrix," and the owl grasping a thunderbolt, are found on coins. 'Iovis ignem' is of course merely a periphrasis for the lightning. See the passage from Attius cited on v. 44. Comp. Eur. Tro. 80, ἐμοὶ δὲ δώσειν φησὶ πῦρ κεραύνιον, Βάλλειν Ἀχαιοὺς ναῦς τε πιμπράναι πυρί (spoken by Pallas).

43.] Eurip. l. c. makes Zeus send the storm and Poseidon raise the sea, Pallas being merely charged with the lightning. Quinct. Smyrn. 14. 444 foll. follows Virg., makes Zeus give all his artillery to Athena for the occasion, and delight in seeing the storm which she raises. He imitates Virg. in the speech which Athena addresses to Zeus, vv. 427 foll., and also in the visit Iris is represented as paying on Athena's account to Aeolia, for the special purpose of making the tempest worse about the headland of Caphareus, vv. 474 foll., though in the latter case his narrative is more summary.

44.] ['Exspirantem' Rom. — H. N.] Comp. Lucr. 6. 391 foll., "icti flammas ut fulguris halent Pectore perfixo;" and Attius, Clyt. fr. 5 (quoted by Serv. on this passage), "In pectore fulmen inchoatum flammam ostentabat Iovis." [Serv. says that Probus read 'tempore' for 'pectore,' adding "qui 'tempore' legunt, de topica historia tractum dicunt; nam Ardeae in templo Castoris et Pollucis in laeva intrantibus post forem Capaneos pictus est fulmen per utraque tempora traiectus. Et singulare nomen pro plurali. Totius antem Italiae curiosissimum fuisse Vergilium multifariam apparet."—H. N.]

45.] Comp. Lucr. l. c. "Turbine caelesti subito correptus et igni." 'Turbine' is the wind or force of the thunderbolt, as in 6. 594. See also on 2. 649. Forb. is right in placing a semicolon only after 'acuto,' to show that 'Ast ego,' &c., is connected with the lines preceding. One or two MSS. have 'inflixit,' which Cornutus ap. Serv. preferred "ut vehementius." [So perhaps Ti. Donatus, who paraphrases by "inlidere;" comp. Hyginus 116, "Aiax Locrus fulmine est a Minerva ictus, quem fluctus ad saxa inliserant, unde Aiacis petrae sunt dictae."—H. N.] 'Infixit' is a little awkward after 'transfixo;' and the construction "infigere aliquem alicui," to impale a person upon a thing, is, as Henry has pointed out, unusual, if not exampled. 'Infixit' however is supported by Sen. Ag. 571, "Haerent acutis rupibus fixae rates," quoted

Ast ego, quae divom incedo regina, Iovisque
Et soror et coniunx, una cum gente tot annos
Bella gero. Et quisquam numen Iunonis adorat
Praeterea, aut supplex aris imponit honorem?
  Talia flammato secum dea corde volutans
Nimborum in patriam, loca feta furentibus austris,

by Gossrau. Henry's former interpretation, making 'scopulo' abl., and supposing Ajax to be pierced by a fragment of rock hurled at him ('turbine' being parallel with "ingentis turbine saxi," 12. 531), agrees to a certain extent with Quinct. Smyrn. 14. 567 foll. (not with Sen. Ag. 552 foll., who follows Hom.); nothing however is there said about piercing Ajax, who is merely said to be overwhelmed by the rock as Enceladus was overwhelmed by Aetna; so that the parallel is hardly made out. [Henry now takes the words to mean "fixed on a rock, stuck on a rock."—H. N.] W. Ribbeck cites Seneca's poem to Corduba, vv. 13, 14 (Wernsdorf's Poet. Lat. Min. vol. 5, p. 1367), "Ille tuus quondam magnus, tua gloria, civis Infigar scopulo," which is in favour of the common interpretation, as the writer evidently means to speak of his banishment to a rocky island as an impalement.

46.] Apparently from Il. 18. 364 foll., where Here pleads her dignity as greatest of the goddesses and consort of Zeus, as a reason why she should work her will on the Trojans. ['Ast' is an archaic word revived by Virg. and Cicero in his *De Legibus*.—H. N.] 'Incedo,' poetically substituted for the simple copula "sum;" with an allusion, of course, to the majesty of Juno's gait. The word itself, as Henry remarks, does not necessarily imply majestic movement; but this notion is gained by attention being directed to the movement at all, in a context like this; at the same time, of course, that is enforced by the qualifying words 'divom regina,' &c. Comp. Prop. 2. 2. 6, "incedit vel Iove digna soror." It is probable that Prop. had seen Virg.: see on v. 2 above [and vol. I. (fourth edition) p. xxv. 'Divum' Med. and Rom.—H. N.]

47.] *κασιγνήτην ἄλοχόν τε*, Il. 16. 432. 'Una:' Juno thinks it strange that she should take so long to subdue a single nation; Venus, on the other hand (v. 251 below), complains that she and her son are persecuted to gratify a single individual, Juno.

48.] The old reading, unsupported apparently by the better MSS., though one or two have 'adoret,' was 'adorat—imponat.' Heins. and Heyne recommended, and later editors have restored, 'adorat—imponet' from Med., Rom., and other MSS. [Ti. Donatus read 'adoret'—'imponat.'—H. N.] Some MSS. however, including Gud. originally, have 'imponit;' and this would appear to be the true reading, both from the instances quoted by Wagn. in support of the indicative against the subjunctive (Ov. 3 Am. 8. 1, 2, "Et quisquam ingenuas etiamnum suspicit artis Aut tenerum dotes carmen habere putat?" and Consolatio ad Liviam Incerti Auctoris, 7, 8), and from the nature of the case. 'Et quisquam adoret' would be, 'can it be that any one will or is likely to do it?' 'et quisquam adorat,' 'can it be that any one is doing it?' If then the subjunctive is less forcible than the indicative, it is precisely because the future is less forcible than the present. Those who read 'imponet' explain the change of tense by saying that 'adorat praeterea' = "adorabit."—'Et' couples the presents 'adorat' and 'imponit' with 'gero'—'I am proving my imbecility, and yet I have worshippers!' 'Praeterea' then will express, not so much sequence in time, as a logical relation, like *ἔπειτα*. We may still however comp. [with Serv.] "praeterea vidit," G. 4. 502. 'Honorem' G. 3. 486. 'Imponere,' of offerings, 4. 453., 6. 246, 253, G. 3. 490. The general thought seems to be from Poseidon's complaints in two distinct passages of Hom., Il. 7. 446 foll., Od. 13. 128 foll.

50—64.] 'She goes to Aeolia, the home and prison of the winds, and applies to Aeolus their king.'

50.] 'Talia secum volutans.' These words refer to the thought rather than to the expression: but that they are not incompatible with an actual soliloquy, appears from 4. 533, compared with ib. 553, and 6. 185, 186, compared with ib. 190.

51.] 'Patriam' gives a poetical hint of the personality of the storms; comp. v. 540 below, G. 1. 52, note; Ov. 3 Am. 6. 40, "Nilus Qui patriam tantae tam

Aeoliam venit. Hic vasto rex Aeolus antro
Luctantis ventos tempestatesque sonoras
Imperio premit ac vinclis et carcere frenat.
Illi indignantes magno cum murmure montis
Circum claustra fremunt; celsa sedet Aeolus arce

bene celat aquae." The notion of generation is carried still farther in 'feta.' 'The home of the storm-cloud, the teeming womb of raging southern blasts.'

52.] 'Aeoliam' appears from 8. 417 to be Lipara. The Aeolia of Hom. (Od. 10) has been supposed to unite the characteristics of Lipara and Strongyle, the latter of which appears to be assigned by Virg. (l. c.) to Vulcan. Comp. also Val. F. 1. 579 foll. The Aeolus of Hom. is not a demigod, but the king of a sort of magic isle, entrusted by Zeus with the control of the winds, but passing his life in continually feasting with his queen and children.

53.] Hom.'s winds are not represented as struggling, or the object of anxious custody. When Aeolus wishes to waft Ulysses to his country, he lets the west wind blow, and ties up all the rest in a skin. Val. F., on the contrary, with questionable judgment, makes Aeolus let loose the winds whenever he finds them ungovernable. Gud. originally had 'luctatos.'

54.] Henry (on v. 86) considers the whole picture of the winds to have been suggested by the Ludi Circenses, referring particularly to the words 'imperio premit,' 'frenat,' 'fremunt,' 'carcere,' and 'claustra,' and citing the imitation by Val. F. 1. 611, "fundunt se carcere laeti Thraces equi Zephyrusque," and the description of a chariot-race in Sidon. Apoll. 1. ad Consentium, opening with "Illi ad claustra fremunt." Against this may be urged the collocation of two of the most important words, 'carcere' and 'frenat;' inasmuch as 'carcere frenat' must mean 'curbs with a carcer,' not 'curbs in a carcer.' 'Vinclis' also appears to fix the sense of 'carcere' as a prison-house, and not a barrier in a race-course. Again, 'circum claustra fremunt' is not the same thing as "ad claustra fremunt." The more reasonable thing seems to be to say that Virg. uses imagery principally taken from the race-horse and the prison, but without intending any one connected or uniform series of metaphors. Lucr., in a passage from which this is partly imitated (6. 189—203), compares the wind pent in a thunder-cloud to wild beasts in a cage, "in caveisque ferarum more minantur, Nunc hinc nunc illinc fremitus per nubila mittunt Quaerentesque viam circum versantur" (vv. 198—200). [See, for another view, on v. 81.—H. N.]

55.] Here we are reminded of an earlier part of the passage just cited from Lucr., where the storm-clouds in which the winds are confined are compared to mountains (vv. 189, 190) and caverns (v. 195), "moles . . . quas venti cum tempestate coorta Complerunt, magno indignantur murmure clausi Nubibus." It is possible that the Lucretian image may have suggested to Virg. his deviation from the account in Hom. 'Magno cum murmure:' comp. such phrases as "cum magna calamitate et prope pernicie civitatis," Cic. 2. Verr. 1. 24. See also Hand, Tursell. 2. p. 152, foll. 'Montis' with 'murmure,' as v. 245 shows, in spite of the passage in Lucr. 'While the huge rock roars responsive.'

56.] It is not easy to say what or where this 'arx' of Aeolus is intended to be. The common notion is that it is the top of the mountain in which the winds are confined. Henry once thought it was an eminence within the cave; now he takes it of a fortress or palace in the neighbourhood. This last certainly seems the most natural meaning of the word. The citadel is the natural dwelling of a despotic governor (comp. Juv. 10. 307); in Greek history, tyrants seize it when they assume supreme power; and so here, as Aeolia is under a strong government, it is supposed to be furnished with an 'arx,' though the government consists in keeping the key of the prison. So in the description of the shades, Stat. Theb. 8. 21, Pluto is described as "sedens media regni infelicis in arce," words apparently imitated from Virg., and doubtless to be understood simply as bringing out the notion of sovereignty, without any particular reference to the appropriateness of the image. It is in this 'arx' that Juno has her interview with Aeolus, who goes from it (though

Sceptra tenens, mollitque animos et temperat iras;
Ni faciat, maria ac terras caelumque profundum
Quippe ferant rapidi secum verrantque per auras.
Set pater omnipotens speluncis abdidit atris,
Hoc metuens, molemque et montis insuper altos
Inposuit, regemque dedit, qui foedere certo
Et premere et laxas sciret dare iussus habenas.
Ad quem tum Iuno supplex his vocibus usa est:
Aeole, namque tibi divum pater atque hominum rex

this is not directly asserted) to the dungeon, and opens the door. 'Sedet' expresses actual sitting, not, as Henry thinks, merely dwelling; but it has no further appropriateness than as carrying out the image of 'arce;' and so 'sceptra tenens,' the Homeric σκηπτοῦχος. [According to Varro quoted by Serv. Aeolus was king of the Aeolian islands.—H. N.]

57.] Σκῆπτρα in Greek appears to signify generally the symbols of supreme authority rather than the actual sceptre. Virg. however uses it simply for 'sceptrum,' 7. 252, and probably this is the meaning here, though there is no special appropriateness in the image; see previous note. 'Animos,' like "animosi," G. 2. 441 (note), is half physical, half mental. 'Mollit,' &c., as Henry observes, expresses the general effect of Aeolus' sway. [Serv. may have read 'animas,' as he says of 'animos' "id est ventos ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων, ut ipse alibi (8. 403) 'quantum ignes animaeque valent.'"—H. N.]

58.] 'Ni faciat—ferant—verrant.' The present tense here, as in 6. 292., 11. 912, is substituted for the imperfect to give greater vividness, and express the greater imminence of that which is prevented or averted. 'Faciat,' E. 2. 44, note. Med. has 'faciant.' "Terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum," E. 4. 51, note.

59.] Lucr. 1. 277 foll. "venti . . . corpora caeca Quae mare, quae terras, quae denique nubila caeli Verrunt ac subito vexantia turbine raptant." ["'Verrere' est 'trahere,' a rete, quod 'verriculum' dicitur," Serv., inverting the etymology.—H. N.] 'Quippe,' as Heyne remarks, in prose would precede 'ni faciat.' Compare the position of 'scilicet' in poetry. 'Per auras' is equivalent to "per inane."

60.] ['Sed' Rom.—H. N.].

61.] The distinction attempted by Wagn. between 'hoc metuens' here and 'id metuens' in v. 23, as if 'hoc' referred to an immediate, 'id' to a more distant object of apprehension, is groundless. Virg. in v. 23 would naturally use 'id' rather than 'hoc,' having just said 'hinc populum,' &c., and being about to say 'his accensa super.' Otherwise 'hoc' might have stood there as well as here, as in either place it would only mean 'this which I have just mentioned.' 'Molem et montis' = "molem montium." 'Insuper' is rightly taken by Wund. as 'above,' not 'besides.' Comp. 3. 579, "ingentemque insuper Aetnam Inpositam."

62.] 'Regemque dedit,' &c., imitated from Od. 10. 21 foll. 'Foedus' is here nearly equivalent to 'lex;' as in G. 1. 60, "Continuo has leges aeternaque foedera certis Inposuit natura locis" (note).

63.] It is difficult to say whether the object of 'premere' is 'ventos' or 'habenas.' If the latter, which is supported by "pressis habenis," 11. 600, 'laxas dare' must be taken together as equivalent to "laxare," like "Haec ego vasta dabo," 9. 323. [Sall. Iug. 59 uses "dare victos" for "vincere."—H. N.] Otherwise 'dare habenas' might stand alone, as in 11. 623, "datis referuntur habenis." 'Iussus,' "a Iove."

64.] 'Ad' is not "apud," as Serv. thinks, but 'ad quem,' &c., is equivalent to "quem allocuta est." 'Ad quem' is used elliptically 10. 742. "Vocibus usi," Lucr. 5. 1046.

65—75.] 'She begs him to wreck the Trojan fleet, and promises him one of her nymphs as a wife.'

65.] Πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, Il. 1. 544. The 'namque' is also Homeric, e. g. Il. 24. 334, Ἑρμεία, σοὶ γάρ τε μάλιστά γε φίλτατόν ἐστιν—Βάσκ' ἴθι. Macrobius (Sat. 6. 1) says that the words 'divum pater atque hominum rex' are from Ennius. Varro, L. L. 5. 65, quotes "di-

Et mulcere dedit fluctus et tollere vento,
Gens inimica mihi Tyrrhenum navigat aequor,
Ilium in Italiam portans victosque Penatis:
Incute vim ventis submersasque obrue puppis,
Aut age diversos et dissice corpora ponto.
Sunt mihi bis septem praestanti corpore Nymphae,
Quarum quae forma pulcherrima Deiopea,
Conubio iungam stabili propriamque dicabo,
Omnis ut tecum meritis pro talibus annos
Exigat et pulchra faciat te prole parentem.

vumque hominumque pater rex" as from Ennius.

66.] Od. 10. 22, ἠμὲν παυέμεναι ἠδ' ὀρνύμεν ὅν κ' ἐθέλῃσιν. 'Vento,' as the important word in the sentence, is to be taken with 'mulcere' as well as with 'tollere.' Comp. note on E. 2. 26.

67.] 'Navigat aequor:' comp. Cic. Fin. 2. 34, "cum Xerxes mare ambulavisset, terram navigasset" (if the reading "mare" be certain).

68.] Imitated by Ov., F. 4. 251, "Cum Troiam Aeneas Italos portaret in agros," and again Ep. 7. 51, "Ilion in Tyriam transfer felicius urbem." See on 2. 703, and comp. (with Weidner) 7. 233. 'Victosque Penatis,' 8. 11.

69.] 'Incute vim ventis,' 'throw fury into the winds.' Serv. quotes Enn. A. inc. fr. 117, "dictis Romanis incutit iram." Henry adopts another suggestion of Serv., making 'ventis' abl., like "dictis" in Enn. l. c., i. q. "incute vim Troianis per ventos." 'Submersas obrue puppis:' comp. note on "iactatos arcebat," v. 29 above. ['Summersas' Rom. —H. N.]

70.] 'Diversas' was the old reading, supported by inferior MSS. Heins. restored 'diversos,' which would naturally be changed by copyists as slightly the more difficult. The idea of 'age diversos' is kept up in 'dissice,' though 'corpora' belongs rather to the notion conveyed in 'submersas.' Med. originally had 'aut' for 'et.'

71.] In Il. 14. 267, Here bribes Sleep by the offer of one of the Charites in marriage, they being represented in Hom. as her attendants, like the Nymphs here. 'Praestanti corpore,' G. 4. 538.

72.] 'Deiopea' is the reading of all Ribbeck's MSS. The common and easier reading 'Deiopeam,' which Heyne retained, is supported by quotations by Aelius Donatus and Maximus Victorinus. 'Deiopea' is mentioned with the epithet 'Asia' in G. 4. 343, as one of the companions of Cyrene. 'Forma pulcherrima,' v. 496 below.

73.] Heyne, whom Hermann (El. Doc. Met. p. 63) approves, gets over the difficulty of the quantity in 'conubio' by making it a trisyllable. The analogy of "pronubus," "innubus," might be pleaded, as proving a variation of quantity; a view strongly supported by Luc. Müller, De Re Metrica, p. 258, Munro on Lucr. 3. 776. 'Propriam dicabo,' 'make her thine for ever.' See E. 7. 31, note. Juno speaks not only as the mistress of the nymph, but as the goddess of marriage. It is in the same character that she offers to dispose of the hand of Dido, 4. 126, where this line is repeated. The line in Il. 14. 268 is δώσω ὀπυιέμεναι καὶ σὴν κεκλῆσθαι ἄκοιτιν. Virg. characteristically keeps the form, while expressing himself in a different fashion. Σὴν κεκλῆσθαι ἄκοιτιν may remind us of "coniunx quondam tua dicta," 2. 678, and we may remember that "dico," "dicare" has an affinity in usage, if not in form, with "dico," "dicere" (comp. 6. 138 note). 'Tibi' is not expressed, being really given in the following lines.

74.] Il. 14. 269, Od. 5. 210, ἧς αἰὲν ἐέλδεαι ἤματα πάντα. Virg. appears to have taken ἐέλδεαι as the future, which, as Heyne remarks, would be supported by Od. 6. 281, ἕξει δέ μιν ἤματα πάντα. "Pro talibus ausis," 2. 535.

75.] The sense will be the same, whether 'pulchra prole' is taken with 'faciat' ("per pulchros liberos, quos tibi pariat, te faciat parentem," as Forb. has it), or with 'parentem,' as a descriptive ablative. Weidner comp. Hor. 3 Od. 5. 5, "Milesne Crassi coniuge barbara Turpis maritus vixit?"

Aeolus haec contra: Tuus, o regina, quid optes
Explorare labor; mihi iussa capessere fas est.
Tu mihi, quodcumque hoc regni, tu sceptra Iovemque
Concilias, tu das epulis accumbere divum,
Nimborumque facis tempestatumque potentem.
Haec ubi dicta, cavum conversa cuspide montem
Impulit in latus: ac venti, velut agmine facto,
Qua data porta, ruunt et terras turbine perflant.

76—80.] 'Aeolus says he cannot refuse the goddess to whom he owes his power.'

76.] He throws the responsibility on her. 'Thine is the task to see well what thou askest.' So 'fas est' is exculpatory. 'I am doing my duty in executing thy commands.' The general sense is from Il. 14. 196, αὔδα ὅ τι φρονέεις· τελέσαι δέ με θυμὸς ἄνωγεν.

77.] So Juno, 4. 115, "Mecum erit iste labor."

78.] Lucr. 2. 15, "Qualibus in tenebris vitae quantisque periclis Degitur hoc aevi quodcunque est." In both cases the form is depreciating, and here it denotes the depreciation of modesty. 'This poor realm of mine.' 'Tu sceptra Iovemque Concilias,' 'you make power and Jupiter's patronage mine.' Jupiter is the dispenser of the powers of the universe. Aesch. Prom. 229. 'Concilias—das—facis,' in the present, to express the tenure on which he continues to hold his station. Aeolus is far more complaisant than Sleep in Hom., who at first demurs violently to the request as dangerous to himself, and when promised a bride, exacts an oath from Here that she will keep her promise. In Il. 14. 212, Aphrodite tells Here she cannot refuse one who is the partner of Zeus' bed.

79.] Virg. possibly, as Heyne suggests, had in his mind Here's first offer to Sleep, Il. 14. 238, of a banqueting throne and a footstool; though this need not have been at the feast of the gods. He may also have thought of the "lectisternium." This proof of equality, however, is sufficiently common: comp. E. 4. 63, Hor. 3. Od. 3. 11, Aesch. Eum. 351.

80.] Virg. probably refers to some physical theory or legend connected with the character of Juno as queen of the air: this conception of her as making interest with an inferior god is however perfectly Homeric. There is an awkwardness about the present line, which apparently merely repeats v. 78, and this when the mention of the banquet has intervened.

81—101.] 'He opens the cave, the winds rush out, and there is a dreadful tempest. Aeneas, seeing nothing but death before him, wishes he had died with honour at Troy, like so many of his friends.'

81.] Henry rightly explains the meaning to be that Aeolus, going to the cave, pushed the mountain on the side with his spear turned towards it ('conversa cuspide'), and so opened the "claustra," which are to be conceived of as folding doors opening inwards. Comp. 7. 620, "Tum regina deum caelo delapsa morantis Impulit ipsa manu portas," and the imitation of Val. F. (1. 608), "Cum valido contortam turbine portam Impulit Hippotades." [Schaper supposes the winds to be confined in separate cages like wild beasts (comp. Lucr. quoted on v. 54), and the 'claustra' to be the doors of these cages. The 'porta' here he thinks is made by removing the 'montes impositi' of vv. 61, 62.—H. N.] The words and rhythm of the line are imitated from Enn. A. inc. 77, "nam me gravis impetus Orci Percutit in latus," quoted by Serv. 'Excipit in latus' occurs 12. 507, and Stat. Theb. 1. 119 has "dubiumque iugo fragor impulit Oeten In latus." The 'cuspis' is perhaps the same as the sceptre, v. 57; but we need not press these details.

82.] 'Velut agmine facto,' as it were with one accord, the sense of combination lying in the 'facto.' Comp. G. 4. 167, and Juv. 3. 162, 'agmine facto Debuerant olim tenues migrasse Quirites.' [Serv. says "'agmine,' vel impetu vel multitudine. 'Agmen' enim polysemus sermo est. Nam impetum significat, ut 'illi agmine certo Laocoonta petunt,' multitudinem, ut 'vocat agmina saeva sororum.' Etiam incedentem exercitum 'agmen vocamus.'"—H. N.]

83.] 'Qua data porta,' through the 'claustra' so opened.

Incubuere mari, totumque a sedibus imis
Una Eurusque Notusque ruunt creberque procellis
Africus, et vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus.
Insequitur clamorque virum stridorque rudentum.
Eripiunt subito nubes caelumque diemque
Teucrorum ex oculis; ponto nox incubat atra.
Intonuere poli, et crebris micat ignibus aether,
Praesentemque viris intentant omnia mortem.
Extemplo Aeneae solvuntur frigore membra;
Ingemit, et duplicis tendens ad sidera palmas
Talia voce refert: O terque quaterque beati,
Quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis

84.] For the instantaneous effect expressed by the transition to the perfect here and in v. 90, comp. G. 1. 330. 'Heavily they are fallen on the sea.'

85.] Od. 5. 295, Σὺν δ' Εὖρός τε Νότος τ' ἔπεσε, Ζεφυρός τε δυσαής, Καὶ Βορέης αἰθρηγενέτης, μέγα κῦμα κυλίνδων. Comp. also Enn. A. 17, fr. 5. Seneca (Nat. Quaest. 16) reproves Virg. for having made three out of the four winds blow at once. Trapp and Heyne try to defend him on the plea that shifting winds are common. But this obviously is not his meaning. All the winds leave the cave at once. Milton's classicism has led him to the same violation of nature, Par. Reg. Book 4: "nor slept the winds Within their stony caves, but rushed abroad From the four hinges of the world, and fell On the vexed wilderness" (quoted by Henry). The effect of the emission of all the winds from the skin in Hom. (Od. 10. 54), is that Ulysses is blown back to the island from which he came. 'Ruunt' seems here to be 'upheave' (see note on G. 1. 105); but it is possible that the 'aequor' may be conceived of as a kind of ceiling, which crashes down on a movement from below.

87.] As in Od. 10. 121 foll., the havoc made on the ships is not expressly mentioned, but more vividly indicated by the cries of distress on board. Serv. quotes a fragment from the Teucer of Pacuvius: "armamentum stridor, flictus navium, Strepitus, fremitus, clamor tonitruum, et rudentum sibilus" (as restored by Hermann: see Ribbeck, Fragm. p. 100).

88.] Od. 5. 293, σὺν δὲ νεφέεσσι κάλυψε Γαῖαν ὁμοῦ καὶ πόντον· ὀρώρει δ' οὐρανόθεν νύξ. Comp. 3. 198, "Involvere diem nimbi et nox umida caelum Abstulit."

90.] 'Intonuere poli,' "axes, i. e. extremae partes caeli super quibus caelum vertitur, i. e. πολεῖται, unde vertices Latine, Graece πόλοι dicuntur: duo enim sunt, Notios et Boreos, a quibus totum caelum contonuisse significat," Serv. 'It thunders from pole to pole.' Heyne and others think it would be more forcible to omit 'et,' with one or two MSS.; but this would spoil the sense, as of course the lightning really comes before the thunder, whereas, if the two were mentioned separately, it would seem as if the poet actually intended to reverse the natural order.

91.] "Ostentant omnia letum," Catull. 64. 187.

92.] 'Frigore,' 'chilling fear,' in 12. 951, where these words are repeated, the chill of death. In the same connexion Hom. (Od. 5. 297) καὶ τότ' Ὀδυσσῆος λύτο γούνατα καὶ φίλον ἦτορ.

93.] Schirach renders 'duplicis,' 'clasped.' But see 7. 140, "Et duplicis caeloque Ereboque parentes." So Lucr. 6. 1146, "Et duplicis oculos suffusa luce rubentis."

94.] 'Referre' cannot here have its usual sense of 'reply;' nor can it mean to recount, as in "quid referam." Either then the word must be construed simply 'says,' or it must be explained as an elliptical expression for "refert pectore," which we find 5. 409.—'O terque quaterque beati,' &c. The whole of this is closely imitated from part of the speech of Ulysses, Od. 5. 306—312. The horror of Ulysses is excited by the prospect of death without glory and without burial; that of Achilles when in danger of drowning (Il. 21. 272), by the prospect of death without glory. Comp. also for the sentiment Aesch. Cho. 345 foll., 363 foll.

95.] 'Ante ora patrum' probably

Contigit oppetere! o Danaum fortissime gentis
Tydide! mene Iliacis occumbere campis
Non potuisse tuaque animam hanc effundere dextra,
Saevus ubi Aeacidae telo iacet Hector, ubi ingens
Sarpedon, ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis
Scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit?
Talia iactanti stridens Aquilone procella
Velum adversa ferit, fluctusque ad sidera tollit.
Franguntur remi; tum prora avertit, et undis

means dying with the friends, for whom they are fighting, to cheer them on. What is here the consolation of the son, is elsewhere the aggravation of the father's sorrow, as in G. 4. 477, A. 10. 443. 'Troiae sub moenibus altis,' 10. 469.

96.] 'Oppetere' is merely a synonym for 'obire,' as appears from Phaedr. 3. 16. 2, Sen. Troad. 3. 6. 9; not, as Forb. and Doederlein think, especially appropriated to death voluntarily or bravely encountered. Aeneas is nearly killed by Diomed, from whom he is rescued by Aphrodite, Il. 5. 297 foll. Diomed is characterized as the bravest of the Greeks by Helenus, Il. 6. 98, Achilles being specially not excepted.

97.] From a fragment of Ennius quoted by Serv. on 2. 62, "Morti occumbunt obviam," it would seem as if "morti occumbere" was the full phrase; so that the preposition may thus be explained. "Morte occumbere" and "mortem occumbere" however also occur. 'Mene' with inf. v. 37, note.

99.] 'Saevus' has no special meaning here, but is the Homeric Ἕκτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο.

100.] Virg. appears to have forgotten that in Hom. (Il. 16. 667 foll.) the body of Sarpedon is carried away to Lycia. Wagn. and Forb. however understand 'iacet' in the sense of a historic present, and render it 'was slain.' Perhaps we may say that Aeneas, who in the line before speaks of the act of dying, is here thinking merely of the moment of death. The expression however is the same in Od. 3. 108 foll., which Heyne comp.:

ἔνθα δ' ἔπειτα κατέκταθεν ὅσσοι ἄριστοι·
ἔνθα μὲν Αἴας κεῖται ἀρήϊος, ἔνθα δ' Ἀχιλλεὺς κ. τ. λ.,

where the meaning seems to be 'There we left Ajax, Achilles,' &c. 'Iacet telo' = 'stratus est telo.' 'Ubi tot Simois,' &c.: imitated from Hom. (Il. 12. 22), who however speaks of the spoils and bodies of those who fell on the banks of Simois. "Quos Simois premat ille viros," 11. 257. A few MSS. read 'sub undas,' a variety mentioned by Serv. and supported by the parallel passage 8. 539. Jahn and Forb. suppose the difference of case to be justified by the difference of tense between 'volvit' and 'volves,' which is the word there. But it is not clear that in the present passage we ought not to connect 'sub undis' with 'correpta,' "volvit quae corripuit sub undis;" in which case the genius of the language would bear either reading.

102—123.] 'The storm grows worse: the ships are dashed on rocks, stranded on sandbanks, or spring leaks, and one is wholly lost.'

102.] Virg. continues to imitate Hom. (Od. 5. 313 foll.). 'Iactare' expresses the 'wild and whirling words' of Shakspeare. See on E. 2. 5. 'Iactanti' is a variety of the ethical dative, and may be illustrated by such passages as Livy 1. 8., "Locum qui nunc saeptus descendentibus inter duos lucos est, asylum aperit." Comp. the Greek idiom βουλομένῳ τινὶ εἶναι. 'Aquilone,' "ab Aquilone," Serv. But it seems better to render 'stridens Aquilone,' 'howling with the north wind.' Comp. Od. 12. 407 (a passage which Virg. had before him throughout this scene), αἶψα γὰρ ἦλθεν Κεκληγὼς Ζέφυρος μεγάλῃ σὺν λαίλαπι θύων. The north wind, as Seneca remarked (see on v. 85), has not been hitherto mentioned; but it is evident that the variety is in the expression, not in the incident. So in v. 131, Eurus and Zephyrus are obviously meant to include all the winds.

103.] 'Velum adversa ferit,' 'strikes the sail full in front.' Gud. and the first reading of Med. have 'fluctum.'

104.] 'Franguntur remi:' the oars

Dat latus; insequitur cumulo praeruptus aquae mons.
Hi summo in fluctu pendent; his unda dehiscens
Terram inter fluctus aperit; furit aestus harenis.
Tris Notus abreptas in saxa latentia torquet—
Saxa vocant Itali mediis quae in fluctibus Aras—
Dorsum inmane mari summo; tris Eurus ab alto

are broken in the portholes by the sudden stroke of the wave, which dashes them out of the hands of the rowers. Val. F., in his imitation (1. 618), has "excussi manibus remi." Rowing and sailing at the same time is contrary to the Homeric practice, so far as it can be gathered; and in Virg. himself (3. 207) the crew lower the sail first, and then take to the oar. Med., Gud., and some other MSS. (not Rom.), have 'proram avertit,' which Jahn adopts. ['Proram' is also the reading of Daniel's Servius.—H. N.] But 'procella,' as Wagn. remarked, can hardly be nom. to 'dat latus,' though it might be to 'proram avertit;' and it would be very harsh to understand 'navis' with both. We have "avertens" in an intrans. sense v. 402 [and 'averto' intransitive in Plautus Miles Gl. 202, 1065 (Lorenz). Comp. Livy 32. 12 "verterat periculum in Romanos."—H. N.] Wagn. now says (Lect. Verg.) "*proram* restituo, sed paene invitus." Haupt and Ribbeck retain 'prora.' The oars being broken, the ship is at the mercy of the waves, which turn her head round. Weidner comp. Val. F. l. c. "conversaque frontem Puppis in obliquum resonos latus accipit ictus."

105.] 'Undis dat latus,' like "telo dat pectus," 10. 425. 'Cumulo' is an adverbial ablat. So 2. 498, "amnis Fertur in arva furens cumulo," 'in a mass.' 'Praeruptus aquae mons' is taken from Apoll. R. 2. 580, *κῦμα—ἀποτμῆγι σκοπιῇ ἶσον.* [Comp. Od. 3. 290 *κύματα τε τροφόεντα, πελώρια, ἶσα ὄρεσσιν.* But it must be observed that 'mons' often means no more than a great mass of rock.—H. N.] A huge wave comes down upon the ship.

106.] 'Hi' is seen from what follows ('Tris Notus,' &c.) to refer to different ships, not to men in different parts of the same. Here the elevation and depression are described as simultaneous; in 3. 564 foll. they are undergone successively by the whole fleet. 'Pendent' as in 10. 303.

107.] Henry rightly understands 'furit harenis,' 'raves with the sand,' not 'on the sand;' comp. "aestu miscentur harenae," in the parallel passage 3. 557, note. As he remarks, Virg. may be thinking of, if not specially referring to, the Syrtes, which are described by Sall. Jug. 78, "Ubi mare magnum esse et saevire coepit ventis, limum harenamque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt . . . Syrtes ab tractu nominatae." Weidner comp. 7. 530, G. 3. 241. Comp. also Soph. Ant. 590, *κυλίνδει βυσσόθεν κελαινὰν θῖνα καὶ δυσάνεμον*, and Apoll. R. 4. 1265 (speaking of the Syrtes, and probably imitated by Virg.), *ἤλιθα δ' ὕδωρ Ξαινόμενον πολιῇσιν ἐπιτροχάει ψαμάθοισιν.* 'Surf and sand are raving together.'

108.] 'Latentia,' i. e. in a storm, for in a calm they are visible, 'dorsum inmane mari summo.' Comp. 5. 125. These 'saxa' are generally supposed to be the "Aegimoerae insulae" at the mouth of the bay of Carthage. Pliny 5. 42, "Contra Carthaginis sinum duae Aegimoerae arae, scopuli verius quam insulae, inter Siciliam maxime et Sardiniam." Mr. Long, however, identifies the 'saxa' with the Skerki Rocks, which are on the Adventure Bank, a shallow plateau between Sicily and Tunis. [Sisenna, quoted by Serv., said that the name 'Arae' was given to the rocks by the Italians, "quod ibi Afri et Romani foedus inierunt et fines imperii sui illic esse voluerunt." Serv. adds that Claudius Quadrigarius spoke of them as called "Arae Neptuniae," and quotes from Varro De Ora Maritima lib. I. "ut faciunt ei qui ab Sardinia Siciliam aut contra petunt. Nam si utramque ex conspectu amiserunt, sciunt periculose se navigare, ac verentur in pelago latentem insulam, quem locum vocant 'aras.'"—H. N.]

109.] Suspicion has been cast by Heyne on this verse as a prosaic interpolation, but it is acknowledged by Quint. Inst. 8. 2; and without it, as Wagn. remarks, 'dorsum inmane mari summo' would contradict 'latentia.' The order is 'saxa quae mediis in fluctibus (exstantia) Itali vocant aras.' Med. and Gud. 'mediisque,' an obvious error.

110.] 'Dorsum,' 10. 303. ['Immane,' Rom. Gud.—H. N.] 'Ab alto,' from the deep sea, contrasted with 'brevia.'

In brevia et Syrtis urguet, miserabile visu,
Inliditque vadis atque aggere cingit harenae.
Unam, quae Lycios fidumque vehebat Oronten,
Ipsius ante oculos ingens a vertice pontus
In puppim ferit: excutitur pronusque magister
Volvitur in caput; ast illam ter fluctus ibidem
Torquet agens circum, et rapidus vorat aequore vortex.
Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto,
Arma virum, tabulaeque, et Troia gaza per undas.
Iam validam Ilionei navem, iam fortis Achati,
Et qua vectus Abas, et qua grandaevus Aletes,

111.] 'In brevia et Syrtis,' i. e. "in brevia Syrtium." We have "brevibus vadis," 5. 220. So Tac. A. 1. 70, "Neque discerni poterant incerta ab solidis, brevia a profundis." Serv. compares τὰ βραχέα. ['Urget,' Med. and Gud.—H. N.]

113.] 'Oronten:' Med. and Gud. here, and in 6. 334 (in the latter passage Rom. also), have 'Orontem.' But the analogy of other words of the sort formed from the Greek, as written in the best MSS. of Virg., is in favour of 'Oronten;' which is supported too by Charisius (see on v. 220), and defended by Wagn. (Q. V. 3); who however does not appear altogether consistent in adopting 'im' as the accus. of names in 'is,' though the best MSS. support him. 'Fidus' is a natural epithet of an ally who had followed the fortunes of Troy, not only during the siege, but in exile.

114.] 'Ipsius,' Aeneas. 'Ingens pontus,' 'a vast mass of sea,' as we speak of 'shipping a heavy sea.' No authority is quoted for this use of 'pontus;' and from the imitation by Val. F. (4. 666), "magno puppim procul aequore vestit," it would appear to be a phrase invented by Virg. himself. Od. 5. 313, ἔλασεν μέγα κῦμα κατ' ἄκρης Δεινὸν ἐπεσσύμενον. 'A vertice' is a translation of κατ' ἄκρης.

115.] 'Ferit (navim) in puppim,' like "montem inpulit in latus," v. 81. 'Magister,' properly the pilot, who is here the same as the steersman, "gubernator." Both names are given to Palinurus, 6. 337, 353 (where "excussa magistro" is parallel to 'excutitur'). Comp. Od. 12. 413. Serv. says some in his time read 'pronum,' taking it adverbially.

116.] 'Ibidem,' on the spot. ἡ δ' ἐλελίχθη πᾶσα, Od. 12. 416.

117.] 'Vertex,' not 'vortex,' is the constant orthography of Med. But Rom. and Gud. here have 'vortex' [, a spelling supported by Pliny quoted by Charisius p. 52 P.—H. N.] 'Vorat aequore,' 'engulfs.' So "vorago."

118.] 'Rari nantes,' with reference to 'vasto.' Comp. Od. 12. 418, where the drowning crew are compared to sea-birds.

119.] Some difficulty has been raised about 'arma' floating, which is justified by a passage in Livy, 1. 37, "fluitantia arma ad urbem cognita in Tiberi." But the picture here is momentary, and flashes before the eyes of Aeneas. 'Tabulae,' planks. Comp. πίνακάς τε νεῶν καὶ σώματα φωτῶν Κύμαθ' ἁλὸς φορέουσι, Od. 12. 67. 'Troia:' this is the orthography of the best MSS. in Virg., though 'Troicus' is found in other authors. 'Troia gaza,' 2. 763. For 'gaza' see on 5. 40, where, as in 2. 763, Med. has the spelling 'gazza.'

120.] The names of Ilioneus and Abas are from Hom. (Il. 14. 489., 5. 148), but the persons are different, both being killed in Hom. [Conington read 'Achatae' from Med. Rom. and Gud. But Pliny in the sixth book of his treatise "dubii sermonis" read 'Achati.' Charisius p. 107 P. "'Herculi' pro 'Herculis' et 'Ulixi' pro 'huius Ulixis' dici coeptum est, inquit Plinius eodem libro VI., quoniam regula, inquit, illa, si genetivo singulari ους litteris nomina finientur Graeca, velut τοῦ Εὐμένους, τοῦ Διογένους, nostros quoque 'huius Eumenis' 'huius Diogenis' oportet proferre; at si τοῦ Εὐριπίδου, τοῦ Χρύσου, tunc demum nostros *s* subtrahere debere. Itaque 'huius Euripidi,' 'Chrysi,' debere censeri, ut 'fortis Achati,' et 'acris Oronti.' Sed nostra, inquit, aetas in totum istam declinationem abolevit."—H. N.]

121.] 'Grandaevus' is said not to be found in any author earlier than Virg.;

Vicit hiemps; laxis laterum compagibus omnes
Accipiunt inimicum imbrem, rimisque fatiscunt.
  Interea magno misceri murmure pontum,
Emissamque hiemem sensit Neptunus et imis
Stagna refusa vadis, graviter commotus: et alto
Prospiciens, summa placidum caput extulit unda.
Disiectam Aeneae toto videt aequore classem,
Fluctibus oppressos Troas caelique ruina,
Nec latuere doli fratrem Iunonis et irae.
Eurum ad se Zephyrumque vocat, dehinc talia fatur:
  Tantane vos generis tenuit fiducia vestri?
Iam caelum terramque meo sine numine, Venti,
Miscere, et tantas audetis tollere moles?

"grandaevitas" however is quoted from Pacuvius, Herm. fr. 1, and Attius, Alcum. fr. 6, Bacch. fr. 7.

122.] [For the language comp. Lucr. 6. 1071 "quam *laxare* queant *compages* taurea vincla." Livy 35. 26 "omnibus *compagibus* aquam *acciperet*." Virg. A. 6. 414, "multam *accepit* rimosa paludem." —H. N.]

123.] 'Imbrem:' Serv. quotes Ennius (Ann. 490), "ratibusque fremebat Imber Neptuni." Lucr. uses "imber" for the element of water, e. g. 1. 715. Med. originally and Gud. 'remis.'

124—141.] 'Neptune rises from the deep, and dismisses the winds with threats.'

124.] Ulysses in the Odyssey (5. 382) is saved by Leucothea and Pallas, from pity and interest in his fate; but Neptune appears to intervene only to assert his own authority and repress Aeolus. See however 5. 801. 'Magno misceri murmure,' 4. 160.

126.] Serv. takes 'stagna' as the still water at the bottom of the sea. Heyne considers it to be the Homeric λίμνη. There is no difficulty in fixing the general sense of 'refusa' as 'disturbed.' Stat. Theb. 1. 359, "Stagnoque refusa est Funditus et veteri spumavit Lerna veneno." But the specific sense, and the connexion of that sense with other uses of the word in Virg. (see 6. 107., 7. 225, G. 2. 163), are more doubtful. It may mean no more than that the water is poured back or worked up from the bottom. 'Alto prospiciens,' 'looking out over the sea.' Comp. v. 154. To the other interpretation, 'in care for the main,' it may be objected that we should rather have expected 'suis regnis,' or some such expression, and that Virgil nowhere else uses 'prospicio' metaphorically.

127.] Repeated from G. 4. 352, with the substitution of 'placidum' for "flavum." 'Placidum caput,' because he was about to still or make placid the waves (Heyne). [Henry now explains it of "the cool, calm countenance with which a Napoleon or a Wilhelm enters a chamber of ministers or a house of assembly which has displeased him."—H. N.] There is no inconsistency between 'commotus' and 'placidum,' a subject on which Heyne has written an Excursus.

129.] 'Caeli ruina:' comp. G. 1. 324, "ruit arduus aether." 'The downfall of the sky.' Rom. and Gud. 'ruinam,' the 'm' being erased.

130.] 'Nec latuere,' οὐδὲ λάθον, Apoll. R. 4. 753.

132.] 'Generis fiducia vestri,' confidence in your semi-divine origin.

133.] 'Iam—,' 'is it come to this, that' &c. 'Caelum terramque miscere' is a proverbial expression for universal confusion. "Quid tandem est cur caelum ac terras misceant?" Livy 4. 3. Another variety of the same image is found in the parallel A. 5. 790 (note), "maria omnia caelo Miscuit." "Sine numine divom" 2. 777., 5. 56, where as here 'numine' may be taken nearly in its strict sense of "nutu" (comp. 2. 123 note). The expression is not confined to poetry: Cic. Phil. 13. 5 has "Mihi quidem numine deorum immortalium videtur hoc Fortuna voluisse."

134.] We may either take 'moles' metaphorically, as 'confusion' ('tollere'

Quos ego—! Sed motos praestat componere fluctus.
Post mihi non simili poena commissa luetis.
Maturate fugam, regique haec dicite vestro:
Non illi imperium pelagi saevumque tridentem,
Set mihi sorte datum. Tenet ille inmania saxa,
Vestras, Eure, domos; illa se iactet in aula
Aeolus, et clauso ventorum carcere regnet.
  Sic ait, et dicto citius tumida aequora placat,
Collectasque fugat nubes solemque reducit.
Cymothoe simul et Triton adnixus acuto
Detrudunt navis scopulo; levat ipse tridenti;
Et vastas aperit Syrtis, et temperat aequor,

being "excitare"), or as "moles undarum," which is more poetical. Sil. 14. 123, "molem maris." See on 5. 790.

135.] 'Quos ego—!' A similar aposiopesis in a threat is quoted by Serv. from Ter. Andr. 1. 1. 137, "Quem quidem ego, si sensero—! Sed quid opus est verbis?" Emm. remarks that they are commonly followed by 'sed,' as in the passage just given. Comp. Ov. Her. 12. 207, "Quos equidem actutum . . Sed quid praedicere poenam Attinet? ingentis parturit ira minas."

136.] It matters little whether we take 'non' with 'simili' 'luetis:' but the former is best. 'Post,' 'another time.'

137.] 'Maturate,' 'accomplish betimes,' a sense which here would be equivalent to "properate," though in G. 1. 260 (note) the two are naturally distinguished.

138.] 'Saevum,' [' terrible,' δεινόν; so 'formidable' in] Tibull. 1. 1. 22, "Terreat ut saeva falce Priapus aves."

139.] 'Sorte datum,' the division between the three brothers was by lot, Il. 15. 187 foll. 'Tenet ille,' 'his province is.' Hor. 3 Od. 4. 62, "qui Lyciae tenet Dumeta natalemque silvam Delius et Patareus Apollo." ['Immania' Rom. Gud. —H. N.]

140.] 'Vestras,' referring to the whole company, though only one is named. So 9. 525, "Vos, O Calliope, precor, adspirate canenti." 'Euri domus,' in a different sense, G. 1. 371. 'Illa,' &c. Hom. Il. 1. 179, Οἴκαδ' ἰὼν σὺν νηυσί τε σῇς καὶ σοῖς ἑτάροισι Μυρμιδόνεσσσιν ἄνασσε.

141.] 'Clauso' is emphatic and a predicate (ἐν κεκλεισμένῳ τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ), though it may also be abl. abs., as Henry prefers to regard it. The words are well rendered by Trapp, "But bid him bar the prison of his winds." This and the previous clause may seem to favour some other interpretation of v. 56 than that adopted there; but without extending, as Henry does, 'aula' to the whole of Aeolia, we may suppose that Aeolus occasionally visits and rebukes his prisoners. "Regnet in aula," G. 4. 90 (quoted by Henry).

142—156.] 'He allays the storm, and extricates the ships.'

142.] 'Dicto citius,' before he had done his speech the waters were calm. So in Aesch. Suppl. 598 (of Zeus), πάρεστι δ' ἔργον ὡς ἔπος Σπεῦσαί τι τῶν βούλιος φέρει φρήν. One of Ribbeck's cursives has 'Haec ait.'

143.] The reversal of v. 88, "Eripiunt subito nubes caelumque diemque."

144.] 'Cymothoe,' one of the Oceanides, Hes. Theog. 245. In Apoll. R. 4. 1602 foll. Triton pushes the Argo into the sea, as Thetis and the Nereids had guided it through the Symplegades, ib. vv. 930 foll. Comp. the agency of Cymodoce, 10. 246.

145.] 'Navis,' i. e. the three ships mentioned v. 108. 'Levat,' raises them with his trident, so that they may float off the rock.

146.] 'Vastas aperit Syrtis,' makes a way through the Syrtes, so that the three ships (v. 110) may get out. [Pliny 2. 122 "ver ergo aperit navigantibus maria."—H. N.] Henry objects that 'vastas' shows that the action is on the whole Syrtes, which he accordingly supposes Neptune to level. But in the very instance which he quotes (10. 13, "Alpes inmittet apertas") the meaning is not that the Alps are levelled, but that a way is made through them. 'Vastas' and 'aperit' are explained by v. 112, "aggere cingit

Atque rotis summas levibus perlabitur undas.
Ac veluti magno in populo cum saepe coorta est
Seditio, saevitque animis ignobile vulgus,
Iamque faces et saxa volant (furor arma ministrat);
Tum, pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem
Conspexere, silent, arrectisque auribus adstant;
Ille regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcet:
Sic cunctus pelagi cecidit fragor, aequora postquam
Prospiciens genitor caeloque invectus aperto
Flectit equos curruque volans dat lora secundo.

harenae." The ships are surrounded by the sandbank on all sides.

147.] 'Rotis levibus perlabitur:' comp. in Hom.'s description of the progress of Poseidon, Il. 13. 29, *τοὶ δ' ἐπέτοντο 'Ρίμφα μάλ', οὐδ' ὑπένερθε διαίνετο χάλκεος ἄξων.* So 5. 819, "Caeruleo per summa levis volat aequora curru." Heyne observes that such a Neptune is often found on gems.

148.] This simile, [perhaps, as Henry says, suggested by Hesiod Theog. 81 foll.,] is remarkable as an illustration of Nature from man, the reverse of which is the general rule in Virg. as in Hom. The image was no doubt suggested by the riots in the Roman forum during the furious political contests of the later republic.—[From Cicero pro Cluentio 49 it would appear that the converse of this simile was common.—H. N.] 'Ac veluti.' This passage, which has been already referred to in the note on G. 3. 196, is an instance of a simile where the construction of the sentence is fully drawn out. 'Ac' couples the whole (vv. 148—156) with what has gone before. The apodosis to 'veluti' is 'sic' (v. 154); that to 'cum' would seem to be 'tum' (v. 150), as it is there that the point of the simile is introduced. 'Cum saepe,' as Lucr. 3. 912., 4. 1203, quoted by Forb.; apparently a confusion between "saepe cum" and "cum, ut, saepe fit:" see Munro on Lucr. 5. 1231. 'Magno in populo,' 'in a concourse of people,' not 'in a mighty people.' It may be questioned whether the position of the words here and in 6. 707, "Ac velut in pratis," 11. 908, "Ac velut in somnis," does not show that 'magno in populo' is meant to indicate the scene of the whole, so that a comma should be put after 'populo.' [Ribbeck writes 'cohorta' from the corrected reading of Med.—H. N.]

149.] 'Animis,' 'in their minds;' like "obstipuere animis," 9. 123, not, as Heyne renders it, 'with passion.' In 5. 462, which Weidner comp., "saevire animis Entellum haud passus acerbis," the addition of an epithet of course makes a difference.

150.] 'Iamque,' 'and at last they have begun to throw,' &c. Comp. 12. 656, "Iamque faces ad tecta volant." 'Faces,' to fire buildings with, were regular arms of a Roman mob. Tac. A. 14. 45, "conglobata multitudine saxa et faces minitante." Serv. mentions another reading 'volunt,' [which was as old as Cornutus, who rightly objected to it.—H. N.] 'Furor arma ministrat' is parenthetical. Comp. 7. 507, "quod cuique repertum Rimanti, telum ira facit."

151.] 'Pietate,' general discharge of duty; 'meritis,' services to the state. For the construction 'pietate gravem,' see on G. 3. 506.

152.] 'Adstant.' Here and in 2. 303 (where the same words recur), 'ad' expresses attention. Comp. the expression "adesse animo," 'to attend to a speaker.'

153.] 'Animos,' like 'animis' in v. 149. 'Iste' had at one time crept into the text (Heyne's, e. g.); but it was a mere typographical error.

154.] 'Cecidit fragor,' like "ventosi ceciderunt murmuris aurae," E. 9. 58.

155.] 'Aperto,' cleared of clouds. 'With clear sky all round him.' 'Genitor,' 5. 817, note.

156.] 'Curru' (his chariot and horses) is the dat. after 'dat lora.' The idea in 'secundo' is that of easy gliding; and the expression may be compared with "cursus secundus" and "secundo amne," and, what comes still closer, "vela secunda" in Ov. A. A. 264, F. 3. 790 (quoted by Wagn.). See also 6. 146, "namque ipse volens facilisque sequetur Si te fata vo-

Defessi Aeneadae, quae proxima litora, cursu
Contendunt petere, et Libyae vertuntur ad oras.
Est in secessu longo locus: insula portum
Efficit obiectu laterum, quibus omnis ab alto
Frangitur inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos;
Hinc atque hinc vastae rupes geminique minantur
In caelum scopuli, quorum sub vertice late
Aequora tuta silent; tum silvis scaena coruscis

cant." [Henry takes 'secundo' as = 'obedient to the reins,' 'easily following.'—H. N.] 'Volans:' see on G. 2. 41. 'Dat lora,' v. 63, note. For 'curru' Rom. has 'fluctu.'

157—159.] 'The Trojans find a convenient harbour with a cave at the end, land, and prepare a meal.'

157.] 'Aeneadae,' in Lucr. 1. 1 the title of the Roman nation. So "Thesidae," G. 2. 383, of the Athenians. 'Quae proxima litora:' comp. v. 72, "quae forma pulcherrima." So E. 1. 5. 3, "quae semper." The relative supplies the want of an article. 'Cursu' = "rapide," as in 2. 321, &c.

158.] 'Vertuntur ad oras:" comp. v. 528. The more usual expression would be "advertuntur oris." 'Vertuntur' seems to be middle in sense, though Weidner takes it "casu vertuntur."

159.] Serv. seems right in treating this as an imaginary description. All the parts of it except the island are taken from or suggested by the harbour of Phorcys, in Od. 13. 96 (comp. also Ulysses' description of the coast on which he is thrown, Od. 5. 411 foll., also Od. 10. 89 foll.). Some have traced the island to the harbour of New Carthage, or the bay of Naples; but, as Heyne says, it is common to many harbours. See his Excursus. 'In secessu longo,' 'in a deep retiring bay.' Henry says it cannot = "recessus;" but the dictionaries show (what he seems to question) that it may mean a place of retirement; and the notions of a place where men withdraw, and a place which withdraws itself, easily pass into each other. The words recur 3. 229.

160.] ['Effecit,' i. e. 'efficit,' Med., and so Ribbeck.—H. N.] 'Obiectu laterum' = "obiectis lateribus," 'by the shelter of its sides.' Caesar has almost the same words (B. C. 3. 112), "Haec insula obiecta Alexandriae portum efficit."

161.] 'Inque sinus,' &c. 'Parts into the deep hollows of the shore.' Comp. G. 4. 420 (note), "quo plurima vento Cogitur inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos;" in which passage there is no island or break-water, though the place is said to be "statio tutissima nautis." Heyne, who there interprets the words as I have done, here, not very consistently, explains them of the curves of the retiring wave: and so Wagn., Forb., Gossrau, and now Henry. [Serv. interprets 'reductos' as = "replicabiles," and must therefore have taken 'sinus' in the latter way.—H. N.]

162.] It seems best to take 'vastae rupes' as the line of cliffs, and 'scopuli' as the peaks at its extremities. 'Gemini' implies likeness; comp. 3. 535, "gemino demittunt bracchia muro Turriti scopuli." Silius (4. 2) seems to have taken 'minantur in caelum' as "minantur caelo," threaten the sky, not threaten those below,—the difference between 'towering' and 'beetling.' Other passages in Virg. (2. 240, 628., 8. 668) would rather support 'beetling:' in this case the words would be equivalent to "surgunt minanter in caelum." Such too would be the analogy of 'mineo,' which occurs in Lucr. 6. 562: "Ad caelumque, magis quanto sunt edita quaeque, Inclinata minent in eandum prodita partem," where however Lachm. reads "meant," Munro "tument." That the two words are radically the same, cannot be doubted, whether the moral or the physical was the primary sense of 'minor.' Wagn. comp. Od. 12. 73, *οἱ δὲ δύω σκόπελοι, ὁ μὲν οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἱκάνει Ὀξείῃ κορυφῇ.*

163.] 'Late:' there is an expanse of sleeping water below.

164.] 'Tuta' seems to include the two notions, protected from the wind, and safe for ships. The latter seems to come from the context: the former is established by Od. 13. 99, *αἵ τ' ἀνέμων σκεπόωσι δυσαήων μέγα κῦμα.* Forb. comp. Ov. M. 4. 525, "Imminet aequoribus scopulus: pars ima cavatur Fluctibus et tectas defendit ab imbribus undas;" Henry, Claud. Bell. Gild. 523, "Efficitur portus medium mare, tutaque ventis Omnibus ingenti mansuescunt stagna recessu." 'Scaena' was the wall

Desuper horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbra;
Fronte sub adversa scopulis pendentibus antrum,
Intus aquae dulces vivoque sedilia saxo,
Nympharum domus: hic fessas non vincula navis
Ulla tenent, unco non alligat ancora morsu.
Huc septem Aeneas collectis navibus omni
Ex numero subit; ac magno telluris amore
Egressi optata potiuntur Troes harena
Et sale tabentis artus in litore ponunt.
Ac primum silici scintillam excudit Achates
Succepitque ignem foliis atque arida circum

which closed the stage behind (Dict. Ant. 'theatrum'); here it is that which closes the view. 'A background of waving woods.' [Or 'scaena' may be used here in the sense of canopy, as it is explained by Placidus p. 82 (Deuerling) "scaena dicitur arborum in se incumbentium quasi concamerata densatio." The word originally means a covering, from the root *ska*.—Serv. explains it here as = "inumbratio."—H. N.]

165.] [Henry would put a comma after 'desuper.'—H. N.] 'Horrenti,' 'shaggy.' [Serv. however says the epithet "ad venerationem pertinet." Isid. Orig. 1. 35. 18 quotes "horrendis . . . umbris."—H. N.]

166.] 'Fronte sub adversa,' under the front of the cliffs facing the entrance of the harbour; i. e. at the head of the cove. Henry thinks there may be a reference to the "frontes scaenae" (G. 3. 24). 'Saxis pendentibus,' from Lucr. 6. 195, "Speluncasque velut saxis pendentibu' structas," who in turn has imitated an old poet (supposed to be Ennius) in Cic. Tusc. Disp. 1. 16, "Per speluncas saxis structas asperis, pendentibus."

167.] 'Dulcis,' of fresh water, G. 2. 243. 'Vivo saxo,' 3. 688, not hewn, but natural, and as it were growing. Comp. G. 2. 469, note. These details are extracted from the much more fanciful description in Hom. above referred to, Od. 13. 103 foll. Comp. also Od. 12. 318, from which Virg. took the seats.

168.] 'Nympharum domus' may be either in vague apposition to the two preceding lines, or in strict apposition to 'antrum,' v. 168 being a sort of parenthesis, like that in v. 12, above. [Lucr. 5. 948 "silvestria templa tenebant Nympharum, quibus e scibant umoris fluenta Lubrica proluvie larga lavere umida saxa;" see also Livy 38. 11. So Schömann would take νυμφικῶν ἐδωλίων in Aesch. Chöeph. 71 of 'springs and streams,' the abodes of the Nymphs.—H. N.] 'Fessas:' comp. Shaksp., Rom. and Jul., Act 5, Sc. 4, "Thou desperate pilot, now at once run on The dashing rocks thy sea-sick, weary bark." The weary ship reposes without the strain which the strong cable and biting anchor imply. Od. 13. 100., 9. 136.

169.] 'Unco morsu,' prob. with 'alligat,' as "dente tenaci" in the parallel 6. 3 with "fundabat." Anchors are post-Homeric. Homer's ships are moored with εὐναί, large stones. [Med. gives 'anchora,' a spelling supported by Serv.—H. N.]

170.] 'Septem,' three from the reef, three from the sandbank, and his own. 'Collectis' (mustered) may be either an abl. abs. or an instrumental abl. Comp. v. 381, "Bis denis Phrygium conscendi navibus aequor."

171.] 'Amore' for "desiderio," as ἔρως for πόθος. Heyne and Wagn. needlessly and arbitrarily punctuate 'ac, magno telluris amore Egressi, optata.'

172.] Virg. thought of Ulysses' landing. Od. 5. 462, ὁ δ' ἐκ ποταμοῖο λιασθεὶς Σχοίνῳ ὑπεκλίνθη, κύσε δὲ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν. 'Potiuntur,' 3. 278., 11. 493.

173.] 'Tabes' is properly the moisture of decomposition, as in Livy 21. 36, "Per nudam glaciem fluentemque tabem liquescentis nivis ingrediebantur." Here 'tabentis' is simply dripping, perhaps with a notion of foulness. Od. 5. 455, θάλασσα δὲ κήκιε πολλὴ Ἂν στόμα τε ῥῖνάς τε. 'Ponunt,' 'stretch.'

174.] Comp. G. 1. 135, A. 6. 6. 'Silicis' is read by some MSS. of Virg. and of Serv., and by those of Priscian; but the beginning of the next word accounts for the corruption.

175.] The form 'succepit' is found in

Nutrimenta dedit rapuitque in fomite flammam.
Tum Cererem corruptam undis Cerealiaque arma
Expediunt fessi rerum, frugesque receptas
Et torrere parant flammis et frangere saxo.
  Aeneas scopulum interea conscendit et omnem
Prospectum late pelago petit, Anthea si quem

Med. and Rom., and supported by Serv. here and in 6. 249, note. The verb, however written, harmonizes with 'nutrimenta,' bringing out the image of infancy.

176.] ['Nutrimenta,' it may be observed, is given by Nonius p. 9 as the equivalent of "focula."—H. N.] Serv. explains 'rapuit,' "raptim fecit;" Heyne, "raptim excepit." Wagn. thinks the word has reference to a practice of waving the tinder to fan the flame. The question seems to be whether the motion expressed in 'rapuit' belongs to the act of Achates, or to the flame: either view would be defensible. [Paulus p. 84 Müller says of 'fomes' "'fomites' sunt assulae ex arboribus, dum caeduntur, excussae . . . At Opilius adustas iam vites vocari existimat fomites. Alii vocari putant scintillas, quae ex ferro candenti malleis excutiuntur; dicta autem ita quia igni sunt confotae." Serv. says here, "'fomites' sunt assulae quae ab arboribus cadunt quando inciduntur, quod foveant ignem." The word, which in formation resembles "trames" and "limes," probably means a chip of dry wood, or bark.—H. N.] Pliny, apparently with reference to this passage, says (16. 208), "teritur lignum ligno ignemque concipit attritu excipiente materia aridi fomitis fungi vel foliorum facillimo conceptu." The process would be clear if we might take the 'arida nutrimenta' to be the 'folia,' the tinder in which the spark is first caught and kept alive, and from which the chip or match ('fomes') is then lighted. Comp. the imitation in Val. Fl. 2. 449, "citum strictis alius de cautibus ignem Ostendit foliis et sulpure pascit amico;" where "sulpur" (perhaps the match) seems to perform the part of the 'fomes' here. Weidner inclines to identify 'folia' and 'fomes,' which is not impossible.

177.] 'Cerealia arma,' the hand-mill, or quern (Dict. A. 'mola'), and perhaps the kneading-trough, μάκτρα. 'Correptam' Rom. originally.

178.] 'Expediunt,' v. 702. 'Fessi rerum,' weary of the struggle with fortune, weary of their way. Comp. 12. 589 (of bees attacked in their homes), "trepidae rerum." Both expressions are apparently copied by Sil. 2. 234, "trepidi rerum fessique salutis," where it would seem more natural to read, "fessi rerum trepidique salutis." Comp. also v. 462, "lacrimae rerum," "fessis rebus," 3. 145., 11. 335. 'Receptas,' saved from the sea.

179.] Comp. G. 1. 267, note. [Serv. quotes from the Troades of Attius "nocturna saxo fruges franges torridas," quoted by Nonius p. 447 with "frendas" for "franges." Nonius l. c. quotes also from the Antiopa of Pacuvius "fruges frendo sola saxi robore."—H. N.]

180—207.] 'Aeneas, looking for the missing ships, falls in with a herd of stags, and kills seven of them, which he distributes among his crews, encouraging them with the thought that they have escaped worse hardships, and that Italy will be theirs at last.'

180.] Ulysses climbs a rock to reconnoitre the territory of Circe, Od. 10. 148. The prep. in 'conscendo' implies energy or effort, 'scales.' For this force of "con" in composition, see Key, Lat. Gr. 1323. Serv. rightly points out that the chief is painted as occupied with nobler cares; as in 6. 9, where he goes to consult the Sibyl while the rest are kindling their fire, and scouring the woods. The stags are an accidental piece of good fortune ('tela gerebat *Achates*'), which serves as a comfort and an omen of further comfort to the fleet. 'Omnem' belongs more properly to 'pelago' than to 'prospectum,' which denotes rather the faculty or opportunity than the view or prospect in our sense. 'Prospectum petere' is found in Catull. 64. 241. Comp. also Pacuv. Chrys. fr. 9 (Ribbeck), "incipio saxum temptans scandere Verticem, summusque in omnis partis prospectum aucupo."

181.] 'Si quem'='sicubi.' Comp., besides v. 8, "quo numine laeso," the more exact parallel. Aesch. Ag. 55, ὕπατος δ' ἀΐων ἤ τις Ἀπόλλων for ἤ που, 'Apollo it

Iactatum vento videat Phrygiasque biremis,
Aut Capyn, aut celsis in puppibus arma Caici.
Navem in conspectu nullam, tris litore cervos
Prospicit errantis; hos tota armenta secuntur
A tergo, et longum per vallis pascitur agmen.
Constitit hic, arcumque manu celerisque sagittas
Corripuit, fidus quae tela gerebat Achates,
Ductoresque ipsos primum, capita alta ferentis
Cornibus arboreis, sternit, tum volgus, et omnem
Miscet agens telis nemora inter frondea turbam;
Nec prius absistit, quam septem ingentia victor
Corpora fundat humi et numerum cum navibus aequet.

may be.' 'Si,' in the hope that. 'Si qua,' the second reading of Gud., is mentioned by Charisius p. 194 and Serv., was once read in the common texts, and is now preferred by Weidner.

182.] 'Biremis.' It is an anachronism to speak of biremes or, as Virg. in 5. 119, of triremes, in the Homeric age.

183.] 'Arma' is rightly taken by Wagn. and Wund. in its strict sense, comparing 8. 92, "Mirantur nemus insuetum fulgentia longa Scuta virum fluvio pictasque innare carinas." [Comp. Val. Fl. 1. 339 "primus in aeratis posuissem puppibus arma:" ib. 495; 5. 8, 214.—H. N.]

184.] "In conspectu," 10. 260. In the parallel passage Od. 9. 154, Ulysses kills goats. It is needlessly inquired whether there are deer in Africa. Shaw, Travels, p. 243, says there are: others interpret 'cervi' as antelopes.

185.] 'Armenta,' though strictly used of oxen, is applied 3. 540 to horses, and by Pliny, 7. 31, to apes. See on G. 3. 286. ['Sequuntur' Rom. and fragm. Vat. —H. N.]

188.] 'Fidus quae tela gerebat Achates' is condemned by Peerlkamp, and regarded by Ribbeck as a 'stop-gap' ("tibicen") which Virg. would have removed in correcting the poem. Really however it marks the accidental character of the affair, which is important, as remarked on v. 180. 'Quae tela' follows 'arcum sagittasque,' as "quo litore" follows "locum" in 7. 477, comp. by Gossrau.

189.] We should probably connect 'alta' with 'cornibus arboreis.' For 'arboreis' comp. E. 7. 30, "ramosa cornua cervi." The antlers, of course, denote the age and size of the stags. 'Ferentis' implies conscious dignity, as in v. 503, "talem se laeta ferebat."

190.] 'Volgus' of beasts G. 3. 469. [Serv. quotes "volgus avium" and "hastarum" from Ennius. 'Vulgus' Rom. and fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

191.] 'Miscet,' breaks up the array ('agmen'). Weidner well comp. 10. 721, "Hunc ubi miscentem longe media agmina vidit." ['Turbam,' not proleptic, as Conington thought, but a variation of 'vulgus': comp. Lucr. 2. 921 "praeter volgum turbamque animantum." This use of 'turba' may perhaps be illustrated by Plautus Aulul. 338, 340, where the word is used of a number of slaves.—H. N.] Connect 'agens telis,' as in 4. 71. 'Agens' occurs alone in a similar connexion G. 3. 412. 'Nemora inter frondea:' comp. 4. 70.

192.] 'Victor' continues the imagery of a battle.

193.] Jahn on 5. 347 is right in saying that the sense of 'fundat—aequet' in this passage must be subjective, as it cannot be indefinite; 'Aeneas refuses to stop till—.' The best MSS. (fragm. Vat., Med., Rom., Gud.) have 'humo,' and so Non. p. 312, who however quotes the line to illustrate 'fundo:' 'humi' is supported by Serv., and some copies of Virg., including one of Ribbeck's cursives corrected. But the universal practice is in favour of 'humi' for 'on the ground,' while 'humo' is 'from' or 'in the ground.' In the parallel instances 2. 380., 5. 78, 481., 6. 423., 9. 754., 10. 697., 11. 640, 665, the best MSS. seem to read 'humi' without variation, though Arusianus quotes 2. 380 with 'humo.' Wagn. thinks the elision was the cause of the error, as in 3. 670., 5. 502 (and v. 104 above), where wrong readings have similarly been introduced into first-class MSS.; it is possible too that a tran-

Hinc portum petit, et socios partitur in omnis.
Vina bonus quae deinde cadis onerarat Acestes
Litore Trinacrio dederatque abeuntibus heros,
Dividit, et dictis maerentia pectora mulcet:
O socii,—neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum—
O passi graviora, dabit deus his quoque finem.
Vos et Scyllaeam rabiem penitusque sonantis
Accestis scopulos, vos et Cyclopea saxa
Experti: revocate animos, maestumque timorem

scriber may have recollected G. 2. 460. Ovid however (M. 4. 261) has "sedit humo nuda," though there one MS. gives "humi nudae." 'Numerum' &c.: Ulysses kills nine goats for each ship with one additional for his own.

194.] 'Hinc,' 'then.' 'Portum' is the landing-place where the crew was encamping. 'Socios partitur in omnis:' he gives each ship a stag, in which each man shares equally. Forb. remarks that Aeneas must first have summoned his comrades to help him to carry the seven stags; an instance of Virg.'s brevity in narration.

195.] The order seems to be 'deinde dividit vina quae,' &c., as there is no other way of making sense of 'deinde.' There are other passages in Virg. where 'deinde' may be regarded as out of place, 3. 609., 5. 14, 400., 7. 135, but none where the necessity is at once so harsh and so inevitable as here. 'Onerarat cadis,' 'had stowed in jars,' instead of the usual phrase "onerarat cados vinis." ['Onus' was the technical word for cargo. Cic. De Inv. 2 § 153, Verr. Act. 2. 5. § 145; and Petronius 76 says "quinque naves aedificavi, oneravi vinum," I put wine in them as their cargo. It is possible therefore that 'cadis onerarat' means simply 'had put on the ships in jars.'—H. N.] Wagn. quotes 3. 465, "stipatque carinis Ingens argentum;" and 8. 180, "onerantque canistris Dona." The gift of wine is from Od. 9. 197. [Henry rightly warns us against translating 'cadus' 'cask.'—H. N.]

196.] 'Heros' is in apposition to Acestes, not the nom. to 'dividit.' Comp. 8. 464., 12. 902, and vv. 412, 691 below. It denotes the noble courtesy of the donor. Pierius' Medicean read 'hospes.'

198.] 'Neque enim.' Comp. v. 65, "Aeole, namque tibi," note. There seems no occasion to follow Servius and the modern commentators (Gossrau is an exception) in joining 'ante malorum'—τῶν πρὶν κακῶν. 'Sumus ante' (including the present time in the past) corresponds to the idiom πάλαι ἴσμεν. So in the Greek use of the superlative for the comparative the object compared is included in the objects of comparison. The speech is modelled on Od. 12. 208 foll. Macrob., Sat. 5. 11, thinks Virg. the "locupletior interpres" here. Serv. says Virg. has borrowed it from Naevius' Punic War, which, if it means anything more than that Naevius imitated Hom., may apply to the latter part, where Virg. has deviated from his Greek original. See p. xli. above.

199.] 'O passi graviora:' probably from Hor. 1 Od. 7. 30, "O fortes peioraque passi Mecum saepe viri, nunc vino pellite curas," the ultimate source being Od. 20. 17, τέτλαθι δή, κραδίη· καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης.

200.] 'Scyllaeam rabiem,' like βίη Ἡρακληείη. 'Rabiem' probably has reference to the dogs with which Scylla is encircled in Virg. Comp. Lucr. 5. 892, "rabidis canibus succinctas semimarinis Corporibus Scyllas." 'Penitus sonantis' ('resounding through their caverns') also has reference to the dogs. Comp. 3. 432, "Scyllam et caeruleis canibus resonantia saxa." [Serv. mentions the alternative of taking 'penitus' with 'accestis:' "have approached closely."—H. N.]

201.] 'Accestis.' There is a similar syncope in 4. 606, "exstinxem," 4. 682, "exstinxti," 5. 786, "traxe," 11. 118, "vixet." Forb. has collected similar instances on Lucr. 1. 71. [In spite of the fact that 'Cyclopia' would properly correspond to Κυκλώπιος, and 'Cyclopea' to Κυκλώπειος, the best MSS. here and Serv. unite in spelling 'Cyclopea.' The analogy of Latin adjectives such as "frondeus" may have misled the Romans.—H. N.] 'Cyclopea saxa:' they did not actually enter the cave of the Cyclops,

Mittite: forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit.
Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum
Tendimus in Latium, sedes ubi fata quietas
Ostendunt; illic fas regna resurgere Troiae.
Durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis.
  Talia voce refert, curisque ingentibus aeger
Spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem.
Illi se praedae accingunt dapibusque futuris:
Tergora diripiunt costis et viscera nudant;
Pars in frusta secant veribusque trementia figunt;

but they landed on the shore, and so may be said to have known it. So they did not actually pass Scylla, but they came near enough to be in danger. In Od. 12. 209 Ulysses consoles his crew by reminding them of their escape from the Cyclops, but carefully avoids mentioning Scylla, which they were just approaching.

203.] Od. 15. 400, *μετὰ γάρ τε καὶ ἄλγεσι τέρπεται ἀνήρ, Ὅστις δὴ μάλα πολλὰ πάθῃ καὶ πόλλ' ἐπαληθῇ*: ib. 12. 212, *καί που τῶνδε μνήσεσθαι ὀΐω*. Macrob. Sat. 7. 2, quotes from Eur. (fr. 131), *ὡς ἡδύ τοι σωθέντα μεμνῆσθαι πόνων*, which is translated by Cic. Fin. 2. 32. Contrast 11. 280, "nec veterum memini laetorve malorum." Two assertions are included in Virg.'s words: 'we shall remember these things' (i.e. we shall live to think of them as past, and recall them as we are now recalling previous perils, which is the meaning of Od. 12. 212), and 'we shall remember them with pleasure.' [Ribbeck reads 'forsam' from Rom.—H. N.]

204.] 'Discrimina rerum' = "res periculosas." Comp. "miracula rerum" G. 4. 441. 'Tot' then will go with 'discrimina.'

205.] Heyne inquires how Aeneas came to know the name of Latium, when elsewhere he exhibits so much ignorance about his destination, and answers that he must have been told it by Anchises in the shades,—meaning probably by Helenus in Epirus, as Aeneas does not visit the shades till afterwards. But the proportions of Aeneas' knowledge and ignorance at various times even Virg. himself would probably have found it difficult to adjust (compare e. g. his knowledge of Italy from Creusa 2. 781 with his ignorance afterwards, 3. 100 foll.), so that we need hardly invent an explanation where the poet most likely had none. "Sedes quietae" Lucr. 3. 18 of the abodes of the gods.

206.] 'Ostendunt,' 'promise.' "Quod mihi saepe ostendis, te esse facturum," Cic. Ep. Div. 5. 12, quoted by Gossrau.

207.] 'Durate,' 'hold out,' as in G. 2. 295. *Τλῆτε, φίλοι*, Il. 2. 299. 'Servate rebus secundis,' like "exitio reservat" 5. 625.

208—222.] 'They prepare, cook, and eat their meal, and then lament for their lost comrades.'

209.] Traces of a reading 'voltus' are found in fragm. Vat., Gud., and another of Ribbeck's cursives; but the corruption is easily accounted for: see on v. 174 above. The balance of the sentence requires that too much stress should not be laid on 'premit,' which will mean not 'represses,' but simply 'holds concealed.' In 4. 332 the word has more force. 'Altum corde dolorem' is much the same as "alto corde." "Spem fronte serenat" 4. 447.

210.] 'Praedae dapibusque futuris,' the game which is to be their banquet.

211.] ['Diripiunt' all the good MSS. and Nonius, p. 414. Conington, after Heinsius, Heyne, and Wagn., reads 'deripiunt,' underrating, as I think, the authority of good MSS. on this point. 'Deripere' means to pull down or straight off: 'diripere' to pull in different directions: hence 'diripiunt' would mean here 'tear away.' 'Diripiunt' is adopted by Ribbeck and Forb. in his last edition. 'Diripient' should also be read in 4. 593, 'deripere' (in spite of Med.) 3. 267. In G. 2. 8 'dereptis' is probably right.—H. N.] 'Viscera,' not only the intestines, but whatever is beneath the skin, the flesh. Serv. The passage is partly imitated from Il. 1. 459 foll.

212.] 'Secant,' sc. 'viscera.' Henry seems right in saying 'veribus figunt' is 'pierce with,' not 'stick on, spits.' 'Tre-

Litore aëna locant alii, flammasque ministrant.
Tum victu revocant vires, fusique per herbam
Implentur veteris Bacchi pinguisque ferinae.
Postquam exempta fames epulis mensaeque remotae,
Amissos longo socios sermone requirunt,
Spemque metumque inter dubii, seu vivere credant,
Sive extrema pati nec iam exaudire vocatos.
Praecipue pius Aeneas nunc acris Oronti,

mentia,' as Wund. remarks, shows their eagerness.

213.] There is a doubt about the purpose of the 'aëna.' Boiled meat was unknown to the Homeric age; but Virg. may have introduced the habit of his own time; and such seems to be the interpretation of Val. Fl. in his imitation 8. 254, where the caldron is skimmed. But, as Henry observes, the other view, that water was heated for bathing before the meal, is strongly supported by a passage in Apoll. R. 3. 271 foll., which Virg. probably had in his mind.

τοὶ μὲν μέγαν ἀμφεπένοντο
Ταῦρον ἅλις δμῶες· τοὶ δὲ ξύλα κάγκανα χαλκῷ
Κόπτον· τοὶ δὲ λοετρὰ πυρὶ ζέον.
. . . .
Δμῶες δ' ὁππότε δή σφιν ἐπαρτέα θῆκαν ἐδωδήν,
Αὐτοί τε λιαροῖσιν ἐφαιδρύναντο λοετροῖς κ.τ.λ.

214.] 'Fusi,' 'stretched,' not 'scattered,' as Henry observes. Comp. "fususque per herbam," G. 2. 527.

215.] ['Inplentur' Med.—H. N.] 'Implentur' is middle, 'fill themselves.' [The word seems in this sense to have been colloquial: Petronius 16 "nos implevimus cena:" Juv. 5. 75 "vin tu consuetis audax conviva canistris Impleri"?—H. N.] Elsewhere in Virg. it is found with an abl., not with a gen. One MS. here actually adds 'munere,' as a hemistich. No use of 'ferina,' i. q. "ferina caro," is quoted before Virg.; but he is not likely to have invented it. Comp. "agnina," "bubula," "vitulina," all occurring Plaut. Aul. 2. 8. 4.

216.] Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἕντο, Μνησάμενοι δὴ ἔπειτα φίλους ἔκλαιον ἑταίρους, Od. 12. 309, 310. 'Postquam exempta fames' occurs 8. 184, 'mensaeque remotae' below v. 723. 'Epulis' here is an instrum. abl. 'Mensae remotae' is not appropriate to this occasion, but is the general phrase for concluding a meal, derived from the Roman practice of removing the 'mensae' (Dict. A. 'mensa').

217.] 'Requirunt,' they utter their regret for their companions. "In quo equidem maiorum nostrorum saepe requiro prudentiam," Cic. Parad. 1. 1. 7.

218.] Comp. Aesch. Ag. 667 foll., which Virg. perhaps imitated. With 'seu' after 'dubii' Wagn. comp. 2. 739, "seu lassa resedit, Incertum." Serv. says that some separated 'spemque metumque inter' from 'dubii.'

219.] It is not necessary to limit the meaning of 'extrema' actually to the crisis of death, (which would seem to be the sense of the phrase 'extrema pati' in Tac. H. 4. 54, "famem, ferrum et extrema pati,") as in that case "passos esse" would be required here. The expression rather implies death as a continuing state: 'to be lost.'—'Nec iam exaudire vocatos.' Wund. distinguishes between the "conclamatio" which took place at the moment of death, and the "inclamatio" or "acclamatio" which took place after the burial, and of which we have instances 3. 68, 6. 231, 506; and he thinks that the first is referred to here, on the ground that the Manes were supposed to hear the "inclamatio." Henry may be right in going farther, and supposing the words to mean that the "conclamatio," which, as he observes, was originally a means of ascertaining whether a person was really dead, actually takes place.

220.] Wagn. retains the comma after 'Aeneas;' but there is no reason to separate 'Aeneas' and 'gemit,' though in 6. 176 "Praecipue pius Aeneas" refers to what had preceded. 'Oronti,' the quasi-Greek gen., as "Oronten" v. 113 is the Greek acc. 'Oronti' is supported here by [Pliny ap. Charis, p. 107 P.], fragm. Vat., Med., the second reading of Rom. and Gud., Serv., and Priscian; but the first reading of Rom. and one or two grammarians have 'Orontis.'

Nunc Amyci casum gemit et crudelia secum
Fata Lyci, fortemque Gyan, fortemque Cloanthum.
Et iam finis erat, cum Iuppiter aethere summo
Despiciens mare velivolum terrasque iacentis
Litoraque et latos populos, sic vertice caeli
Constitit et Libyae defixit lumina regnis.
Atque illum talis iactantem pectore curas
Tristior et lacrimis oculos suffusa nitentis
Adloquitur Venus: O qui res hominumque deumque

221.] 'Secum' may imply that while taking part in the general sorrow he indulged his own special griefs, as Achilles weeps for his father and Patroclus while Priam is weeping for Hector, Il. 24. 509 foll.

222.] Weidner remarks well, that 'fortemque Gyan, fortemque Cloanthum' serve to represent the monotony of the lamentation, "O fortis Gya, O fortis Cloanthe."

223—253.] 'Jupiter is surveying the scene in Africa, when Venus addresses him, reminding him of his promise of empire to her Trojans, and contrasting their present sufferings with the success of a Trojan migration under Antenor.'

223.] 'Finis erat' is an imitation of the Homeric transitions, ὣς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον κ.τ.λ. 'And now at last their mourning had an end.' 'Et iam' followed by 'cum,' like "iamque" 3. 135.

224.] The scene between Venus and Jupiter is said to be from Naevius, by Macrob. Sat. 6. 2, quoted p. xli. above. 'Velivolum' is said by Macrob. Sat. 6. 5 to be borrowed from the Helena of Livius (Laevius?): "tu qui permensus ponti maria alta velivola." It occurs as an epithet of ships in Lucr. 5. 1442, and in two fragments of Ennius. The word here may be meant to recall the scene which has just taken place on the sea; but it need mean no more than the sea with all its sails, as the earth with all its peoples. Comp. Lucr. 1. 2, "caeli subter labentia signa Quae mare navigerum, quae terras frugiferentis Concelebras." 'Terras iacentis,' the earth lying outstretched beneath his gaze, as "glaebas iacentis" (G. 1. 55) is the soil lying outstretched to the sun. 'Dispiciens,' the reading of two MSS., mentioned as possible by Serv., is restored by Ribbeck, who refers to Lachm. on Lucr. 4. 236. Lachm.'s position is that 'despicere' only takes the acc. in the sense of contempt, an opinion improbable in itself, as the metaphorical meaning must have come from the literal, and requiring the alteration of various passages. The change, as remarked on v. 211, is slight, and might be made even without MSS.; but the reason for it appears to fail completely. [Nonius, p. 288; "*Despicere*, desuper aspicere:" Vergilius Georgicorum II. (186), "qualem saepe cava montis convalle solemus Despicere." M. Tullius in Hortensio . . . "humanarum opinionum alta quaedam despectio." Serv. here "'despiciens,' deorsum aspiciens."—H.N.]

225.] 'Latos populos' occurs in Ennius, Ann. 1. fr. 4 (Vahlen). [Serv. well remarks "cum populos numero plurali dicimus, urbes significamus: cum vero populum, unius multitudinem civitatis intelligimus."—H. N.] 'Sic,' i. e. 'sic despiciens.' Comp. 7. 668, where "sic subibat" refers to "torquens" and "indutus."—'Vertice caeli:' Virg. has evidently taken these words from Il. 8. 51, αὐτὸς δ' ἐν κορυφῇσι καθέζετο. Comp. also ib. 5. 754, ἀκροτάτῃ κορυφῇ πολυδειράδος Οὐλύμποιο. Hom. however intended the summit of the mountain Olympus; while Virg. apparently had a notion of the highest point of a celestial region, the same which he calls "caeli arcem," v. 250.

227.] The import of 'talis' is to be gathered from the preceding lines, especially from 'Libyae defixit lumina regnis.'

228.] The euphemistic comparative 'tristior' may be explained with reference either to the habitual joyousness of Venus, φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη, or, as Henry thinks, to the tearless serenity of the gods, for which he comp. Ov. F. 4. 521.

229.] 'Hominumque deorumque,' 2. 745, which Heins., Bentley, and Wakefield prefer here. Ribbeck observes, in confirmation of this, that elsewhere in Virg. 'deum' always occurs in the

Aeternis regis imperiis, et fulmine terres,
Quid meus Aeneas in te committere tantum,
Quid Troes potuere, quibus, tot funera passis,
Cunctus ob Italiam terrarum clauditur orbis?
Certe hinc Romanos olim, volventibus annis,
Hinc fore ductores, revocato a sanguine Teucri,
Qui mare, qui terras omni dicione tenerent,
Pollicitus: quae te, genitor, sententia vertit?
Hoc equidem occasum Troiae tristisque ruinas
Solabar, fatis contraria fata rependens;

middle, 'deorum' at the end of a verse: but this is more likely to have been the result of ordinary metrical convenience than of design, and other commentators seem right in claiming for the poet liberty to use a hypermeter or not as he pleases.—'Res hominumque deumque,' taken in a loose sense for the universe, is the object of 'terres.'

231.] The language, as Heyne remarks, is modelled on Il. 4. 31, the sense on Od. 1. 62.

232.] 'Quibus clauditur.' In prose we should have had "claudatur," as the logical reference of the clause 'quibus clauditur' is evidently to 'tantum.' It matters little whether we explain 'funera' of the deaths that had actually thinned the Trojan nation, or as a strong expression for "clades."

233.] 'Ob Italiam,' 'for the sake of Italy,' i. e. to prevent their reaching Italy. This seems clearly better than with some ancient scholars mentioned by Serv. to explain the words "errantibus circum Italiam."

234, 235.] We may either take 'hinc—hinc' as a mere repetition, or suppose that there are two clauses: 'hinc fore Romanos, hinc fore ductores a sanguine Teucri.' 'Volventibus annis' is Hom.'s περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν. See on 8. 47 "redeuntibus annis." 'Revocato,' 'revived,' after the national extinction of Troy. Comp. G. 4. 282, "Nec genus unde novae stirpis revocetur habebit."

236.] 'Omni dicione,' with every kind of sovereignty, i. e. with full sovereignty; as Serv. says, "pace, legibus, bello." So "omni cura" 7. 487 = "summa cura." 'Omnis' ('terras') is read by fragmm. Vat. and Veron., and mentioned, though not with approval, by Serv. [Henry now prefers it.—H. N.]

237.] Wagn. (after Heyne) supposes an anacoluthon, as if "quam sententiam vertisti" should have followed; but this would be very harsh, resembling rather the licences of the Greek poets than those of Virg. The omission of the verb subst. with the second person is paralleled by 5. 687, 10. 827. Ribbeck, who has attacked the omission of the verb subst. in various passages where it is acknowledged to be right in Wagn.'s elaborate essay on the whole subject, Q. V. 15, here reads 'pollicitu 's,' as in 5. 687 "exosu 's," in 10. 827 "lactatu 's." In defending these readings in his Prolegom. p. 154, he fails to show that contractions admissible in Terence or even in Catullus are equally suited to a poem like the Aeneid, while he admits that in 5. 192 "usi" stands for "usi estis." Rau proposed 'pollicitum,' which would be awkward.—'Quae te sententia vertit:' 'quae' is for "cur," or "quomodo" (like "quo numine laeso" for "quam ob laesionem numinis," v. 8); as appears from v. 260, "neque me sententia vertit." 'Te sententia vertit' is poetical for "tu sententiam vertisti," the opinion being supposed to change the mind as external persuasion might.

238.] 'Solabar occasum Troiae.' Comp. Cic. Mil. 35, "solari brevitatem vitae." 'Occasum,' 2. 432.

239.] The meaning of 'fatis contraria fata rependens' is clearly, 'compensating or repaying destiny (of the destruction of Troy) with destiny' (of reaching Italy). "Rependere et compensare leve damnum delibatae honestatis maiore alia honestate," Gell. 1. 3. 'Contraria' expresses the opposition between destiny and destiny as in 7. 293, "fatis contraria nostris Fata Phrygum." Strictly then the epithet would agree with 'fatis,' as the latter of the two correlatives, but by a poetical variety it is joined with 'fata,' the former.

Nunc eadem fortuna viros tot casibus actos
Insequitur. Quem das finem, rex magne, laborum?
Antenor potuit, mediis elapsus Achivis,
Illyricos penetrare sinus atque intima tutus
Regna Liburnorum, et fontem superare Timavi,
Unde per ora novem vasto cum murmure montis

240.] Comp. 6. 62, "Hac Troiana tenus fuerit fortuna secuta." No MS. appears to give 'actis,' which might have been expected as a variety, as in the parallel passages "omnibus exhaustos iam casibus," v. 591, "pelagi tot tempestatibus actus," 3. 708, the abl. is found in some of the best MSS.

241.] 'Das:' Jupiter is addressed not merely as the interpreter of fate, but as identified with it, and answers accordingly "Imperium sine fine dedi," v. 279. So "pollicitus," v. 237. Comp. 3. 375. Otherwise 'dare' would bear the modified signification of announcing; see on 3. 85.

242.] The legend of Antenor is given by Livy, 1. 1, where it is said that he led a colony of Trojans and of Heneti from Paphlagonia to the head of the Adriatic, whence he expelled the Euganei; and that the place where he and his followers first landed was called Troia. His story was variously told, Pindar, Pyth. 5. 19, taking the Antenoridae to Cyrene: the Romans however cherished naturally the legend of a migration to Italy, and one Largus, a contemporary of Ovid, wrote a poem on it. See Heyne's Excursus on this passage. 'Elapsus:' others, such as Sophocles, made him escape by collusion with the conquerors.

243.] ['Intuma' fragm. Vat.—H. N.] 'Tutus' is contrasted with 'tot casibus actos,' as Forb. remarks. 'Penetrare' is not so much to penetrate into, as to make his way through or past; Illyricum, the Liburni, and the Tergestinus Sinus, in which is the 'fons Timavi,' being all left on Antenor's right as he sailed to Venetia. The expression seems to denote the difficulty of a coasting voyage, such as Antenor would make up the east of the Adriatic, whether arising from the dangerous nature of the coast itself, or from the barbarity of the inhabitants. 'Illyricos sinus' may be either the Adriatic, as washing the shore of Illyricum, or the indentations in the Illyrican coast. 'Intima regna Liburnorum' is not so much the interior of the Liburnian territory, which Antenor coming by sea would not penetrate, as the kingdom lying far inward in the Adriatic. 'Superare' is said to be a nautical word by Serv., who quotes from Lucilius "promuntorium remis superamus Minervae." [Liv. 31. 22 "superare Sunium" and so elsewhere in Livy.—H. N.] Here and E. 8. 6, where it is also applied to the Timavus, it probably denotes difficulty. It is just possible, however, that Virg. may intend to represent Antenor as sailing up the stream of the Timavus, in which case we may comp. 8. 58, "Adversum remis superes subvectus ut amnem."

244.] [Following a description of the locality by Dr. Kandler, which he confirms from his own inspection, Henry now (Aeneidea I. p. 523) says that "the so-called 'fons Timavi' is not a 'fons' or spring, or source at all, but only the reappearance, in several streams gushing forth from under the mountain at very short distances from each other, of the river . . . Timavus, which had become subterranean at San Canziano, eighteen miles higher up in the mountains . . . and that it is the occasional sudden bursting forth of this river with unusual violence and in unusual quantity through the 'ora' at San Giovanni di Tuba—in other words, a flood of the Reca below San Giovanni di Tuba—which our author describes in our text." That Virg. is describing a flood it is not necessary to suppose, for Varro quoted by Serv. on v. 246 says that the river was called 'mare' by the inhabitants of the region, owing doubtless to its habit of overflowing. Another theory mentioned by Serv. was that 'mare' in v. 246 means the sea, which was said at high tide to burst through the 'ora.' "The sea only throws back the river upon us, never comes itself," says Henry's informant (l. c. p. 529). It is on all accounts, then, the simplest course to understand 'mare' as the local name of the river itself.—H. N.]

245.] 'Per ora novem;' the general

It mare proruptum et pelago premit arva sonanti.
Hic tamen ille urbem Patavi sedesque locavit
Teucrorum, et genti nomen dedit armaque fixit
Troia, nunc placida compostus pace quiescit:
Nos, tua progenies, caeli quibus adnuis arcem,
Navibus, infandum! amissis, unius ob iram
Prodimur atque Italis longe disiungimur oris.
Hic pietatis honos? sic nos in sceptra reponis?

account, as intimated above, appears to be that there were seven of these 'ora,' or sources. Cluverius however l. c. speaks of the whole of the country to the sea as "unum perpetuumque saxum innumeris passim altissimisque antris perforatum;" and it seems from Wittmann's account that the 'ora' are constantly overflowed, so that their number is not easy to ascertain. [" The numerous 'ora' are there, and are as differently counted as ever by different visitors." Henry.—H. N.] "Magno cum murmure montis" v. 55 note. ['Mare,' see on 244.—H. N.] 'Proruptum,' 'bursting up:' comp. 7. 459, "toto proruptus corpore sudor." Gud. originally and fragm. Veron. corrected have 'praeruptum,' which is mentioned but disapproved by Serv. This description of the Timavus has been censured as out of place in the speech of Venus; it however expresses the portentous character of the region into which Antenor is allowed to penetrate with safety.

247.] 'Tamen,' in spite of all these dangers.

248.] 'Genti nomen dedit,' probably Veneti, which was identified with Heneti. Henry however argues from 'Troia arma' that Troia is meant: see on v. 242. 'Arma fixit,' hung up his arms and those of his comrades, in token that their sufferings by flood and field were over. Serv. comp. Hor. 1 Ep. 1. 4, "armis Herculis ad postem fixis."

249.] 'Nunc,' &c.: Wagn. and Jahn understand these words of the death of Antenor; but in spite of the special pleading of the former that a peaceful death would naturally be mentioned as the climax of the wanderer's happiness, and that Antenor, even during the Trojan war, must have been near the grave, it is evident that the sense required is rather that of a tranquil settlement following on labours. The language undoubtedly is such as is more generally applied to death or sleep, but the occurrence of such expressions as "componere pacem" (7. 339., 12. 822), or "foedus" (10. 15), "componere bellum foedere" (12. 109), and "urbem tuta componere terra" (3. 387), proves abundantly that the words 'compostus pace' may well have been used of the repose of a peaceful life. Possibly too Virg. may have thought of Ennius' celebrated lines (A. 18. 7), "Sicut fortis ecus, spatio qui saepe supremo Vicit Olympia, nunc senio confectu' quiescit," where of course peaceful old age, not death, is meant. [So Ti. Donatus; "ut . . . tutus in plenissima quiete perduret."—H. N.] The antithesis between 'fixit' and 'nunc quiescit' merely implies that, after having founded his city, named his nation, and hung up his arms for ever, he entered on a prosperous reign.

250.] 'Nos:' she rhetorically identifies herself with her son. 'Arcem caeli' (for which see note on v. 225) denotes here the fullest enjoyment of divine honours which had been promised to Aeneas after death. 'Adnuis' with acc. 12. 187. 'Adnuis' has a special propriety as applied to a promise of Jupiter. ὑπέσχετο καὶ κατένευσεν, Il. 2. 112.

251.] 'Infandum' interjected, like "miserum" 6. 21, "nefas" 8. 688. 'Unius ob iram' recalls "saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram," v. 4.

252.] 'Prodimur,' forsaken by Jupiter, not, as Heyne takes it, betrayed to destruction by the wiles of Juno.

253.] 'Honos,' 'reward,' as in 5. 249, 308. 'Reponis,' restore us in Italy to the empire we have lost at Troy, though Weidner's interpretation of the prefix, referring it to the performance of a promise, is not impossible. 'Reponere' is connected with 'in sceptra,' which virtually means 'into the possession of the sceptre.' 'Is this to restore a king to his throne?'

Olli subridens hominum sator atque deorum
Vultu, quo caelum tempestatesque serenat,
Oscula libavit natae, dehinc talia fatur:
Parce metu, Cytherea, manent immota tuorum
Fata tibi: cernes urbem et promissa Lavini
Moenia, sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli
Magnanimum Aenean; neque me sententia vertit.
Hic tibi—fabor enim, quando haec te cura remordet,
Longius et volvens fatorum arcana movebo—

254—296.] 'Jupiter reassures her, telling her what the course of the destined Trojan empire is to be, beginning with Lavinium, passing into Alba, and ending in Rome, whose greatness is to be perfected in the golden age of Augustus.'

254.] 'Olli:' Heyne comp. Enn. A. 1. 31, "Olli respondet rex Albai longai." Niebuhr, Lect. vol. ii. p. 155, ed. 1844, says that Virg. admitted a few archaic forms in compliance with the precepts of the Alexandrian grammarians about epic composition. 'Subridens,' 'smiling gently.' The line is nearly repeated 12. 829. 'Hominum sator atque deorum,' 11. 725.

255.] Serv. quotes Enn. (A. fr. inc. 3), "Iuppiter hic risit, tempestatesque serenae Riserunt omnes risu Iovis omnipotentis." [Apuleius (?) De Mundo 37 mentions "Serenator" as one of the titles of Jupiter.—H. N.] 'Tempestates' means the weather rather than the storms, so that there is no occasion to suppose a zeugma, with Wagn.

256.] 'Oscula libavit:' see note on G. 2. 523, and comp. 12. 434, and Sueton. Aug. 94, "osculum pueri delibatum digitis ad os suum detulisset." The word however, even in its primary sense, seems to mean, not simply lips, but lips for kissing. Heyne remarks that 'natae' is used after 'olli' as Hom. uses Ἕκτορι after τῷ δέ. There is great delicacy in the use of the subst. here, which has the force of "pater natae." See on E. 8. 1, 18.

257.] 'Metu,' the old dative, for which Weidner refers to Gell. 4. 16. 5. 'Parce:' see on G. 2. 339. 'Tuorum fata,' like "fata Phrygum," 7. 294. 'Tibi' is the ethical dative connected with the whole sentence, as we might say, 'to your comfort.'

258.] 'Urbem et promissa Lavini moenia' is a hendiadys. Many in Serv.'s time omitted 'et.' Observe the change of quantity from "Lavina," v. 2, which is like that in "Italia," "Italus," a larger licence being allowed for metrical convenience in proper names than in other words.

259.] Heyne quotes Enn. A. 1. 47, "unus erit quem tu tolles ad caerula caeli Templa," which he supposes to be said, not by Venus, but by Mars, because Ovid introduces the line (F. 2. 487) in a speech of Mars praying for the deification of Romulus. 'Ad sidera:' see on 3. 158. Here apotheosis of course is meant. Gud. has 'sublimen,' a word which Ribbeck introduces here and elsewhere on very slender authority.

260.] 'Neque me sententia vertit:' see note on v. 237, and comp. 10. 608, "nec te sententia fallit." 'Magnanimus' of Aeneas, 5. 17., 9. 204, the Homeric μεγάθυμος. ['Aenean' Rom.—H. N.]

261.] Wagn. has rightly changed Heyne's punctuation, 'Hic, tibi fabor enim,' which is also approved by Serv. 'Tibi' implies 'thou shalt see him victorious in Italy.' 'Quando' has the force of 'quandoquidem,' as ὅτε that of ὅτι. The 're' in 'remordet' may express either a single recurrence or frequent repetition; the latter sense seems more natural here. "Cura recursat," below, v. 662. 'Remordere' is found Lucr. 3. 827., 4. 1135.

262.] 'Volvens' is probably a metaphor from a book unrolled. "Volvendi sunt libri cum aliorum tum inprimis Catonis," Cic. Brut. 87. [Livy 34. 5 "tuas adversus te Origines revolvam."—H. N.] Jupiter says he will open yet farther the secrets that lie in the book of fate. The notion in "movebo" is that of "quieta movere." "Fallax historias movet," Hor. 3 Od. 7. 20, quoted by Gossrau. So "excitare," to cite, as we say colloquially, to rake up. 'Awaken the secrets of Fate's book from the distant pages where they slumber.'

Bellum ingens geret Italia populosque ferocis
Contundet, moresque viris et moenia ponet,
Tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aestas,
Ternaque transierint Rutulis hiberna subactis.
At puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iulo
Additur,—Ilus erat, dum res stetit Ilia regno—
Triginta magnos volvendis mensibus orbis
Imperio explebit, regnumque ab sede Lavini
Transferet, et Longam multa vi muniet Albam.
Hic iam ter centum totos regnabitur annos

[Henry would join 'fabor' with 'longius.' —H. N.]

263.] 'Bellum ingens,' G. 2. 279. 'Populosque ferocis contundet,' 'will crush its bold nations.' Comp. 4. 229., 5. 730, &c. [Hor. 1 Od. 35. 10 "Latium ferox." —H. N.]

264.] 'Mores' conveyed to a Roman many of the notions which political institutions and a social system convey to us. Comp. 8. 316, "Quis neque mos neque cultus erat;" and see on G. 4. 5. There is not a mere play on the double sense of the word 'ponere,' as the building of a city implies a settled civil government. 'Mores ponere,' like νομοθετεῖν in Greek. "Inponere morem," 6. 852; "posuere urbem," 8. 53. There may be a notion too of giving ('ponere' = "dare," as θεῖναι = δοῦναι), as 'viris' seems to show.

265.] The legend was that the first settlement (represented in Virg. by the camp) endured for three years, Lavinium for thirty, after which the kingdom was transferred to Alba, which lasted for three hundred. For the form of expression comp. v. 755 below.

266.] The propriety of 'hiberna,' as denoting that he was still in the camp, has not been noticed. 'Rutulis subactis' may very well be the abl. absol.; but it is more probably the dative, an idiom common in Greek, and found also in Juv. 14. 10, "Cum septimus annus Transierit puero." It is a variety of the ethical or personal dative. See on v. 102 above.

267.] Fragm. Vat. originally had 'quo,' from which Ribbeck extracts 'quoi.'

268.] Heyne without reason suspects this line. It is a natural attempt to strengthen a weak point of the legend, the absence of any connexion between Iulus and any character in the Trojan story. 'Dum res stetit Ilia regno' may either be rendered with Wagn., 'dum res stetit Ilio regno' ('res stetit' = "fortuna stetit"), or, which seems better, while the Trojan state ('res Ilia,' like 'res Romana') stood with power unbroken ('stetit regno,' 'stood in respect of its power'). In the latter case we may compare 2. 88, "Dum stabat regno incolumis." With the perfect after 'dum,' in the sense of duration, comp. 3. 15, "Dum Fortuna fuit."

269.] 'Volvendis mensibus:' here and in "volvenda dies," 9. 7, Virg. has followed the usage of Enn. A. inc. 69, "clamor ad caelum volvendus per aethera vagit," and of Lucr. 5. 1276, "Sic volvenda aetas commutat tempora rerum." Both in this passage and in 9. 7, however, the ordinary sense of the gerundive would have force, as in each case it is a god who may be speaking of destiny, so that we may doubt whether Virg. would have used the word in a connexion where he could not have availed himself of common as well as of archaic associations. Understood in the ordinary sense, 'volvendis mensibus' will be an instrumental or modal ablative. 'Orbis:' "annuus orbis" occurs in 5. 46. The epithet which is here wanting must be supplied from the context, especially from 'mensibus.'

270.] 'Imperio' may be either dative, 'for his reign,' or modal abl. = 'imperando.' Heins. restored 'ab sede' for 'a sede,' from Med., Rom., &c.

271.] 'Muniet,' 'build and fortify.' 'Multa vi,' 'with great power and might,' not, 'with strong fortifications.' Virg. doubtless followed Lucr. 1. 728, "multa munita virum vi," where however population seems meant. Wagn. retains 'longam' as more poetical than 'Longam;' he however writes 'Longam' in 6. 766. A similar inversion of the names of persons is found even in prose writers. See Macleane on Hor. 2 Od. 2. 3.

272.] Serv. mentions a reading 'hinc,' supported by a correction in one of Rib-

Gente sub Hectorea, donec regina sacerdos
Marte gravis geminam partu dabit Ilia prolem.
Inde lupae fulvo nutricis tegmine laetus
Romulus excipiet gentem, et Mavortia condet
Moenia Romanosque suo de nomine dicet.
His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono;
Imperium sine fine dedi. Quin aspera Iuno,
Quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat,
Consilia in melius referet, mecumque fovebit
Romanos, rerum dominos, gentemque togatam.

beck's cursives. Wagn. and Forb. explain 'iam' as "de eo quod nondum est, sed suo tempore certe fiet," referring to 4. 566., 6. 676., 8. 42., 11. 708, Tibull. 2. 5. 56, in all of which passages 'iam' means 'at once,' a sense inapplicable here. We must rather take it therefore as contrasting Alba and its long-lived dynasty with the preceding members of the series. 'And here the kingdom shall endure three hundred years.' 'Iam' then will mean, at this point of the series of events. As 'regnabitur' is impersonal, we should rather have expected "a gente Hectorea." The epithet 'Hectorea' is of course not strictly applicable.

273.] It is difficult to say whether 'regina' or 'sacerdos' is to be taken as the adjective. With the combination Weidner comp. v. 382 below, "matre dea." 'Regina,' 'princess,' 6. 28, note, as Antigone is termed τὴν βασιλίδα in Soph. Ant. 941. 'Sacerdos,' a Vestal.

274.] For the construction 'Marte gravis,' and the meaning represented by it, see note on G. 3. 506. "Gravida ex aliquo" is used by Ter. Hec. 3. 3. 32, and Ovid (Met. 3. 260) has "gravidam de semine Iovis." 'Partu dabit' = "pariet." Comp. "furtivo partu sub luminis edidit oras," 7. 660.

275.] 'Lupae tegmine laetus:' comp. Hor. 3 Od. 4. 34, "laetum equino sanguine Concanum," and the similar use of "gaudeo." Prop. 5. 10. 20 describes Romulus with a helmet of wolf-skin; but Virg., as Henry remarks, doubtless meant the 'tegmen' to cover the whole person.

276.] Comp. note on G. 2. 345. The notion here is that of succession. 'The nation shall then pass into the hands of Romulus.' There is nothing to warrant the notion of Thiel and Forb. that 'excipiet' = "accipiet asylo." 'Mavortia' may point at once to the birth of Romulus, the worship of Mars at Rome, and the martial character of the nation.

278.] 'His,' as opposed to their predecessors, whose date was limited. 'Metas' probably refers to the bounds of the empire ('rerum'), 'tempora' to its duration. 'Meta' however may be transferred from space to time, 10. 472. With 'his tempora pono' we may compare "Stat sua cuique dies," 10. 467.

280.] 'Metu' is commonly taken with 'fatigat (like "omnia magno Ne cessa turbare metu," 11. 400), expressing the terror which Juno spreads through the universe. It may however, and perhaps better, be taken, as Serv. suggests, for the alarm which Juno feels at the course of destiny, if we compare v. 23, "id metuens," and 10. 9. 'Fatigat' will then mean, keeps earth, air, and sea astir, by constantly traversing them and exciting their powers; so "remigio noctemque diemque fatigant," 8. 92. Thus Virg. may have had in his eye Il. 4. 26, where Here complains of the toil which she and her horses have undergone in persecuting the Trojans: comp. also Il. 8. 478 foll.

281.] The phrase 'in melius referre' is twice used in Virg. (here and 11. 425) for 'to amend.' [Serv. quotes from a fragment of Sallust "ad mutandam modo in melius servitutem."—H. N.] He refers to Ennius (A. 289) as saying that Juno became reconciled to the Romans in the second Punic war. There would naturally be different opinions about the time when her sentiments changed: Horace has his own, 3 Od. 3. 16 foll.: Virg. seems to put the date earlier, 12. 841, though elsewhere, as in 10. 11 foll., he intimates that the gods take part in the struggle between Rome and Carthage.

282.] Macrobius (Sat. 6. 5) says that Laberius was the author of the line; and Suetonius (Aug. 40) tells a story of Augustus' quoting it. It had probably be-

Sic placitum. Veniet lustris labentibus aetas,
Cum domus Assaraci Phthiam clarasque Mycenas
Servitio premet ac victis dominabitur Argis.
Nascetur pulchra Troianus origine Caesar,
Imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris,
Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo.
Hunc tu olim caelo, spoliis Orientis onustum,
Accipies secura; vocabitur hic quoque votis.
Aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis;
Cana Fides, et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus,
Iura dabunt; dirae ferro et compagibus artis

come a stock line to express the grandeur of imperial Rome. 'Gentem togatam' is not a tame addition, being sufficiently characteristic; so that there is no need with Heyne to seek a point in any antithesis between "arma" and "toga." Hor. 3 Od. 5. 10, "Anciliorum et nominis et togae Oblitus."

283.] 'Sic placitum,' οὕτως δέδοκται. Jupiter is speaking destiny. It will be observed that 'lustra' being a strictly Roman measure of time, Jupiter is thus made to speak the language of the great nation. 'As Rome's years roll on.'

284.] Assaracus is the ancestor through whom Aeneas was related to the royal house of Troy. Comp. Il. 20. 230. 'The descendants of Aeneas shall triumph over those of Achilles ('Phthiam'), Agamemnon ('Mycenas'), and Diomed ('Argos').' Comp. 6. 838, "Eruet ille Argos Agamemnoniasque Mycenas, Ipsumque Aeaciden, genus armipotentis Achilli."

286.] 'Caesar,' Augustus (Julius Caesar by adoption); not, as Serv. thinks, Julius, who could hardly be said to be laden with the spoils of the East, and who was not the primary object of a Roman's homage. We may observe that he is not distinctly spoken of here as Julius Caesar, which would have been ambiguous, but is called Caesar, the gentile name Julius being mentioned as connecting him with Iulus. It may seem against this that his apotheosis is spoken of v. 289; but we may be meant to understand the deification as taking place during his life, as we know it to have done, E. 1. 44 note, Hor. 2 Ep. 1. 15. With the whole passage comp. 6. 791 foll. 'Pulchra Troianus origine,' from the high line of Troy; as though it had been "pulchra Troianorum origine." This connects the line with those which precede. It is conceivable, however, as has been suggested to me, that 'pulchra' may refer to Augustus' personal beauty, an allusion to which would be appropriate in a speech to Venus.

287.] 'Qui terminet,' 'destined to bound.' See on 7. 99.

288.] For the alleged origin of the Julii from Iulus see Merivale, Hist. vol. i. p. 97, who observes that the great Julius seems to have been the first to assert it. "Caesar et omnis Iuli Progenies," 6. 789. 'Demissum:' comp. G. 3. 35. For the apposition 'Iulius—nomen' ,comp. "Silvius, Albanum nomen" 6. 763, and Hor. 2 S. 5. 62, "iuvenis Parthis horrendus, ab alto Demissum genus Aenea."

289.] 'Spoliis Orientis onustum.' For similar compliments to Augustus as conqueror of the East, see G. 2. 171., 4. 560, A. 8. 724 foll. Serv. mentions another reading, 'honestum,' which would easily arise from the spelling 'honustum,' frequently found in old MSS.

290.] 'Hic quoque,' as well as Aeneas, v. 259. "Damnabis tu quoque votis" E. 5. 80. See on v. 286.

291.] As it is expressed elsewhere, 6. 792, E. 4. 8, the iron age will pass into the golden.

292.] These four deities are chosen, as Henry remarks, as typical of the primitive and golden age of Rome. Vesta has been mentioned before in a similar connexion G. 1. 498, Romulus and Remus G, 2. 533. The union of the two latter, as Heyne observes, symbolizes the end of civil broils. Numa (Livy 1. 21) established the worship of Fides. Comp. Hor. Carm. Saec. 57, "Iam Fides et Pax et Honor Pudorque priscus." 'Cana' occurs 5. 744 as an epithet of Vesta, [and, as Henry remarks, is to be taken literally. —H. N.]

293.] ['Iura' in this context means

Claudentur Belli portae; Furor impius intus
Saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus aënis
Post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento.
  Haec ait, et Maia genitum demittit ab alto,
Ut terrae, utque novae pateant Karthaginis arces
Hospitio Teucris, ne fati nescia Dido

strictly 'ordinances,' 'decrees in particular cases,' 'provisions to meet particular cases,' 'rules of law.' Cicero De Inv. 2. 22 distinguishes "iura naturae," "iura consuetudinis," and "iura legitima;" provisions or ordinances of nature, of custom, and of "leges," or written formulae; and he constantly uses the word of the rules of law on which the praetors chose to base their decisions: e. g. Top. 4 "aequitas, quae paribus in causis paria iura desiderat." Thus "iura dare" or "reddere" is to give or lay down rules of law, or decisions in particular cases: and so in a general sense 'to govern,' 'bear sway.' The correlative of 'iura dare' is "iura petere," which is used of the governed: Livy 23. 5, 10: so Statius 1 Silv. 4. 12 "quae tua longinquis implorant iura querellis."—H. N.] The function in Virg. is generally a royal one, v. 507., 3. 137., 5. 758 note: see however 8. 670. 'Ferro et compagibus artis' (a hendiadys) should be taken, as Henry says, with 'dirae.' 'The gates of war grim with closely-welded plates of iron.' It will answer then to "ferratos postis" 7. 622. 'Compagibus' would not be a natural expression for bolts or bars, in spite of the parallel 7. 609. The word is twice used for planking, above v. 126 and 2. 51. The allusion is to the closing of the temple of Janus A.U.C. 725. Virg. prefers calling it the temple of War here and in 7. 607, where it is described at length; and this agrees with Plut. Numa 19, quoted on the latter passage. Comp. also the lines of Ennius (?) cited by Hor. 1 S. 4. 60, "postquam Discordia taetra Belli ferratos postis portasque refregit."

294.] 'Impius,' on account of the civil wars. G. 1. 511. The imagery in this passage is supposed to be derived from a painting of Apelles mentioned by Pliny 35. 93, representing War fettered, ("belli imaginem restrictis ad terga manibus") which was placed by Augustus in his own forum. Germanus Valens thinks that there is an allusion to a statue of Ares, mentioned by Pausanias, representing the god bound and seated on a pile of arms; the meaning of the binding being apparently that he was not to pass over to the enemy.

295.] 'Saeva arma' 8. 482, &c. 'Manus post terga revinctum' 2. 57. Here 'manus' is inferred from 'post tergum.' 'Nodi' are coupled with 'vincla' Lucr. 6. 356.

296.] [Ribbeck reads 'pos tergum' from two of his cursives.—H. N.]

297—304.] 'Mercury is sent down to dispose Dido and the Carthaginians to welcome the Trojans.'

297.] Mercury's mission is rather indefinite, as Virg. can have hardly meant him actually to convene Dido and the Carthaginians as he convenes Aeneas in 4. 265 foll. There may be a confusion between the Homeric character of Hermes as the messenger of the gods and his other character as the god of eloquence and the civilizer of mankind; for which see Hor. 1 Od. 10 and Ov. F. 5. 663.—'Demittit—pateant—arceret.' Jahn rightly remarks that 'ut pateant' expresses Jupiter's charge to Mercury, 'arceret' his object in giving it. The former, it is obvious, would naturally come under the historic present, but it could hardly have been extended to the latter. [Pal. has 'dimittit.'—H. N.]

298.] 'Terrae—arces:' that they might be allowed to enter the territory and be received into the city. Pal. originally had 'terra.' 'Novae' is to be taken with 'Karthaginis,' as is proved by v. 366, on which Serv. says "Karthago est lingua Poenorum Nova Civitas, ut docet Livius." In the same way Virg. uses epithets explanatory of the etymology of the name 3. 693, "Plemyrium undosum;" 698, "stagnantis Helori;" 703, "arduus Acragas;" 705, "palmosa Selinus;" "parva Petelia" 3. 402. With 'pateant' Forb. comp. "clauditur orbis" above v. 233. [The MSS. read 'Carthaginis.'—H. N.]

299.] 'Hospitio Teucris:' a double dative after 'pateant.' Comp. "excidio Libyae" v. 22. 'Fati nescia' is observable, as showing Virg.'s conception of

Finibus arceret. Volat ille per aëra magnum
Remigio alarum, ac Libyae citus astitit oris.
Et iam iussa facit, ponuntque ferocia Poeni
Corda volente deo; in primis regina quietum
Accipit in Teucros animum mentemque benignam.
At pius Aeneas, per noctem plurima volvens,
Ut primum lux alma data est, exire locosque
Explorare novos, quas vento accesserit oras,
Qui teneant, nam inculta videt, hominesne feraene,
Quaerere constituit, sociisque exacta referre.

fate as a power which other agencies may thwart, though they cannot ultimately overcome it. Heyne's explanation, that Dido's ignorance of destiny might lead her to suppose that the Trojans wished to settle at Carthage, seems less likely. Rom. originally had 'fatis.'

301.] 'Astitit,' 'alighted.' Comp. 6. 17, "Chalcidicaque levis tandem super astitit arce." ['Adstitit,' Med. and Rom. —H. N.] For 'remigio alarum' comp. Lucr. 6. 743, "Remigi" (so Lachm. for "remigio") "oblitae pennarum vela remittunt." The original author of the metaphor, which has become a commonplace in poetry, is supposed to be Aesch. Ag. 52.

302.] 'Ponuntque' shows that the effect of Mercury's mission is almost simultaneous with the discharge of it. Comp. the use of "que" after "vix" 2. 692 &c., and that of "iamque" followed by a sentence without a connecting particle 2. 132 foll. "Iussa facessunt" 4. 295. "Pone animos" 11. 366. It may be doubted whether the meaning is 'to lay aside' or 'to allay,' as in Hor. 1 Od. 3. 16, "tollere seu ponere freta" (comp. "animos tollent sata" G. 2. 350); but such expressions as "ponere inimicitias" seem rather in favour of the former. So probably "iram ponit" Hor. A. P. 160, as the antithesis to "colligit" appears to show. Here possibly "accipit' may point the same way, though 'quietum' might be pressed on the other side.

303.] 'Volente deo.' *Θεοῦ θέλοντος* occurs Aesch. Theb. 427 and elsewhere in the sense of *θεῶν θελόντων*: so that it is possible that 'volente deo' is meant to be understood generally, not taken of Mercury, which is the common interpretation. The participle will of course bear the sense either of 'if he wills,' or, as here, 'since he wills.' 'Quietum,' 'peaceful,' opp. to "turbatus" (8. 435) and "turbidus" (11. 742 &c.). 'Animum—mentem:' comp. "magnam mentem animumque" 6. 11, and the Homeric *κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν*. Lucr. couples "mens animusque" 1. 74 (where see Munro), 3. 142, 403: in 3. 94 he uses the words convertibly, "animum . . . mentem quam saepe vocamus," and in 6. 1183 he talks of "animi mens." 'Accipere mentem' is used differently below, v. 676.

305—324.] 'Aeneas goes out in the morning to reconnoitre. After hiding his fleet in the cove, he meets his mother in the shape of a huntress,' and is accosted by her in that character.

305.] There is a slight inaccuracy in 'volvens,' as if the thoughts of the night continued into the day; the present participle being perhaps suggested by *πολλὰ φρεσὶν ὁρμαίνοντα*, Il. 10. 4. Wagn., who will not allow that 'volvens' can be equivalent to "qui volverat," followed by Forb., supposes the sense to be that Aeneas resolved during the night to go out at daybreak; but this would only introduce worse confusion, as 'ut primum lux alma data est' cannot mean, 'as soon as the day *should* dawn:' not to mention the abruptness of the transition from 'constituit,' thus explained, to 'occulit.'

307.] 'Explorare' has an object clause over and above the accusative in 7. 150, so that it may be constructed here with 'quas—oras,' 'quaerere' being added as a piece of surplusage for the sake of clearness, like "memoret" after "fari" 2. 75. 'Vento,' by stress of weather, as in 4. 46. With the general sense comp. 7. 130 foll., 148 foll.

308.] 'Inculta' seems to have the force of a substantive, like "culta" in the Georgics. 'For he sees a desert before him.'

309.] 'Exacta,' probably the result of his inquiries; 'exigere' being 'to inquire.' Ov. A. A. 2. 129. "illic quoque pulchra

Classem in convexo nemorum sub rupe cavata
Arboribus clausam circum atque horrentibus umbris
Occulit; ipse uno graditur comitatus Achate,
Bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro.
Cui mater media sese tulit obvia silva,
Virginis os habitumque gerens et virginis arma,
Spartanae, vel qualis equos Threissa fatigat
Harpalyce volucremque fuga praevertitur Hebrum.

Calypso Exigit Odrysii fata cruenta ducis." It may however mean no more than τὰ πεπραγμένα, as in "his demum exactis" 6. 637. Weidner makes it mean "accurate," comparing 9. 193 "mittique viros, qui certa reportent" with Sil. 1. 684, "mittique viros, qui exacta reportent." Ulysses reconnoitres alone Od. 10. 144 foll.

310.] 'In convexo nemorum,' where the woody shores of the cove (v. 164) narrow. The expression is like "caeli convexa." ['Convexu' one of Ribbeck's cursives.—H. N.]

311.] 'Clausam occulit' like "submersas obrue" v. 69 above.

312.] 'Comitatus' with the abl. without the preposition is found even in prose. Cic. pro. Cael. 14, "mulier alienis viris comitata."

313.] Henry takes 'manu crispans hastilia' as equivalent to "crispans manum in hastilia," and interprets 'crispans' as 'clenching.' He objects to the ordinary sense 'brandishing' (making the spear curl or quiver), on the ground that it is unsupported and inappropriate, when, as here and in 12. 165, where the line recurs, the person is peacefully engaged. While however it may be granted that 'crispans' is a strong expression for the motion of the spear merely as carried in the hand in walking, it must be remembered that it is hazardous to assume that one expression is put for another, which itself has no example in the Latin language. Hom.'s heroes carry two spears. "Lato venabula ferro" 4. 131.

314.] 'Sese tulit obvia:' comp. 6. 879., 10. 552.

315.] Heyne remarks that Virg. had before him Od. 7. 19., 13. 221, where Athene meets and guides Ulysses, in the one place as a girl carrying water, in the other place as a shepherd. Macrobius had already observed (Sat. 5. 11) that Venus to some extent performs the part of Nausicaa in Od. 6. 'Gerere' of an assumed appearance 12. 472. Wagn. rightly understands the meaning to be "virginis os habitumque gerens, et virginis arma vel Spartanae vel Thressae." Venus assumes the face and appearance of a virgin and the accoutrements of a huntress.

317.] 'Harpalyce.' There is more than one mythological character of this name; but the one meant here appears to be a Thracian princess who took to the woods upon the dethronement of the king her father, [and whose story seems to have been the origin of that of Camilla.—H.N.] The MSS. have 'Hebrum.' Rutgers conjectured 'Eurum,' which has been received by several editors, including Heyne and Ribbeck, on the ground that it is no proof of swiftness to outrun a river, and that Hebrus in particular, as Serv. remarks, is not swift. Wagn. and Forb. however rightly defend the MSS. reading, as in perfect conformity with classical usage, and particularly supported by Sil. 2. 73, "Quales Threiciae Rhodopen Pangaeaque lustrant Saxosis nemora alta iugis cursuque fatigant Hebrum innupta manus." The Thracian huntress outstrips the rivers of her own country. A similar attempt has been made to correct the text of Hor. Od. 1. 25. 20, where see Macleane's note. Heyne, Wagn., and Forb. take 'equos fatigat,' as 'presses her horses,' "quod proprium Amazonibus." But Serv.'s explanation, 'tires by outrunning them,' is supported by the imitation from Silius just quoted (comp. also Sil. 3. 307), and corresponds with the story of Harpalyce, very circumstantially given by Serv. In Soph. Ant. 981 foll. (a passage which corresponds remarkably with this story of Harpalyce), we have the expression Βορεὰς ἅμιππος. Comp. Jeremiah 12. 5, "If thou hast run with the footmen, and they have wearied thee, then how canst thou contend with horses?" Both

Namque umeris de more habilem suspenderat arcum
Venatrix, dederatque comam diffundere ventis,
Nuda genu, nodoque sinus collecta fluentis.
Ac prior, Heus, inquit, iuvenes, monstrate, mearum
Vidistis si quam hic errantem forte sororum,
Succinctam pharetra et maculosae tegmine lyncis,
Aut spumantis apri cursum clamore prementem.
Sic Venus; et Veneris contra sic filius orsus:

'praevertor' and 'praeverto' are used in this sense: comp. 7. 807., 12. 345. 'Fuga' of rapid movement in general, G. 3. 142, 201.

318.] 'Umeris suspenderat arcum:' τόξ' ὤμοισιν ἔχων, Il. 1. 45. The bow, and sometimes the arrows, appears to have been placed in the bow-case, or γωρυτός (10. 169, "Gorytique leves umeris"), and so slung over the shoulder. See Dict. A. 'arcus.' 'Habilem' is perhaps best taken closely with 'suspenderat,' the bow being slung conveniently. Comp. 9. 305, "habilem vagina aptarat eburna." 'De more' is explained by v. 315. above, v. 336 below.

319.] 'Venatrix,' 'as a huntress:' comp. 11. 648. note, and perhaps ib. 780; also below v. 493. 'Dederat comam diffundere ventis,' [not, as Serv. thought, a Grecism, but the old Latin construction of the infinitive to express purpose. This use is found in Plautus and Terence, according to Roby Syntax § 1362, mainly with verbs of motion; but it is also found fairly often with "dare" and "ministrare," e. g. Plautus Persa 821 (Ritschl) "age circumfer mulsum: bibere da usque plenis cantharis:" Cato R. R. 89 "bibere dato." In Plaut. Truc. 4. 2. 26 "dedi . . . quinque argenti deferri minas" modern editors insert "iussi" *metri gratia*. Livy 40. 47 "ut bibere sibi iuberent dari:" Hor. 1. Od. 26. 2 "tradam protervis in mare Creticum Portare ventis." See Dräger Hist. Syntax § 433. 1.—H. N.]

320.] 'Nuda genu,' i. e. her tunic did not reach the knee. Ov., M. 10. 536, "Nuda genu, vestem ritu succincta Dianae" (quoted by Forb.). A representation of Diana with her tunic girt up above the knee, and the folds gathered into a knot or bunch on the breast, is given in Dict. A. 'chlamys.' It is difficult however, on a comparison of parallel passages (4. 139., 11. 776; Stat. Theb. 4. 265; Claud. Cons. Prob. et Olyb. 1. 89), to determine whether the 'sinus' is the folds of the tunic or the chlamys, and whether the 'nodus' is the knot or bunch into which the folds were gathered, the brooch, or the belt. The usage of Virg. seems in favour of taking 'nodus' strictly of a knot. Comp. 6. 301. Heyne's note on this passage is perhaps scarcely consistent with his third Excursus on Aen. 11.

321.] 'If you have by any chance seen one of my sisters, point out to me where she is;' not 'tell me whether you have seen,' a sense which 'monstrate' will not bear.

323.] 'Maculosae tegmine lyncis:' this would be worn as a chlamys or scarf. See Dict. A. 'chlamys.' 'Pharetram,' which is found in some inferior MSS. and (from a correction) in Rom., would seem to have been an old reading, as Priscian, p. 1081, says. "*pharetram* . . . sed melius in quibusdam codicibus sine *m pharetra* ablativus invenitur: quidam tamen *lyncis cursum* a communi accipiunt," a strange interpretation. Madvig however would take 'cursum' with 'lyncis' as well as with 'apri:' and Ribbeck, Prolegom. p. 328, admitting the justice of the objection to this, that "tegmen" is the hide of a dead beast, not the skin of a living one, would adopt 'tegmina' from Gud. (originally), supposing that 'tegmina lyncis prementem' could mean 'hunting the lynx for its hide.'

324.] 'Apri cursum prementem' is opposed to 'errantem.' 'Clamore prementem;' see G. 3. 413, where the dogs, to which 'clamore' refers, are the principal subject of the paragraph. ["Pressor" was a technical term for a hunter whose business it was to follow up the game. Isid. 10. 282.—H. N.] 'Apri cursum'= "aprum currentem," a boar that has broken covert. See Hor. Epod. 5. 28, and Macleane's note.

325—334.] 'Aeneas replies, supposing her to be a goddess, and inquires the name of the country.'

325.] 'At,' the reading of some of the early editions, is supported by Serv. on 9. 656; but Wagn. justly observes that,

Nulla tuarum audita mihi neque visa sororum,
O—quam te memorem, virgo? namque haut tibi vultus
Mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat: O dea certe;
An Phoebi soror? an Nympharum sanguinis una?
Sis felix, nostrumque leves, quaecumque, laborem,
Et, quo sub caelo tandem, quibus orbis in oris
Iactemur, doceas: ignari hominumque locorumque
Erramus, vento huc et vastis fluctibus acti:
Multa tibi ante aras nostra cadet hostia dextra.
Tum Venus: Haut equidem tali me dignor honore;

coupled with 'contra,' it would create too strong an opposition.

326.] 'Audita' is commonly rendered 'heard of;' in which sense "auditus" is frequently coupled with "visus," even in the case of persons. Here however there would be no particular force in it, and it seems better, on the whole, to follow the suggestion of Serv., and suppose the reference to be to 'clamore.'

327.] 'O,' as Wund. remarks, should have been followed by a vocative of the name of the goddess; for he is sure she is a goddess ('O Dea certe'), though he knows not what goddess. Wund. comp. Demosth. de Cor. p. 232, Εἶτ' ὦ—τί ἂν εἰπών σέ τις ὀρθῶς προσείποι;—ἔστιν ὅπου κ.τ.λ. To which may be added Aristoph. Clouds 1378, ὦ τί σ' εἴπω; Weidner refers to a passage in Ad Herenn. 4. 4, "tu istud ausus es dicere, homo omnium mortalium —quonam te digno moribus tuis appellem nomine?" which is given as an example of oratorical "dubitatio." There is probably some sense of solemnity in 'memorem.' 'Virgo' is not to be pointed as a separate interrogative sentence ('what shall I call thee? a virgin?'), as some have supposed, the word being applicable to a goddess as well as to a mortal maiden. 'Haut—nec' 7. 203 note. ['Voltus' Pal.—H. N.]

328.] 'Hominem sonat:' "humanum sonat" would be the common idium. Persius however (3. 21) has "sonat vitium." "Sapimus patruos" (Pers. 1. 11) is a similar expression. There is a slight similarity to this passage in Od. 6. 149 foll., and a somewhat stronger one in Apoll. R. 4. 1411 foll.

329.] Heyne appears to be right in dividing this line into two separate questions. Hand's notion (Tursell. 1. 315) that it is a case similar to those in which 'certe' follows "nescio an," 'whether or not—at all events,' seems far-fetched. [Serv. mentions that in his time some took 'an' as simply disjunctive, 'or'; he quotes a fragment of Sallust "perrexere in Hispaniam an Sardiniam." This use is not unknown to Cicero: see the lexicons.—H. N.] Looking to 'una,' it seems better to take 'sanguinis' as equivalent to "generis" ("sanguis meus," 6. 835), not as an attributive genitive. Comp. however 6. 778, "Assaraci quam sanguinis Ilia mater Educet." Perhaps it may be regarded here as a confusion of two modes of expression.

330.] 'Sis felix,' 'be propitious.' Comp. E. 5. 65, "Sis bonus o felixque tuis." Wund., following a hint of Heyne, thinks it may stand for χαῖρε, which is so common in Greek hymns; but the passage just cited is against this. 'Quaecumque (es),' a sort of vocative clause: comp. 8. 122, "Egrodere o quicumque es." For the thought comp. Od. 16. 183. [Od. 5. 445 κλῦθι ἄναξ, ὅτις ἐσσί: where also Homer's πολλὰ μογήσας may have suggested 'nostrum laborem.'—H. N.]

331.] 'Tandem' does little more than lend emphasis, like δή.

333.] 'Vastis et fluctibus' is the reading of Pal. and other MSS. Rom. and Med. a m. pr. read 'et vastis fluctibus,' which is approved by Pierius, and restored by Heinsius and Heyne. It is undoubtedly true, as Wagn. says, that the former rhythm is that which we most frequently find in Virg.'s hexameters. The other however is by no means uncommon. It is therefore a question of ear in the particular passage, and the fuller close which, as Pierius says, is produced by 'et vastis' seems appropriate here.

334.] Comp. Od. 16. 181 foll.

335—371.] 'Venus informs him that he is in the territory of Carthage, and tells the story of Dido's flight from Tyre to Africa.'

335.] 'Honore' i. e. being addressed as

Virginibus Tyriis mos est gestare pharetram,
Purpureoque alte suras vincire cothurno.
Punica regna vides, Tyrios et Agenoris urbem;
Sed fines Libyci, genus intractabile bello.
Imperium Dido Tyria regit urbe profecta,
Germanum fugiens. Longa est iniuria, longae
Ambages; sed summa sequar fastigia rerum.
Huic coniunx Sychaeus erat, ditissimus agri
Phoenicum, et magno miserae dilectus amore,
Cui pater intactam dederat, primisque iugarat
Ominibus. Sed regna Tyri germanus habebat
Pygmalion, scelere ante alios immanior omnis.
Quos inter medius venit furor. Ille Sychaeum

a goddess or nymph, not a sacrifice, as Serv. and Heyne say. [Od. 7. 208 οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε Ἀθανάτοισιν ἔοικα.—H. N.]

336.] 'This garb is not that of a goddess of the chase, but merely of a Tyrian huntress.'

337.] Comp. E. 7. 32 (note), "Puniceo stabis suras evincta cothurno" (of Diana). 'Alte' refers to the height of the cothurnus, which rose more than half way to the knee. ['Coturno' Pal. and Serv. —H. N.]

338.] 'The city in whose domain you are is that of Agenor (one of Dido's ancestors); but the country around is Libya.' "Cocyti stagna alta vides," 6. 323. ['Urbes' Med. originally.—H. N.]

339.] ['Set' Med.—H. N.] Henry compares 4. 40, "Hinc Gaetulae urbes, genus insuperabile bello," in support of Heyne's interpretation, which refers 'genus intractabile bello,' to the Libyans, against Wagn., who refers it to the Carthaginians. 'Intractabile,' ἄαπτος.

340.] 'Imperium regere' occurs Ovid, 3 Pont. 3. 61, cited by Wagn. 'Imperium' is the command, not, as an English reader might think, the domain. Elsewhere Virg. talks of "regere imperio aliquem" (v. 230 above); here he varies the expression. [On the names Dido and Sychaeus Serv. says "Dido nomine Elissa ante dicta est, sed post interitum a Poenis Dido appellata, i. e. virago Punica lingua . . . Sychaeus Sicarbas dictus est: Belus, Didonis pater, Methres: Carthago a Cartha, ut lectum est et in historia Poenorum et in Livio. Sane Sychaeus 'Sy' brevis est per naturam, sed hoc loco ectasin facit ea licentia quae est in propriis nominibus."—H. N.]

341.] 'It is a long and intricate tale of wrong.' "Longis ambagibus," Lucr. 6. 1081.

342.] 'Summa fastigia' is nearly equivalent to "capita." 'Sequar' = "persequar," 'recount in order.'

343.] 'Ditissimus agri' has been objected to as inappropriate in the case of the Phoenicians, who were a commercial, not an agricultural, people; and 'ditissimus auri' has been proposed by Huet, approved by Heyne, and adopted by Ribbeck. But 'ditissimus agri' is a common phrase, occurring 10. 563 (comp. 7. 537), Sil. 5. 260. Wagn. (Q. V. 39) suggests that Virg. was thinking of the great estates of the Roman nobles in his own time. The orthography 'Sychaeus' was introduced by Heins. from Med., and is supported by Pal. For the variety of the quantity in the first syllable (comp. v. 348) see the note on v. 258 above.

344.] 'Miserae,' because her love was ill-fated.

345.] 'Iugare' is similarly used of marriage, Catull. 64. 21, quoted by Cerda.

346.] 'Ominibus,' the omens of the marriage sacrifice, and so the marriage rite. Comp. Prop. 4. 20. 24, "Contineant nobis omina prima fidem." 'Primis' with reference to 'intactam.'

347.] 'Immanior ante alios omnis:' the comparative is pleonastic. Comp. 7. 55, "petit ante alios pulcherrimus omnis Turnus," and Hand, Tursell. 1, p. 387.

348.] 'Medios' is the reading of Serv. and Ti. Donatus, of Med. and some other MSS.; but 'medius' is the idiomatic expression, and the origin of the variation is obvious. Serv. and Ti. Donatus con-

Impius ante aras atque auri caecus amore
Clam ferro incautum superat, securus amorum
Germanae; factumque diu celavit, et aegram,
Multa malus simulans, vana spe lusit amantem.
Ipsa sed in somnis inhumati venit imago
Coniugis, ora modis attollens pallida miris;
Crudelis aras traiectaque pectora ferro
Nudavit, caecumque domus scelus omne retexit.
Tum celerare fugam patriaque excedere suadet,

nect these words with the preceding line, so as to make 'omnis' the antecedent to 'quos,' "ac si diceret, Sceleratior Atreo et Thyeste, vel Eteocle et Polynice;" but this punctuation, though approved by Trapp, is clearly less natural. 'Furor' may perhaps refer to the unnatural character of the quarrel, as in Hor. Epod. 7. 13, Lucan 1. 8.

349.] 'Atque' couples 'caecus' with 'impius.' 'He was so blinded with the love of gold that he did not even respect the altar.' Henry refers 'impius' to the unnatural character of the murder, comp. Ov. Her. 7. 127; and this is doubtless included in the notion of the word here; but that it also denotes impiety in our sense is plain from such passages as 2 163. [So now Henry.—H. N.] 'Aras,' the altar of the Penates. Comp. 4. 21, and see on v. 355 below.

350.] 'Superat' is compared by Heyne with δαμᾷ ('lays him low'), as not necessarily implying a struggle. With the passage generally comp. 3. 332. 'Securus amorum' in a different sense 10. 326.

352.] 'Malus,' to be taken adverbially. Comp. the phrase "dolo malo." The best commentary on 'vana spe lusit amantem' is Keats' Isabella, st. 29,—

"Poor girl! put on thy stifling widow's weed,
And 'scape at once from Hope's accursed bands:
To-day thou wilt not see him, nor to-morrow,
And the next day will be a day of sorrow."

353.] 'Inhumati,' as Heyne suggests, may account for the unrest of the shade (comp. Il. 23. 71 foll.), as it enhances the barbarity of the murderer. ['In somnis,' see on 12. 908.—H. N.]

354.] Burm., followed by the recent editors, places a semicolon at 'coniugis,' and a comma at 'miris;' but 'ora modis attollens pallida miris' is obviously a description of 'imago.' Comp. Lucr. 1. 123, "simulacra modis pallentia miris," already copied by Virg. G. 1. 477. See on 10. 822. 'Attollens' in fact expands 'venit,' much as Byron makes the witch of Endor call up Samuel in the words, "Samuel, raise thy buried head!"

355.] 'Crudelis aras,' not unlike "crudelis terras," 3. 44. There the co-operation of the country in the crime of its king might be assumed naturally; here it is uncertain whether the Penates are those of Pygmalion, and so concerned in the murder, or those of Sychaeus, and so merely witnesses of it. Perhaps 4. 21, Ov. Her. 7. 113, point rather to the latter, which is also more probable if we suppose that Dido is made actually to see the altar and the treasure (see on next line). On the other hand, we should more naturally think of the crime as perpetrated, like that of Atreus, in the house of the murderer, and the concealment would then have been more easy. But where the data are so few conjecture degenerates into licence.

356.] 'Nudavit' will bear the general sense of 'revealed,' which is applicable to both the objects of the verb (see Forc.); but it is more probably to be referred specially to 'pectora,' so that we shall have a zeugma. Whether the poet intended a vision strictly speaking or a dream, is not quite clear; if the former, 'nudavit' and 'tellure recludit' must be taken of words spoken by the apparition; if the latter, Dido was actually made to see the altar and the cavern where the treasure lay. The former seems more consistent with analogy; but the latter is supported by 2. 297, where Hector, after appearing in much the same way as Sychaeus here, brings out the sacred things from the penetralia. 'Domus scelus,' 'the domestic crime,' as perpetrated by her brother, not as perpetrated before the Penates.

Auxiliumque viae veteres tellure recludit
Thesauros, ignotum argenti pondus et auri.
His commota fugam Dido sociosque parabat.
Conveniunt, quibus aut odium crudele tyranni
Aut metus acer erat; naves, quae forte paratae,
Corripiunt, onerantque auro; portantur avari
Pygmalionis opes pelago; dux femina facti.
Devenere locos, ubi nunc ingentia cernis
Moenia surgentemque novae Karthaginis arcem,
Mercatique solum, facti de nomine Byrsam,
Taurino quantum possent circumdare tergo.

358.] Pierius's Medicean MS. reads 'auxilioque viae,' which might be worth adopting if it had more authority. 'Tellure,' 'from the earth,' a construction frequently found with words compounded with 're,' as Wund. remarks. Comp. 5. 99. The course of the narrative, especially v. 349, shows that these are hereditary treasures belonging to Sychaeus, not an ancient and forgotten hoard.

359.] ['Thensauros.' Med. and Rom. 'Thesauros,' Pal. and Serv.—H. N.] 'Ignotum' is explained by 'recludit.'

360.] 'His' must be taken with 'commota,' 'by these revelations,' not 'his (thesauris) parabat.' With 'fugam parabat' comp. "cursum parari," 4. 299, with 'socios parabat,' "deos parant comites," 2. 181.

361.] [See Essay on Aeneas' Wanderings, p. lix foll.—H. N.] 'Crudele' seems to mean 'fierce,' or 'savage.' Serv. and others call it a hypallage, and probably the juxtaposition of 'tyranni' partially accounts for the epithet. 'Metus acer' occurs again 3. 682, of the Trojans escaping from the Cyclops. The epithets here are emphatic. The word 'tyrannus' in Virgil sometimes seems to bear a neutral sense, but more frequently it occurs in connexions which imply the notion of arbitrary if not of abused power. Here the circumstances of the story rather remind us of Greeks flying from a τύραννος.

362.] For the omission of the verb subst. after a participle in a relative clause, Weidner comp. 9. 675, E. 8. 24, G. 4. 89, to which may be added A. 10. 162, 655, 827.

364.] The 'opes' are evidently the 'aurum;' not, as Forb. supposes, the resources which constituted the power of Pygmalion, a sense, which would not well agree with 'portantur.' Pygmalion may not have actually taken possession of the treasures, but they were his from the time when he slew their owner. The epithet 'avari' should be remarked. The wealth for which he has committed the crime is wafted away from him over the sea. The expression is meant to be terse and almost epigrammatic, as 'dux femina facti' shows. Comp. Dido's words Ov. Her. 7. 149, "Hos potius populos in dotem, ambage remissa, Accipe, et advectas Pygmalionis opes," where there is evident reference to paying a dowry in treasure.

365.] Heyne and Ribbeck, from Pal., Rom., and Gud. reads 'cernes;' 'which you will see when you are at the top of the hill;' but Wagn. with apparent justice objects that 'nunc' with the future could not mean, 'you will see by and by.' 'Cernis' in the reading of Med., and may be rendered with sufficient accuracy, 'where now meet your eye.'

366.] 'Novae Karthaginis:' see on v. 298. ['Carthaginis,' Pal. and Rom.—H. N.]

367.] 'Mercatique' (sunt) to be coupled with 'devenere.' Jahn makes it a part., supposing that Venus interrupts herself at the end of v. 368,—not a very natural thing, as there is no abruptness in the context (the case of 2. 100 foll. is obviously different); and Ribbeck thinks the passage unfinished, and encloses this and the next line in brackets. Byrsa, whence the legend of the bull's hide (βύρσα) arose, appears to have been the Greek corruption of Bosra, the Phoenician name for the citadel of Carthage. 'Facti de nomine' is copied by the author of the Ciris, v. 487.

368.] 'Taurino tergo.' The story was that they cut the hide so as to make one thong; the bargain being that they should

Sed vos qui tandem, quibus aut venistis ab oris,
Quove tenetis iter? Quaerenti talibus ille
Suspirans imoque trahens a pectore vocem:
O dea, si prima repetens ab origine pergam,
Et vacet annalis nostrorum audire laborum,
Ante diem clauso componat Vesper Olympo.
Nos Troia antiqua, si vestras forte per auris

have as much ground as they could compass with a bull's hide.

369.] 'Tandem:' see on v. 331. Rom. and some others have 'advenistis' for 'aut venistis,' which was restored by Heins. Med. has 'aud,' altered into 'aut,' and other MSS. show signs of correction or erasure.

370.] 'Quove tenetis iter?' 9. 377. For 've' following 'aut' comp. 6. 842 foll., where "vel" is similarly used. There seems to be no means of determining whether 'talibus' should be taken with 'quaerenti' or with 'ille,' as in itself it may refer either to a speech just made or to one to come.

371.] Apoll. R. 2. 207, ἐξ ὑπάτοιο στήθεος ἀμπνεύσας.

372—386.] 'Aeneas tells his name and fortunes.'

372.] The thought seems to be from Od. 11. 330 (comp. ib. 3. 113 foll.). The words 'prima repetens ab origine' are repeated from G. 4. 285, where the object of 'repetens' ("famam") is expressed, not as here left to be implied from the context. 'If I should tell my story throughout, beginning at the first.'

373.] Macrob. Sat. 3. 2 fancies that 'annalis' is used with singular propriety, the "annales maximi" at Rome being made by the Pontifex Maximus, with which character Virg. is supposed to imply that Aeneas is invested. Virg.'s love of recondite half-allusions to traditions which he does not expressly adopt is unquestionable; but where, as here, there is no more than a possibility of such a reference, we may perhaps make the question one of poetical taste, which here would certainly seem to exclude anything of the sort. The word doubtless has a propriety of its own, but it is merely as suggesting the notion of a minute and rather tedious narrative.

374.] 'Componat.' The MSS. authority is divided between 'componet' (Med., Gud.) and 'componat' (Rom., Pal., the latter however altered into 'componet'), 'componet' being further supported by quotations in Macrob., Priscian, Nonius, and other early writers, as well as by Serv. here. The question is argued in favour of the future indicative by Forb. against Wagn., who in his large edition supports 'componat,' but in his smaller edition tacitly admits 'componet.' 'Vacet,' implying that the condition will not happen, separates this passage from such as "Si fractus inlabatur orbis Impavidum ferient ruinae" (Hor. 3 Od. 3. 7), where it is implied that the condition may very conceivably happen, as Wagn. remarks. In the only strictly parallel passage quoted, Cic. Tusc 5. 35. "Dies deficiet, si velim paupertatis causam defendere," there is the same variety of reading as here. Being thus left to decide between the authority of MSS., which in a case like this proves little, and what would seem to be the propriety of language, I have preferred 'componat.' 'Clauso Olympo,' closing the gates of heaven through which the day issues. Comp. the expression "porta caeli" G. 3. 261. Weidner refers to Il. 5. 749 foll. 'Componat,' 'would lay the day to sleep.' Comp. G. 4. 189, "Post ubi iam thalamis se composuere."

375.] 'Troia' with 'vectos.' See Madv. § 275. 'Per auris iit,' passed through your ears and so entered your mind. A similar expression is found Lucr. 1. 417, where, though the thought is different from that in the present line, it bears a strong resemblance to that in the lines immediately preceding. The whole passage is worth quoting, as showing the variety of small obligations which Virg. has incurred to his predecessor, now borrowing thoughts without words, now words without thoughts:—

"Usque adeo largos haustus e fontibu' magnis
Lingua meo suavis diti de pectore fundet,
Ut verear ne tarda prius per membra senectus
Serpat et in nobis vitai *claustra* resolvat

Troiae nomen iit, diversa per aequora vectos
Forte sua Libycis tempestas adpulit oris.
Sum pius Aeneas, raptos qui ex hoste Penatis
Classe veho mecum, fama super aethera notus.
Italiam quaero patriam et genus ab Iove summo.
Bis denis Phrygium conscendi navibus aequor,
Matre dea monstrante viam, data fata secutus;
Vix septem convolsae undis Euroque supersunt.
Ipse ignotus, egens, Libyae deserta peragro,

Quam tibi de quavis una re versibus omnis
Argumentorum sit copia missa *per auris* :
Sed nunc ut *repetam* coeptum pertexere dictis."

With the sense generally Weidner comp. Od. 15. 403, εἴ που ἀκούεις.

376.] 'Diversa per aequora vectos' may merely mean 'over various seas,' as in v. 756, "Omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus;" or we may take it with Heyne as 'out of our course.' He quotes Od. 9. 261 (which Virg. doubtless had in view, as the entire passage shows). Οἴκαδε ἱέμενοι, ἄλλην ὁδόν, ἄλλα κέλευθα Ἤλθομεν: but the other sense of 'diversa' might be supported from the previous lines, Ἡμεῖς τοι Τροίηθεν ἀποπλαγχθέντες Ἀχαιοὶ Παντοίοις ἀνέμοισιν ὑπὲρ μέγα λαῖτμα θαλάσσης.

377.] 'Forte sua' is an adaptation of the phrase 'sponte sua' to the nature of the weather. The tempest drove us hither by mere accident without any purpose of ours. Contrast Ilioneus' language to Latinus 7. 213 foll., especially "consilio" v. 216. ['Appulit,' Pal. and Rom.—H. N.]

378.] Od. 9. 19, Εἴμ' Ὀδυσεὺς Λαερτιάδης, ὃς πᾶσι δόλοισιν Ἀνθρώποισι μέλω, καί μευ κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει.

380.] Some inferior MSS. which Burm. and Heyne follow, omit 'et.' The line would then run "Italiam quaero patriam: genus ab Iove summo," 'My country is Italy which I am seeking; my descent is from Jove.' Retaining 'et,' we must of course couple 'genus' with 'patriam.' 'I am on my way to Italy my country, and to my forefathers, sprung from Jove,' referring not to his own descent from Jove through Venus, but to that of his nation through Dardanus. Comp. 3. 129, "Cretam proavosque petamus," and see 7 240 foll. Rom. has 'Iove magno.'

381.] Serv. considers 'conscendere aequor' to be said of physically climbing the sea,—"secundum physicos, qui dicunt terram inferiorem esse aqua, quia omne quod continetur supra illud est quod continet." It would be more natural to suppose that the poet referred to some commoner appearance or sensation such as the elevation of the horizon or the rising of the wave; "climbing ever up the climbing wave" (Tennyson). 'Conscendo' however is so completely appropriated as a technical term for embarking, being used in that sense even without an accusative, that we can hardly avoid giving it such a meaning in a connexion like this. Here as elsewhere (see on G. 2. 364) it seems that Virg. while he secured the sense 'embark' by the use of 'conscendo,' arranged his words so as to give him the advantage at the same time of some other ideas, of which that of climbing the wave just mentioned may have been one, and the notion opposed to "demittere" ("quove magis fessas optem demittere navis" 5. 29), whether of actual ascent or of effort, may have been another. 'Navibus' constructed as in 10. 213, 'ter denis navibus ibant."

382.] Serv. thinks there is an allusion to the legend that Aeneas was led by the star of Venus to Italy: see note on 2. 801. 'Fata,' oracles. Comp. 3. 444, "quae rupe sub ima Fata canit;" and 4. 345, "Sed nunc Italiam magnam Grynaeus Apollo, Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes." The oracle itself is given 3. 94 by Apollo at Delos.

383.] 'Undis Euroque' with 'convolsae,' not, as Serv. suggests as an alternative, with 'supersunt.' The two however come virtually to the same thing, as the meaning seems to be 'survive the strain of wind and wave.' ['Convulsae' Pal.—H. N.]

384.] 'Ignotus,' in a land where I am unknown, far from friends. 'Libyae:'

Europa atque Asia pulsus. Nec plura querentem
Passa Venus medio sic interfata dolore est:
Quisquis es, haut, credo, invisus caelestibus auras
Vitalis carpis, Tyriam qui adveneris urbem.
Perge modo, atque hinc te reginae ad limina perfer.
Namque tibi reduces socios classemque relatam
Nuntio et in tutum versis aquilonibus actam,
Ni frustra augurium vani docuere parentes.
Aspice bis senos laetantis agmine cycnos,
Aetheria quos lapsa plaga Iovis ales aperto
Turbabat caelo; nunc terras ordine longo
Aut capere aut captas iam despectare videntur:

he profits by Venus' information that he is in Africa, and contrasts it with the better known parts of the globe.

385.] 'Nec plura querentem passa' should be taken together, not 'interfata querentem.' There seems to be a confusion between "nec plura queri passa" and "nec amplius querentem passa."

387—401.] 'Venus assures him of a welcome from the queen, and also of the safety of his missing ships.'

387.] Od. 3. 27, οὐ γὰρ ὀΐω Οὔ σε θεῶν ἀέκητι γενέσθαι τε τραφέμεν τε. [6. 240 οὐ πάντων ἀέκητι θεῶν, οἳ Ὄλυμπον ἔχουσι, Φαιήκεσσ' ὅδ' ἀνὴρ ἐπιμίσγεται ἀντιθέοισιν.—H. N.] In 'quisquis es' Venus seems to speak as a Tyrian maiden, to whom the history of Troy is unknown. 'Auras vitalis' is common in Lucr., 3. 405, 575., 5. 857., 6. 1227. ['Haud' Med.—H. N.]

389.] The commentators have been unable to find instances of "se perferre ad aliquem locum." "Se ferre ad aliquem locum" however is common enough, and "per" is naturally prefixed here as Aeneas is bidden to go on till he reaches the palace.

390.] The 'namque' refers to her injunction to go straight without further anxiety to the palace. 'Relatam' is to be explained by 'reduces,' 'brought back to haven.' A few MSS. have 'receptam.'

391.] The wind has shifted, and instead of driving it into danger now drives it into safety.

392.] 'Vani,' false pretenders. Comp. 2. 80, "Vanum etiam mendacemque improba finget." [Serv. quotes Ter. Phorm. 3. 2. "non te pudet vanitatis"? i. e. "mendacii:" Sall. Iug. 24. 9 "vellem . . . haec quae scribo . . . vana forent potius" —H. N.] She sees the swans, and professes to interpret the omen on the spot by the rules her parents have given her. The parents are those of the supposed huntress, not, as Ti. Donatus, "maiores nostri."

393.] ["Dicit cycnos ipsos post aquilae perturbationem, ut naves tempestatibus constabat esse turbatas, hoc est dispersas, hilaritatem omnem laetitiamque recepisse; et ut cycni ordine soluto securi volitant, sic, inquit, et naves tuae et omnes tui securi degunt et tuti sunt." Ti. Donatus.—H. N.] The swans are the birds of Venus, and their number is that of the missing ships. Serv. quotes Aemilius Macer in his ὀρνιθογονία, "Cycnus in augurio nautis gratissimus augur: Hunc optant semper, quia nunquam mergitur undis." 'Agmine,' 'in order,' is opposed to 'turbabat,' and explained by 'ordine longo.' Comp. "agmen" in v. 186, contrasted with "miscet" in v. 191. Connect 'laetantis agmine,' 'in jubilant order.' [Serv. however takes 'agmine' as = "volatu," "impetu."—H. N.]

394.] 'Aetheria lapsa plaga,' 'swooping from the sky;' the 'aetheria plaga' being higher than the 'caelum.' 'Aperto caelo,' 'the wide air,' harmonizing with 'turbabat.' As Forb. remarks, it is parallel to the wide ocean over which the ships were tossed. Forb. well comp. Ov. M. 6. 692, "Idem ego [Boreas], cum fratres caelo sum nactus aperto (Nam mihi campus is est), tanto molimine luctor." ['Labsa' St. Gallen fragm.—H. N.]

396.] This line seems to answer in structure and therefore probably in sense to v. 400. Its meaning has been the subject of much controversy; the word 'capere' being variously understood either as to settle on or to mark out for settling

Ut reduces illi ludunt stridentibus alis,
Et coetu cinxere polum, cantusque dedere,
Haut aliter puppesque tuae pubesque tuorum
Aut portum tenet, aut pleno subit ostia velo.
Perge modo, et, qua te ducit via, derige gressum.
  Dixit, et avertens rosea cervice refulsit,
Ambrosiaeque comae divinum vertice odorem
Spiravere, pedes vestis defluxit ad imos,
Et vera incessu patuit dea. Ille ubi matrem

("capere oculis"), which latter would agree with the military sense of "locum capere." The difficulty in each case consists in the words 'captas despectare,' which could not very naturally, as Henry thinks, stand for the action of the swans rising again and hovering over the place where they had settled, while Wagn.'s view (in his smaller edition), that some mark their ground, others look down on it after having marked it, is open to the obvious objection that such a distinction could not possibly be observed or pointed out by a spectator. It seems best then, with Burm., to take 'captas' in the sense of "captas ab altera cycnorum parte," so that the sense would be, 'some alight, others still hover in the air and look down on those who have alighted.' 'Iam,' expresses that they are just looking down on their companions and already preparing to follow them. 'Coetu cinxere polum' is no objection to this interpretation, as Henry thinks, those words being evidently ornamental and only vaguely descriptive. Ribbeck's 'capsos respectare' ('respectare,' Pal.) is a sufficiently unhappy conjecture, introducing a most un-Virgilian word. 'Captos' however is read by Pal. (corrected) and Gud.

397.] This and the following line express no more than the joy of the swans at their safety, the exact parallel between the swans and the ships having been anticipated at v. 396. 'As surely as the swans are rejoicing in their safety, so surely shall you see your ships safe again.' 'Reduces' answers to 'reduces' in v. 390, the swans rallied from their confusion corresponding to the Trojans returning to port after the storm. Hom. has a simile from an eagle swooping on a flock of swans, Il. 15. 690.

398.] 'Cinxere polum' like "cinxerunt aethera nimbi" 5. 13, though there is probably a notion of the swans wheeling about.

399.] 'Puppesque tuae pubesque tuorum tenet' = "pubes tuorum cum puppibus tuis tenet." Il. 1. 179, Οἴκαδ' ἰὼν σὺν νηυσί τε σῇς καὶ σοῖς ἑτάροισιν. 'Tuorum' is distinguished from 'tuae' merely for variety's sake.

400.] ['Portum tenet,' is making for the harbour: so Ov. Fasti 1. 498, 4. 290. —H. N.]

401.] "Quo via ducit" E. 9. 1. ['Dirigo' Med.—H. N.]

402—417.] 'Aeneas discovers his mother as she leaves him. She makes him and Achates invisible.'

402.] "Roseum os" is attributed to Venus 2. 593. Comp. Hor. 1 Od. 13. 2, "Telephi cervicem roseam." Comp. also Anacreon. 53, 'Ροδοδάκτυλος μὲν 'Ηώς, 'Ροδοπήχεες δὲ Νύμφαι, 'Ροδόχρους δ' 'Αφροδίτη. 'Ροδοδάκτυλος ἠώς in Homer is not a parallel, as the colour there does not stand simply for beauty. In Il. 3. 396 the first of several marks by which Helen recognizes Aphrodite is the beauty of her neck. 'Avertens' v. 104 above. 'Refulsit' probably expresses the sudden burst of splendour. Comp. v. 588 below, 2. 590, Hor. 1 Od. 12. 27, and Pers. Prol. 12.

403.] 'Divinum odorem.' Comp. θεῖον ὀδμῆς πνεῦμα Eur. Hipp. 1391, and Ov. F. 5. 375, "tenuis secessit (dea) in auras; Mansit odor; posses scire fuisse deam." 'Fragrance such as the gods diffuse.' Otherwise we might have expected 'divino vertice,' as the passage is evidently imitated from Il. 1. 529, 'Αμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος Κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο.

404.] Her short hunting tunic ("nuda genu" v. 320] changed into the flowing robe ("palla") characteristic of a god or goddess. Comp. Tibull. 3. 4. 35 (of Apollo), "Ima videbatur talis inludere palla," Prop. 4. 17. 32 (of Bacchus), "Et feries nudos veste fluente pedes," &c.

405.] 'Incessu;' comp. v. 46, "quae divom incedo regina," and 5. 647.

Adgnovit, tali fugientem est voce secutus:
Quid natum totiens, crudelis tu quoque, falsis
Ludis imaginibus? cur dextrae iungere dextram
Non datur ac veras audire et reddere voces?
Talibus incusat, gressumque ad moenia tendit.
At Venus obscuro gradientis aëre saepsit,
Et multo nebulae circum dea fudit amictu,
Cernere ne quis eos, neu quis contingere posset,
Molirive moram, aut veniendi poscere causas.
Ipsa Paphum sublimis abit, sedesque revisit
Laeta suas, ubi templum illi, centumque Sabaeo

406.] ['Agnovit' Rom.—H. N.]

407.] 'Quoque,' as Forb. says, is to be taken with 'crudelis,' not with 'ludis.' Comp. E. 8. 50. 'Totiens:' Venus has only appeared once before to Aeneas, and then in her proper person, 2. 589. The expression must therefore refer to the feeling that he has been generally mocked and baffled. 'Falsis imaginibus' may be equivalent to "fallendo imagines," by assuming shapes not your own, by counterfeiting shapes, as in v. 683, though the contrast would still be intended with 'verae voces.' [Lucr. 4. 371 "interdum frustratur imagine verbi." —H. N.]

408.] Ulysses (Od. 11. 211, which Virg. evidently had in his mind) wishes to embrace his mother, φίλας περὶ χεῖρε βαλόντε. But Andromache (Il. 6. 206) presses Hector's hand.

409.] 'Veras,' without disguise on the one part or mistake on the other. The line is imitated from Catull. 64. 166, "Nec missas audire queunt nec reddere voces."

411.] 'Aër' is here used in the sense of the Homeric ἀήρ, 'mist,' which sense however Virg. could only determine by the addition of the epithet 'obscuro.' See on 5. 20, "in nubem cogitur aër." This and the three following lines are an imitation of Od. 7. 14—17. See also Apoll. R. 3. 210 foll.

412.] 'Nebulae amictu:' from Il. 15. 308, εἱμένος ὤμοιιν νεφέλην, imitated by Hor. 1 Od. 2. 31, "Nube candentis umeros amictus." There is a tmesis in 'circum fudit,' as 'fudit' alone would have required "multum amictum." ['Multum' is the reading of fragm. St. Gall., and 'multum amictum' of Isid. Orig. 1. 36. 19.—H. N.] 'Dea' is added rhetorically, expressing the divine power exerted in the action of the line. So exactly vv. 691, 692 below. Comp. also vv. 195, 196 above. The use of the word here may very possibly have been suggested to Virg. by Il. 3. 380 foll., τὸν δ' ἐξήρπαξ' Ἀφροδίτη Ῥεῖα μάλ', ὥστε θεός· ἐκάλυψε δ' ἄρ' ἠέρι πολλῇ.

413.] ['Possit' fragm. St. Gall., Rom., Gud., and two of Ribbeck's cursives.—H. N.]

414.] The sense of 'moliri moram' may be either to plan or compass delay ("Insidias avibus moliri" G. 1. 270) or to create an obstacle ("moles"). Comp. generally 6. 488, from which the Longobardic and a few other MSS. read 'discere' here.

415.] 'Sublimis,' through the air. "Sublimis abit" occurs Livy 1. 16, of the ascent of Romulus, Id. ib. 34, of the eagle that took off Tarquin's cap. Virg. was thinking of Od. 6. 41, as well as of the passage quoted on the next line.

416.] 'Laeta' probably to be contrasted with "tristior" v. 228. Heyne and Wagn. take it as having reference to her love for Paphos. Serv. suggests that 'laeta' is the fixed epithet of Venus; and φιλομμειδής actually occurs in the passage quoted immediately below, from which this is verbally imitated. Virg. however cannot have meant 'laeta' for a fixed epithet, though it is possible that he may have mistaken the character of the fixed epithet, and supposed that it was meant to have a special reference to the context, like some of the critics on Homer. Henry (Class. Mus.) once thought it more poetical to make 'calent' the verb to 'templum' as well as 'arae' than to understand 'est' with 'templum.' But the words are clearly imitated from Od. 8. 362, Ἡ δ' ἄρα Κύπρον ἵκανε φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη Ἐς Πάφον· ἔνθα δέ οἱ τέμενος,

Ture calent arae sertisque recentibus halant.
  Corripuere viam interea, qua semita monstrat.
Iamque ascendebant collem, qui plurimus urbi
Imminet adversasque aspectat desuper arces.
Miratur molem Aeneas, magalia quondam,
Miratur portas strepitumque et strata viarum.
Instant ardentes Tyrii, pars ducere muros
Molirique arcem et manibus subvolvere saxa,
Pars optare locum tecto et concludere sulco;

βωμός τε θυήεις, where *θυήεις* answers to 'calent' and 'halant' here. How Virg. came to develope the single altar of Hom. into a hundred does not appear: probably it arose from his turn for amplifying, as in G. 3. 18, A. 4. 199. The commentators observe that sacrifices of blood were not offered to Venus, citing Tac. H. 2. 3. Horace however, 1 Od. 19. 16, and 4 Od. 11. 7, refers to a different practice. [See Ellis on Catullus 66. 91.—H. N.] 'Sertis,' festoons.

418—440.] 'As they enter the city, they see the Carthaginians building, as busy as bees in spring.'

418.] For 'corripuere' see note on G. 3. 104. 'Qua semita monstrat,' like "qua te ducit via," v. 401. Elsewhere 'via' and 'semita' are opposed, as 'a main road' and 'a bye-path' (see Forc.); here 'via' is general, 'semita' particular.

419.] 'Plurimus urbi imminet,' 'hangs with mighty mass over the city.' [Serv., who interprets the word as = "longus,"] comp. "plurima cervix," G. 3. 52.

420.] The words 'adversas aspectat' may contain a notion of the height of the buildings rising to meet the mountain which looks down on them.

421.] Comp. Od. 7. 43, where Ulysses first sees the city of the Phaeacians. Virgil too may have had his eye on Apoll. R. 3. 215 foll. 'Molem,' the vast buildings. Hor. 3. Od. 29. 10, "Fastidiosam desere copiam et Molem propinquam nubibus arduis." 'Magalia,' apparently the same as "mapalia" G. 3. 340, where see note. The word, which is [adapted, according to Serv., from the Phoenician "magar,"] occurs again 4. 259, Plaut. Poen. prol. 86. In these two places it seems simply to mean suburbs (comp. the fragments of Sall. and Cassius Hemina cited by Serv.); here there is evidently a disparaging sense intended, as we should say, mere huts. The contrast, as Serv. remarks, is in the poet's own mind, not in that of Aeneas. Comp. 8. 360.

422.] 'Strepitum,' the hum of the crowded streets. "Omitte mirari beatae Fumum et opes strepitumque Romae," Hor. l. c. 'Strata viarum' is from Lucr. 1. 315 (where see Munro), 4. 415. 'Paved streets.' The expression, which, as Madv. (§ 284, obs. 5) remarks, hovers between the partitive notion and that of quality, is used more boldly by Lucr. than by Virg., e. g. "prima virorum."(1.96)

423.] A semicolon is commonly placed at 'Tyrii;' but 'insto' is found with an infin. 2. 627, Lucr. 4. 998. 'Pars—pars:' part are at work on the fortifications, part on the houses. Such seems the general distinction; but there is no occasion, with Forb., to suppose that 'muri' must be the walls of the citadel, as if 'pars' could only mean a party actually engaged in the same work on the same spot. It is doubtful whether 'ducere muros,' which occurs here and in Hor. 4 Od. 6. 23 means 'to trace' or 'to build' (carry) the wall. Serv. quotes a fragment from Sall. Hist. 2 ("Murum ab angulo dextri lateris ad paludem haud procul remotam duxit.") which makes for the latter interpretation; and so the Greek phrase *ἐλαύνειν τοῖχον*, which occurs, according to one reading, in a passage of Hom. (Od. 7. 86), immediately following that which Virg. has just been imitating. [Livy 7. 23 "vallum ducere coepit."—H. N.]

424.] 'Moliri,' 'to build,' as in 3. 132, Hor. A. P. 399. 'Arcem,' the citadel proper, as distinguished from the 'arces,' v. 420. 'Subvolvere saxa,' to roll them up to the eminence on which the citadel was being built.

425.] 'Optare,' 'to choose,' as in 3. 119, 132. There is a reading 'aptare,' found in some MSS., including Rom. as originally written, and rather preferred by Henry. 'Sulco' is generally taken

Iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum ;
Hic portus alii effodiunt : hic alta theatri
Fundamenta locant alii, immanisque columnas
Rupibus excidunt, scaenis decora alta futuris.
Qualis apes aestate nova per florea rura
Exercet sub sole labor, cum gentis adultos
Educunt fetus, aut cum liquentia mella
Stipant et dulci distendunt nectare cellas,
Aut onera accipiunt venientum aut agmine facto
Ignavum fucos pecus a praesepibus arcent :
Fervet opus, redolentque thymo fragrantia mella.
O fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt !

with Serv. as the trench for the foundations. Lersch however (Antiqq. Vergg. § 19) understands 'optare' of choosing with auspices, and 'concludere sulco' of drawing a trench of demarcation round the houses, supposing that Virg. has transferred the solemnity of founding a city to the foundation of private dwellings. Henry makes 'tecto' general, so as to include citadel as well as private houses, supposing the distinction marked by 'pars—pars,' to be between actual building and laying out.

426.] Heyne and Ribbeck think this line spurious, as interrupting the enumeration of buildings; but legislation ("iura dare") is mentioned in nearly the same connexion 3. 137., 5. 758. Virg. was probably thinking of the Republican institutions of Rome and her colonies, without considering how this action of the people was to be reconciled with the authority of Dido (comp. v. 507). 'Sanctus' is the regular epithet of the Roman senate. 'Iura magistratusque legunt' is a zeugma, "iura constituunt magistratusque legunt," as Forb. gives it. [Serv. however takes 'iura' as = "loca ubi iura dicantur aut magistratus creentur." Ti. Donatus paraphrases "disponebant leges, et honores curiales, et ipsam curiam."—H. N.]

427.] 'Effodiunt' appears to be strictly correct, as the harbour of Carthage, which Serv. calls Cothon, was artificial. 'Theatri' is the reading of Med., 'theatris' of Rom., Pal. (originally), and fragm. Vat.; but the latter would be too great an exaggeration, and may easily have sprung from 'portus' and 'scaenis.' For 'alta' fragm. Vat. has 'lata,' which Ribbeck adopts; but Weichert seems right in saying that the repetition of 'alta,' v. 429, is excused by the change of meaning.

428.] Ribbeck follows fragm. Vat. in reading 'petunt' for 'locant,' apparently regarding the latter as introduced from 4. 266; but such a thing is hardly probable in the face of authorities so independent as Med., Pal., and Rom. In the previous line he adopts 'hinc' from a quotation in Nonius, p. 340, who however has 'locant,' while fragm. Vat. apparently has 'hic,' so that not much can be made out of this coincidence. The temporary wooden theatre of M. Aemilius Scaurus had a 'scaena' of three stories, supported by 360 columns, Pliny 36. 113 foll.

430.] 'Qualis apes exercet labor,' 'like the busy labour of bees.' 'Aestate nova:' comp. G. 4. 52, note. 'In the first bright days of summer,' when the hive, awakened from its winter torpor, is busiest and most like a young colony. These lines are repeated with slight variations from G. 4. 162—169; a reference to which passage proves that the divisions here introduced by 'cum' imply, not different times, but different parties, and so are parallel to the different occupations of the Carthaginians. The variations are 'liquentia' for 'purissima,' and 'dulci' for 'liquido;' the first necessitated the second, and was natural in a passage where bees and honey are not the main subject celebrated, but only an illustration. ['Adultos,' as Henry says, full-grown, perfect.—H. N.]

432.] 'Liquentia,' from "līqui," not from "lĭquere," Lucr. 4. 141.

434.] [Serv. again explains 'agmine' as = "impetu."—H. N.]

436.] ['Fraglantia' Pal. and Gud.—H. N.]

437.] The want of a city is the keynote of the whole Aeneid. [" Bene 'for-

Aeneas ait, et fastigia suspicit urbis.
Infert se saeptus nebula—mirabile dictu—
Per medios, miscetque viris, neque cernitur ulli.
  Lucus in urbe fuit media, laetissimus umbrae,
Quo primum iactati undis et turbine Poeni
Effodere loco signum, quod regia Iuno
Monstrarat, caput acris equi; sic nam fore bello
Egregiam et facilem victu per saecula gentem.
Hic templum Iunoni ingens Sidonia Dido

tunati,' quia iam faciunt quod ipse desiderat." Serv.—H. N.] Aeneas envies the Carthaginians as he envies Helenus and Andromache, 3. 493 foll. For the indicative 'surgunt' comp. G. 2. 458 foll.

438.] 'As he looks up to the battlements of the city;' he having now descended the hill.

439.] Comp. Od. 7. 39 foll., 139 foll., where Ulysses walks invisible through the Phaeacians. 'Infert se saeptus,' like "sese tulit obvia," v. 314 above.

440.] 'Miscet' probably borrows 'se' from the previous line, as no other instance is quoted of its intransitive use. [So Ov. 3 Am. 5. 29 "illic se rapuit, gregibusque inmiscuit illis."—H. N.]

441—493.] 'Aeneas enters a grove, where a temple is in building to Juno. There he sees represented the various incidents of the Trojan war.'

441.] [The grove is probably suggested by the ἄγλαον ἄλσος Ἀθήνης near the city of the Phaeacians. Od. 6. 291.—H. N.] 'Umbrae:' most MSS., including Med., Rom., Pal., and Gud., have 'umbra;' 'umbrae' however is the original reading of fragm. Vat., and has the authority of Probus ap. Serv. It is recommended both by harmony and as the less usual expression. ['Laetus' probably means, in this context, abundant; and takes the gen. as 'plenus' would. Serv. quotes from Sallust (Hist. 3. 91) "laetus frugum." For the sense of 'abundant' in 'laetus' comp. further Lucr. 1. 255 "hinc laetas urbes pueris florere videmus."—H. N.] "Laeta laborum," 11. 73, may possibly mean 'prodigal of her labour;' but it is as likely to mean 'delighting in the task.' For sacred groves in cities, see Livy 1. 8.

442.] 'The spot in which the Poeni after their wanderings first found the sign which Juno had taught them to expect.' The horse's head is to the Carthaginians what the white sow is to Aeneas. Comp. 3. 388 foll., "Signa tibi dicam" &c. There is perhaps an intentional parallel between the dawn of hope to the Carthaginians on this spot and to Aeneas on the same spot. Comp. v. 450, where the expression is much the same. From this it would seem that 'primum' is an adverb, not an epithet of 'signum,' as Wagn. suggests. Comp. however 3. 537.

444.] 'Monstrarat' is commonly taken as "obiecerat" or "monstro dederat," which would not agree with the pluperfect tense, or with the dependent words 'sic nam fore' &c., which follow. 'Caput acris equi:' Justin (18. 5) and Serv. here, have a story that the Carthaginians on first digging found an ox's head, which seemed to portend servitude; that they then dug again, and found a horse's head; and that the two were then taken to portend plenty and success in war combined. A horse's head is common on Punic coins. 'Acris equi' is paraphrased by Silius (2. 411), "bellator equus." In 3. 539 ("bello armantur equi") horses are taken as an omen of war.

445.] 'Facilem victu,' wealthy. Comp. G. 2. 460, "Fundit humo facilem victum iustissima tellus" (of which expression this, as Heyne remarks, is only a variety), and A. 8. 318, "asper victu venatus." Cerda comp. the Homeric θεοὶ ῥεῖα ζώοντες, and "facillime agitis," Ter. Adelph. 3. 4. 56, is cited by Serv. 'Bello egregiam et facilem victu' thus answers to the two characteristics of Carthage v. 14, "dives opum studiisque asperrima belli." Sen. Ep. 90, as Cerda remarks, uses the expression in an opposite sense, "sapiens victu facilis," 'easy of maintenance.' [So Henry now understands the words here; 'living simply.'—H. N.] The horse may be a symbol of plenty, either as an appendage of wealth, or because a war-horse is high fed.

Condebat, donis opulentum et numine divae,
Aerea cui gradibus surgebant limina, nexaeque
Aere trabes, foribus cardo stridebat aënis.
Hoc primum in luco nova res oblata timorem
Leniit, hic primum Aeneas sperare salutem
Ausus et adflictis melius confidere rebus.
Namque sub ingenti lustrat dum singula templo,

447.] 'Condebat' seems to imply that the work was not complete, though Weidner thinks otherwise. 'Opulentum donis et numine' is a zeugma, 'enriched by offerings and by the especial presence of the goddess.' See on "coluisse," v. 16. There was doubtless a statue, though this is implied rather than expressed by 'numen' both here and 4. 204. Something of the same conjunction of notions appears in "pinguis et placabilis ara," 7. 764., 9. 585, where the thought seems to be 'richly gifted and therefore propitious,' or 'richly gifted because believed to be propitious.'

448.] 'Limen,' in its strict sense. The threshold was of brass, with steps leading up to it. The latter particular is an ornamental one, and need not be understood as if the steps were of brass also. Brazen thresholds are Homeric, e. g. Od. 7. 89, of the palace of Alcinous, ἀργύρεοι δὲ σταθμοὶ ἐν χαλκέῳ ἕστασαν οὐδῷ, a passage which may have been in Virg.'s mind. The next clause presents a greater difficulty. All the first-class MSS. have 'nexaeque' (Wagn. excepts fragm. Vat., but Henry now corrects him.) 'Nixaeque' is mentioned by Serv., found in some MSS., and adopted by Wagn. (ed. mi.), Forb., Ladewig, and Haupt. The external authority is quite sufficient to support the change, which is itself a very natural one (see on 4. 217., 5. 279, G. 4. 257); but its advocates are not agreed on the sense. Forb. takes 'trabes' of the beams of the roof, which rest on brazen columns, [quoting Stat. Theb. 7. 43, "Ferrea compago laterum, ferro arta teruntur Limina, ferratis incumbunt tecta columnis."—H. N.] Wagn. makes 'trabes' the doorposts, and understands 'nixae aere' in the sense of "stantes erectae aere," simply a periphrasis for 'brazen.' Ladewig makes 'trabes' the architrave, which rests on pillars or jambs of brass. Of these the third seems the only one that can stand, the first being objectionable as introducing a particular about the rest of the building between two particulars about the door; the second as giving a forced and unnatural sense to 'nixae aere.' Understanding 'trabes' with Wagn. of the doorposts, I believe 'nexae aere' stands for "aeratae," as "vinctae" or "iunctae" might have done, the word being employed, not only to express the coherence of the plating with the thing plated, but to indicate the coherence of the posts with the threshold and the lintel, much as in Soph. El. 837 (which Wund. comp.) χρυσοδέτοις ἕρκεσι is used of the necklace of Eriphyle, in the sense of 'gold-binding,' rather than in that of 'gold-bound.' Perhaps Claud. Rapt. Pros. I. 237 (cited by Heyne) means the same thing when he says "ferrati postes inmensaque nectit Claustra chalybs," 'strengthens and fastens them, so as to make them good fasteners.' 'Surgebant' is probably to be supplied to 'trabes;' but 'nexae aere' will still be a predicate. [Henry now reads 'nexae.'—H. N.]

449.] 'The doors with their grating hinges were of brass.' We hear both of brazen and of brass-bound doors. The conjunction of brazen doors with brass-plated jambs seems merely a variety. "Stridentes cardine portae," 6. 573.

450.] ["Qua nova re oblata." Caes. Bell. Civ. 2. 12.—H. N.]

452.] There seems no reason for separating 'confidere' from 'adflictis rebus,' and taking the latter as "in adflictis rebus," as the commentators propose. The sense appears to be, "confidere fortunae quae adhuc adversa fuerat."

453.] These representations are probably on the doors or external walls of the temple. Comp. the sculptures mentioned G. 3. 26, A. 6. 20. 'Sub' then will express that Aeneas is looking up. Heyne discusses in an excursus the question whether these were sculptures or paintings, observing that the former was the only mode of representation known in the Homeric times, and that other poets, such as Val. Fl. 5. 411 foll., Sil. 3. 32 foll., describe similar temples with sculp-

Reginam opperiens, dum, quae Fortuna sit urbi,
Artificumque manus intra se operumque laborem
Miratur, videt Iliacas ex ordine pugnas
Bellaque iam fama totum vulgata per orbem,
Atridas, Priamumque, et saevum ambobus Achillen.
Constitit, et lacrimans, Quis iam locus, inquit, Achate,
Quae regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?
En Priamus. Sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi;
Sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.
Solve metus; feret haec aliquam tibi fama salutem.
Sic ait, atque animum pictura pascit inani,
Multa gemens, largoque umectat flumine vultum.

tures; but that the latter is more suited to the language of the present passage, and would be a natural anachronism, paintings on temple-walls or in porticoes being common in later times. There is a similar question about the description of the temple of Delphi in the Ion of Euripides.

454.] It has been asked how Aeneas knew that Dido was coming. Probably the idea is that he sees the senate assembled and the crowd waiting. 'Quae Fortuna sit urbi miratur,' for "miratur Fortunam urbis," marvels at the prosperity of the city, shown in the splendour of its temple. Aeneas sees everything in the light of his own great enterprise; so his thoughts would naturally pass from the temple to the city, of whose greatness it is an evidence. For 'Fortuna,' see on G. 4. 209.

455.] Ribbeck needlessly and unpoetically conjectures 'intrans.' [Conington, reading "inter," took 'manus inter se' to mean the skill of the rival artists. So Serv. and Ti. Donatus. But Madvig is probably right in reading, from one of Ribbeck's cursives, 'Miratur intra se' = wonders within himself.—H. N.] 'Manus' of skill 12. 210, as elsewhere of strength. 'Operumque laborem' probably refers to the magnitude of work rather than to the elaborate detail. Comp. G. 2. 155, "Adde tot egregias urbes operumque laborem."

456.] 'He sees the battles and heroes of the Trojan war.'

457.] This line gives the reason why the battles have been painted, and prepares us for the thoughts that follow. ['Volgata' Med.—H. N.]

458.] The two Atridae are first mentioned in the enumeration of the heroes, then Priam; after which Achilles is naturally introduced as 'saevus ambobus,' i.e. to the Atridae no less than to Priam. This seems a sufficient explanation of the loose use of 'ambobus,' with which ἀμφοτέροις in Od. 4. 339 has been aptly compared. The other objection that Achilles' quarrel was with Agamemnon alone, is of little weight, as the brothers were united in interest, and Menelaus as the husband of Helen suffered most. Achilles includes both in his taunts Il. 1. 159., 9. 340. Sen. Ep. 104 quotes the passage with 'Atriden.'

459.] 'Iam,' by this time. 'What place is there left which is not full &c.?'

460.] 'Nostri laboris,' our sorrows. "Et breviter Troiae supremum audire laborem," 2. 11.

461.] 'Here too worth finds its due reward, here too there are tears for human fortune, and hearts which are touched by mortality.' 'Laus' of worth 5. 355.

462.] 'Rerum' v. 178 above.

463.] 'Haec fama,' this knowledge of our glory.

464.] 'Inani' is not a mere general epithet, but has a pathetic sense in connexion with 'pascit,' implying that the subjects are numbered with the lost and past. [Cic. Fin. 1. 1 "me . . . species quaedam commovit, inanis scilicet, sed commovit tamen."—H. N.]

465.] The weeping is doubtless from the tears of Ulysses during the song of Demodocus Od. 8. 521 foll. [But Aristotle Poet. p. 1455 a 2 alludes to a scene in the 'Cypria' of Dicaeogenes which may have resembled this more nearly: ἐν τοῖς Κυπρίοις τοῖς Δικαιογένους· ἰδὼν γὰρ

Namque videbat, uti bellantes Pergama circum
Hac fugerent Grai, premeret Troiana iuventus,
Hac Phryges, instaret curru cristatus Achilles.
Nec procul hinc Rhesi niveis tentoria velis
Adgnoscit lacrimans, primo quae prodita somno
Tydides multa vastabat caede cruentus,
Ardentisque avertit equos in castra, prius quam
Pabula gustassent Troiae Xanthumque bibissent.
Parte alia fugiens amissis Troilus armis,
Infelix puer atque inpar congressus Achilli,
Fertur equis, curruque haeret resupinus inani,

τὴν γραφὴν ἔκλαυσεν. 'Voltum' Pal.—H. N.]

466.] Comp. E. 6. 31, "Namque canebat, uti" &c. Weidner arranges the various pictures into two groups of four scenes each: but the notion, though ingenious, seems fanciful.

468.] 'Curru' ablative, not dative. The crest of Achilles is described Il. 19. 380, and again 22. 314 foll., just as he is going to give Hector his death-wound, so that we are doubtless intended to be reminded of its terrors.

469.] For the story of Rhesus see Il. 10, and the play of that name ascribed to Euripides. 'Niveis tentoria velis' is an anachronism. The Homeric κλίσιαι, as appears from Il. 24. 448, were huts of planks thatched with grass.

470.] ['Agnoscit' Rom.—H. N.] 'Primo somno' is proved by a number of instances (2. 268., 5. 857) to mean 'in their first and deepest sleep;' not, as Wagn. thinks, the first time they slept at Troy. 'Prodita,' betrayed to him, and so surprised.

471.] 'Vastabat tentoria,' was spreading havoc through them. Perhaps it is more forcible to take 'multa caede' with 'vastabat:' 'with wide carnage;' not with 'cruentus,' 'covered with much blood.' But the point is very doubtful.

472.] 'Ardentis' is the Homeric αἴθωνας. 'Ardentis equos' 7. 781. One MS. has 'albentis,' which was the colour of the horses of Rhesus, Il. 10. 437. But the mention of the colour as exactly represented here might be thought rather jejune, especially after 'niveis velis.' 'Avertit,' as "avertere praedas" 10. 78.

473.] 'Gustassent—bibissent.' The subj. denotes the intention of Diomed. Homer and the Pseudo-Euripides know nothing of this intention, which Eustathius on Il. 10. 435, and the Scholiast, followed by Serv. on this passage, say was to prevent the accomplishment of an oracle that if the horses of Rhesus tasted the grass or water of Troy, Troy should not be taken.

474.] Troilus is mentioned by Priam, Il. 24. 257, with the epithet of ἱππιοχάρμης, as having been killed in battle (before the time of the Iliad). The tradition that he was killed by Achilles must have been drawn by Virg. from other sources, such as those represented by Quintus Smyrnaeus, Tzetzes, Dictys, and Dares, who however differ about the period in the Trojan war when his death occurred. Heyne conjectures from a Schol. on Hom. l. c. that Soph. in his lost tragedy of Troilus represented the youth as surprised by Achilles while exercising his chariot, and killed. See his Excursus on this passage. Plautus, Bacchid. 4. 9. 29 foll., speaks of the death of Troilus as one of the three fatal events in the siege of Troy, the other two being the loss of the Palladium and the fall of the top of the Scaean gate. Ribbeck transposes this passage so as to make it follow the next scene; but this would be to bind Virg. to follow servilely the Homeric order, with which indeed there would still be a disagreement, as in Hom. the mission to the temple of Athene precedes the Dolonea. The intention of Virg. doubtless is to mention first two fatal blows to Troy, and then the despairing effort of the Trojan women to propitiate the angry goddess.

475.] 'Atque' couples 'inpar congressus' with 'infelix.'

476.] 'Fertur equis,' is run away with. G. 1. 513, "frustra retinacula tendens Fertur equis auriga neque audit currus habenas." He has fallen back-

Lora tenens tamen ; huic cervixque comaeque trahuntur
Per terram, et versa pulvis inscribitur hasta.
Interea ad templum non aequae Palladis ibant
Crinibus Iliades passis peplumque ferebant,
Suppliciter, tristes et tunsae pectora palmis ;
Diva solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat.
Ter circum Iliacos raptaverat Hectora muros,
Exanimumque auro corpus vendebat Achilles.
Tum vero ingentem gemitum dat pectore ab imo,
Ut spolia, ut currus, utque ipsum corpus amici,
Tendentemque manus Priamum conspexit inermes.
Se quoque principibus permixtum adgnovit Achivis,

wards from the car (which of course had no back), but hangs by the reins, which were passed round the body, and which he still grasps with his hand. 'Hasta' is the spear of Troilus. Virg., as Heyne remarks, has departed from the Homeric custom, in which two warriors ride in the same car, one to drive and the other to fight. ['Impar' Med.—H. N.]

477.] Heyne justly wonders that Quint. (7. 9) should raise a question whether 'tamen' goes with what precedes or with what follows.

478.] ["'Versa' tracta, ut Plautus (Pseud. 1. 2. 31) 'inveniam omnia vorsa, sparsa.' Venit enim ab eo quod est 'verror.'" Serv., perhaps rightly.—H. N.] 'Pulvis inscribitur' like "flores inscripti" E. 3. 106.

479.] 'Non aequae,' unpropitious. Comp. G. 2. 225, "vacuis Clanius non aequus Acerris." This scene is described in Il. 6. 297 foll., which is imitated by Virg. himself 11. 477 foll.

481.] 'Suppliciter,' as Henry says, gives the general effect, and so should be pointed off. The 'suppliant guise' is further described in the words that follow.

482.] Hom. Il. 6. 311 has Ὣς ἔφατ' εὐχομένη, ἀνένευε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη. The contrary attitude is described in Ovid, Trist. 1. 3. 45, "Ad vatem voltus rettulit illa (Venus) suos." Here there is of course a confusion between the goddess and her statue.

483.] This line suggests the mangled and pitiable state of the body as shown in the picture,—a condition such as is described 2. 272. The tense of 'raptaverat' shows that this is not a separate picture. Comp. 8. 642—4, where the tense of "distulerant" similarly shows that the tearing of the limbs asunder had taken place before the action represented on the shield, which is similarly marked by the imperfect. In Hom. Hector is chased round the walls and dragged round the tomb of Patroclus. Heyne supposes Virg. to have followed the Cyclic poets or one of the tragedians, as Eur. Androm. 105 has τὸν περὶ τείχη Εἵλκυσε διφρεύων παῖς ἁλίας Θέτιδος. The word 'raptaverat' is apparently from Ennius, Androm. fr. 12, "Hectorem curru quadriiugo raptarier." The scene is from Il. 24. 478 foll.

484.] 'Exanimum' perhaps = "ita exanimatum," by the dragging: see on 2. 273. 'Auro vendebat,' 6. 621. See Madv. § 258.

486.] 'Currus' has been differently taken as the chariot of Hector or that of Achilles. It might also be taken of that of Priam, described Il. 24. 266. The chariot of Achilles however would be a more important object in such a picture; and its presence seems to be indicated in v. 483. Statius has a parallel passage (Silv. 2. 7. 55) "Ludes Hectora Thessalosque currus Et supplex Priami potentis aurum."

487.] 'Inermis,' unarmed, and so suppliant. The expression 'tendere manus inermis' occurs (with a variation of reading) 10. 595., 11. 414, 672. For the thing see Il. 24. 478.

488.] It is perhaps a little remarkable that Aeneas' features should have been transmitted by fame to Carthage, so as to be at once recognized by himself. In the other cases we may suppose that the event described told its own story. But names are found written over or under figures in old sculpture or painting, and Virg. may

Eoasque acies et nigri Memnonis arma.
Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
Penthesilea furens, mediisque in milibus ardet,
Aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae,
Bellatrix, audetque viris concurrere virgo.
  Haec dum Dardanio Aeneae miranda videntur,
Dum stupet, obtutuque haeret defixus in uno,
Regina ad templum, forma pulcherrima Dido,
Incessit, magna iuvenum stipante caterva.
Qualis in Eurotae ripis aut per iuga Cynthi

have had this practice in his mind, so that he would not seem to himself to be making a violent assumption. 'Principibus permixtum,' προμάχοις μιχθέντα. When Poseidon rescues Aeneas from Achilles, he tells him to keep in the background during Achilles' lifetime, but afterwards μετὰ πρώτοισι μάχεσθαι Il. 20. 338. Whether this time of more extended action is referred to here we cannot say, as we do not know how far the order of the pictures is chronological. Fragm. Vat. and Rom. give 'adgnoscit,' which Jahn adapts. This and the next line do not seem to represent any particular scene, though Weidner (see on v. 466) thinks otherwise. Were it so, we should probably have had a more definite description, as Aeneas himself figures in the action. The lines appear rather to be a summing up of various scenes not described in detail.

489.] The 'Eoae acies' are the Indian Aethiopians. Hom. says nothing of them in the Iliad, but Memnon is mentioned Od. 4. 187., 11. 521. Memnon had arms made by Vulcan, A. 8. 384. He was probably the hero of the Aethiopis of Arctinus, which is said to have followed immediately on the action of the Iliad (Mure, Hist. vol. ii. p. 282). He is called 'niger' as an Aethiopian, but the legend made him eminently beautiful, Od. 11. 521. On the whole subject see Heyne's Excursus.

490.] Penthesilea and her Amazons are again post-Homeric personages, who also seem to have figured in the Aethiopis, another title of the poem being probably Amazonia. Priam speaks of himself as having fought against Amazons invading Phrygia, Il. 3. 188. For 'lunatis peltis,' which were part of the national armour of various parts of Asia, and therefore attributed to the Amazons, see Dict. A. 'pelta.' ['Agmena' Med. originally.—H. N.]

492.] [Serv. suggests that 'aurea' may be nom., 'in golden armour.'—H. N.] 'Subnectens,' for "subnexa habens." 'Exsertae' as in 11. 649 note (of Camilla), "Unum exserta latus pugnae." See Dict. Myth. 'Amazons.' With the construction comp. G. 3. 166, "circlos Cervici subnecte."

493.] 'Bellatrix' placed as in 7. 805: comp. v. 319 above. 'Viris concurrere virgo' is supposed to be a reminiscence of the epithet ἀντιανείρας, applied by Hom. l. c. to the Amazons.

494—519.] 'As he is gazing, Dido enters the temple where she holds a court. To his surprise, his missing comrades appear and address her.'

494.] 'Videntur' apparently means 'are seen' rather than 'seem' (comp. "mihi visa" v. 326 above): 'miranda' however does not seem to be a pres. part. like "volvenda," as Wagn. thinks, but rather means 'are seen as marvels.' Henry notes the propriety of 'Dardanio,' as Aeneas is overwhelmed by Dardan recollections.

495.] Comp. 7. 249, "defixa Latinus Obtutu tenet ora soloque inmobilis haeret," which seems to show that 'haeret' is to be separated from 'obtutu in uno' here.

497.] 'Incessit' conveys a notion of majesty, as "incedo" in v. 46. Weidner supposes 'iuvenum' to be young women, which would help out the simile, but seems otherwise quite improbable. Elsewhere we hear of no female companions of hers except her sister. "Saepta armis" below he understands of a male bodyguard following her and her train. For 'stipante' Rom. has 'comitante.'

498.] This simile is translated with minor variations from Od. 6. 102 foll. It is much less appropriate to Dido walking in the midst of her lords, than to Nau-

Exercet Diana choros, quam mille secutae
Hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades; illa pharetram
Fert umero, gradiensque deas supereminet omnis:
Latonae tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus:
Talis erat Dido, talem se laeta ferebat
Per medios, instans operi regnisque futuris.
Tum foribus divae, media testudine templi,
Saepta armis, solioque alte subnixa resedit.
Iura dabat legesque viris, operumque laborem

sicaa dancing among her handmaidens, as was remarked long ago by Probus ap. Gell. 9. 9. 'Per iuga Cynthi' 4. 147. Hom. specifies Taygetus (in Laconia, like Eurotas) or Erymanthus. For Eurotas comp. E. 6. 83.

499.] 'Exercet choros' like "exercent palaestras" 3. 281. [Serv. says "hoc non ad comparationem pertinet, sed est poeticae descriptionis evagatio, quia chori nec personis hic nec locis congruunt; saltantium enim et cantantium dicuntur."—H. N.] The first syllable of 'Diana' is elsewhere short in Virg. Possibly he may have preferred the long antepenult in the nom., the short in the oblique cases.

500.] "Quem circum glomerati hostes hinc comminus atque hinc Proturbant," 9. 440. The nymphs follow her, and as they throng, form a circle round her. 'Illa pharetram fert umero' is perhaps a translation of ἰοχέαιρα. Comp. note on v. 416. We may however be intended to think of the motion of the quiver on the shoulder, as in 4. 149, "Tela sonant umeris."

501.] For 'deas' Pal. and Rom. have 'dea,' which also may have been the first reading of Med. Henry prefers it, citing vv. 412, 692. But the lengthening of a final vowel is very unusual, though not unexampled (see on 3. 464) and the omission of the letter is easily accounted for (see on G. 2. 219). It may be said too that 'deas' is confirmed by Hom. l. c. ῥεῖά τ' ἀριγνώτη πέλεται, καλαὶ δέ τε πᾶσαι, though 'dea' would have a force of its own. 'Deae' of inferior goddesses 9. 117., 10. 235.

502.] A characteristically elaborated version of the Homeric γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα Λητώ. Virg. may have thought too of Il. 18. 556. [Lucr. 3. 896 "tacita pectus dulcedine tangent."—H. N.]

503.] 'Se ferebat,' 'advanced,' 5. 290 &c. Even where there is no word of motion in the sentence, as in 5. 372., 8. 199, it seems to indicate more than our word 'carriage' or 'bearing,' though that notion may be included, as here.

504.] 'Urging on the work which was to set up her kingdom.' "Non ignarus instandum famae," Tac. Agr. 18.

505.] [Henry (anticipated by Turnebus Adv. 10. 11) is probably right in taking 'foribus divae' of the doors of the "cella" within the temple. Dido takes her seat in the doorway of the 'cella.' 'Testudo' is the vaulted roof of the whole temple, as in Vitruv. 5. 1. 6 it is the vaulted roof of a basilica. Serv.'s note is here not so good as usual, but Ti. Donatus is worth quoting. "Quomodo est iudiciorum omnium consuetudo: ducuntur iudices usque ad fores secretarii, ibidemque officium remanet: illi vero ingressi solium ascendunt, et sedent. Omnibus igitur qui in obsequio fuerant, cum praecederet regina, armati ante fores remanserunt; illa ingressa est . . . et ubi ad mediam testudinem templi, id est, ad mediam aream, pervenit, ascendit solium."—H. N.] Henry also remarks the general similarity between the reception of the Trojans here by Dido in the temple of Juno and by Latinus in the temple of Faunus 7. 170 foll. My lamented friend, Professor Shirley, suggested to me that the temple may have been a hypaethral one, which would have the 'testudo' over the door. Ribbeck reads 'media e testudine,' from a doubtful variety in Pal.

506.] 'Subnixa' means supported from beneath, with the throne ('solio'), not, as Heyne thinks, with a footstool. Henry comp. Claud. Epith. Hon. et Mar. 99, where 'solio subnixa' is similarly used. 'Saepta armis,' "satellitum scilicet," Serv.

507.] 'Iura legesque' is the common expression of the whole Roman law, and the words are not to be pressed here. Comp. Hor. 1 Sat. 1. 9, "iuris legumque

Partibus aequabat iustis, aut sorte trahebat:
Cum subito Aeneas concursu accedere magno
Anthea Sergestumque videt fortemque Cloanthum,
Teucrorumque alios, ater quos aequore turbo
Dispulerat penitusque alias avexerat oras.
Obstipuit simul ipse simul perculsus Achates
Laetitiaque metuque; avidi coniungere dextras
Ardebant; sed res animos incognita turbat.
Dissimulant, et nube cava speculantur amicti,
Quae fortuna viris, classem quo litore linquant,
Quid veniant; cunctis nam lecti navibus ibant,

peritus," with Macleane's note, and Dict. A. 'ius.' For 'iura dare' see on v. 293 above, 5. 758. 'Operumque laborem' foll. may be taken in two ways; either, that she divided by equity and, where that failed, by lot, which is the common way, or, that she first divided equally and then distributed the parts by lot. There is some resemblance between the scene here and that described Od. 11. 568 foll., though there the notion of administering justice is the prominent one, here that of giving laws and apportioning work.

508.] 'Partibus' probably instr. or modal abl. 'Sorte trahebat' is an inverted expression, combining the common phrase "sortem trahere" with the notion of division. See note on v. 381, and comp. 2. 201., 5. 534 notes.

509.] 'Concursu magno,' either in or through the multitude crowding to the temple, or with a great crowd collecting round them.

510.] 'Anthea,' v. 181, 'Cloanthum,' v. 222. Sergestus is mentioned for the first time.

512.] 'Penitus,' far away. Comp. "penitus repostas Massylum gentis," 6. 59. 'Alias oras,' other than where Aeneas had landed. 'Advexerat' is found in some MSS. including a correction in Med., 'averterat' in fragm. Vat. and Gud.

513.] 'Perculsus' Med., Pal. corrected, Serv.; 'percussus' fragm. Vat., Rom., Gud., Pal. originally. The latter has generally been adopted since Heins. The words are frequently confounded in MSS., and it is not easy to establish the distinction for which Forb. and others contend, as though 'perculsus' were too strong to be applied to any pleasurable emotion. Here however 'perculsus' is used in a sense peculiar to itself as a synonym of 'obstipuit' (was struck dumb), the ablatives referring to both words as if it had been 'prae laetitia metuque.' The words 'perculsus' and 'stupeo' are similarly joined in Hor. Epod. 7. 16, "Mentesque perculsae stupent." Comp. also Tac. A. 1. 12, "Perculsus inprovisa interrogatione paullum reticuit." 'Perculsus' should be restored to 8. 121, "Obstipuit tanto percussus nomine Pallas," where it is read by Rom. In 9. 197 'percussus' would seem to be the right word, being taken closely with 'amore,' as in G. 2. 476, where however, as there, the MSS. present the same variety. These passages seem also to show that 'perculsus' here is not an independent verb, but a participle, so that it is best to remove the comma after 'ipse.' 'Simul—simul,' 5. 675.

514.] 'Avidi' should be taken closely with 'ardebant,' as if it were 'avide.'

515.] 'Res incognita' is explained by the questions in vv. 517 foll.

516.] 'Dissimulant,' they repress their emotions. This use of 'dissimulo' absolutely is not common. 'Cava,' enshrouding. Comp. 2. 360, "nox atra cava circumvolat umbra." 'Speculantur,' look out on what was passing, as from a secure place of observation.

517.] 'Classem quo litore linquant,' not on what shore it will prove that they have left their fleet, as Forb. thinks, but on what shore they are leaving their fleet, the fleet being all the time without them.

518.] 'Cuncti' Med., Rom., Gud. corrected, Serv., Ti. Donatus. 'Cunctis' Pal., Gud. originally. The MSS. however have less positive weight here, as it is evident that there has been a confusion between 'cunctis' and 'lecti,' some giv-

Orantes veniam, et templum clamore petebant.
  Postquam introgressi et coram data copia fandi,
Maximus Ilioneus placido sic pectore coepit:
O Regina, novam cui condere Iuppiter urbem
Iustitiaque dedit gentis frenare superbas,
Troes te miseri, ventis maria omnia vecti,
Oramus, prohibe infandos a navibus ignes,
Parce pio generi, et propius res aspice nostras.
Non nos aut ferro Libycos populare Penatis

ing 'cuncti lectis' (Rom.), others 'cunctis lectis' (Gud. originally, Pal. corrected). [Serv. also mentions 'lectis' as a variant. —H. N.] The sense is strongly against 'cuncti,' whether we couple it with what follows, or, as Wagn., with what precedes. The appearance of deputies from all the ships informs Aeneas that the whole fleet is there ('classem quo litore linquant'); whereas it is difficult to see the meaning of making him wonder why all the deputies came together. Strictly, no doubt, "omnes" means all, distributively, and "cuncti" the whole, as Jahn contends against the reading 'cunctis:' but there are repeated instances in which "cuncti" might be replaced by "omnes," and even by "singuli," G. 2. 42, A. 3. 398.

519.] 'Orantes veniam,' praying for grace; not, as Wagn. thinks, for permission to speak with the queen, but for the favours specified in v. 525. Comp. 11. 100 foll., "Iamque oratores aderant—veniam rogantes—Redderet—sineret—praeceret." See also note on 2. 114. 'Clamore,' Forb. says, "non suo sed multitudinis." Why, it is difficult to see. They would naturally clamour when in danger of having their fleet burnt; and there seems to be a poetical contrast between the calmness of the aged Ilioneus (v. 521) and the excitement of the rest.

520—560.] 'Ilioneus, as their spokesman, tells his tale, and begs for permission for them to refit their ships, that they may be able to sail either to Italy or Sicily.'

520.] Repeated 11. 248.

521.] 'Maximus.' Comp. Livy 29. 17, of the Locrian embassy, "senatu dato, maximus natu ex iis" (then follows the speech). There is an aged Ilioneus in Q. Smyrn. 13. 181 foll. killed by Diomed. Ilioneus is employed as spokesman again in the parallel passage, 7. 212 foll. Weidner connects the calmness of Ilioneus with his age, comparing 7. 194, to which add 12. 18.

522.] The appeal is to one, to whom heaven has granted what they are seeking, to pity those whose case resembles her own, and to one who has founded civilization in the midst of barbarism, to put a stop to barbarous outrage. 'Novam urbem:' see on v. 298.

523.] 'Gentis superbas,' i. e. the Africans, not the Carthaginians, to whom 'gentis' would not be applicable. See 4. 41 (where possibly "infreni" may illustrate 'frenare' here), 320. It must be admitted, however, that so far as 'frenare' goes, it would point rather to Dido's government of her own people. Henry thinks Ilioneus speaks of the two operations in which he has seen Dido engaged, directing the building of the city and legislating (vv. 507, 508).

524.] 'Maria omnia vecti:' this accus. of the thing along or over which motion takes place is a Grecism, Jelf, Gr. Gr. 558. 1. Comp. 5. 627, "freta . . . terras . . . ferimur." Ilioneus speaks similarly of the wanderings of the Trojans, 7. 228.

525.] 'Infandos,' unspeakable, and so, horrible; not, as Heyne thinks, lawless, a sense which the word does not appear to bear. The Carthaginians were treating the Trojans as pirates. "Prohibent a matribus haedos," G. 3. 398.

526.] Heyne takes 'propius' as more closely; do not judge us by appearances. But it seems rather to mean, as Taubmann understood it, "praesentius," incline thine ear to our case. Comp. 8. 78, "propius tua numina firmes." ['Prorius' Pal. and originally Med.—H. N.] The Trojans are called "pii" 3. 266., 7. 21.

527.] 'Venimus populare, vertere,' like "parasitus modo venerat aurum petere," Plaut. Bacch. 4. 3. 18, an instance which shows that the construction is not merely

Venimus, aut raptas ad litora vertere praedas;
Non ea vis animo, nec tanta superbia victis.
Est locus, Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt,
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glaebae;
Oenotri coluere viri; nunc fama, minores
Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem.
Hic cursus fuit:
Cum subito adsurgens fluctu nimbosus Orion
In vada caeca tulit, penitusque procacibus austris
Perque undas, superante salo, perque invia saxa

a poetical Grecism, though the supine is undoubtedly more usual than the inf. 'Populare' seems here to refer to slaughter, as distinguished from pillage ('ad litora vertere praedas'). This is a sense however derived from the context, not, as Wagn. thinks, inherent in the word. Attius (Astyanax fragm. 1) has "Qui nostra per vim patria populavit bona."

528.] 'Vertere.' Comp. note on "avertit," v. 472, and on "vertuntur," v. 158.

529.] Such violence belongs not to our nature ("pio generi," v. 526), nor such daring to our vanquished condition. Comp. the legal sense of 'vis.' Not very unlike is "vim crescere victis," 12. 799.

530.] This line is imitated from Enn. A. 1. fr. 21 (quoted by Serv. and Macrob., Sat. 6. 1), "Est locus, Hesperiam quam mortales perhibebant." For the construction comp. v. 12 above.

531.] 'Terra antiqua,' a land old in story. For 'potens armis atque ubere glaebae' (where 'potens' seems to belong more naturally to the first), comp. G. 2. 173, "Magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus, Magna virum." 'Ubere glaebae:' οὖθαρ ἀρούρης, Il. 6. 141.

532.] 'Oenotrii' Med., 'Oenotri' Rom. rightly. The Greek is Οἴνωτροι.

533.] 'Gentem,' the nation, for the land. Comp. the Homeric δήμῳ ἔνι Τρώων, Od. 8. 220. There were many accounts of the eponymous Italus, for which see Serv. Thuc. 6. 2 makes him a king of the Sicels. One legend made Oenotrus his brother.

534.] The reading 'hic' is supported against 'huc' apparently by all the best MSS., and Serv. The sense is of course the same with either reading, while 'hic' is the more difficult, 'huc' the simpler. See on 4. 46, where there is a similar variety, and comp. 4. 237, "hic nostri nuntius esto." One inferior MS. fills up the line "huc cunctis [fuit?] ire voluntas."

535.] 'Subito adsurgens fluctu,' rising with a sudden swell. 'Orion adsurgens fluctu' is another of those artifices noticed on vv. 381, 508, the word 'adsurgens being intended to combine the rising of the star and the rising of the wave. For 'adsurgens fluctu' in the latter sense comp. G. 2. 160 and note; for the former comp. Val. Fl. 5. 566, "Qualibus adsurgens nox aurea cingitur astris." We are reminded here rather of the follower of Hesiod and Aratus than of the imitator of Homer. The inconsistency was felt in Serv.'s time, many, as he says, putting the superfluous question why the rising of Orion is mentioned when the tempest was raised by Juno; to which he replies that Ilioneus was not aware of the facts which the poet learned from the Muse. Elsewhere storms are connected with the setting of Orion (7. 719, Hor. 1 Od 28. 21., 3. 27. 17, Epod. 10. 10), as here with the rising. The rising of Orion is about midsummer (Pliny 18. 268), which agrees with the time here, v. 756.

536.] 'Procacibus,' boisterous. Eupolis, quoted by Julius Pollux ap. Cerdam, calls the winds ἀσελγεῖς. Lucr. 6. 111 has "petulantes aurae," and Hor. 1 Od. 26. 2, "protervi venti." 'Penitus:' above v. 512.

537.] 'Superante salo,' either, the 'sea overpowering us ("vicit hiemps" v. 122) or the waves rising high. The former, implying that they were unable to make head and were driven before the wind, is perhaps more in accordance with the context; but both may be intended: comp. 2. 311 note. Henry thinks 'salum' is used here and 2. 209 in its technical sense of the sea near the shore, for which see Forc.

Dispulit; hinc pauci vestris adnavimus oris.
Quod genus hoc hominum? quaeve hunc tam barbara morem
Permittit patria? hospitio prohibemur harenae;
Bella cient, primaque vetant consistere terra.
Si genus humanum et mortalia temnitis arma,
At sperate deos, memores fandi atque nefandi.
Rex erat Aeneas nobis, quo iustior alter,
Nec pietate fuit nec bello maior et armis.
Quem si fata virum servant, si vescitur aura

538.] 'Pauci,' a poor remnant. Comp. 6. 744, "pauci laeta arva tenemus." 'Adnavimus,' floated or drifted: comp. 4. 613., 6. 358. In prose the word is used of an ordinary approach to land; but Virg. doubtless meant something more. 'Vestris oris' is epexegetical of 'huc:' see on E. 1. 53.

539.] The first half of this line is said by Macrob. (Sat. 6. 1) to be taken from Furius (probably of Antium), whom according to the same authority Virg. largely imitated, "Quod genus hoc hominum, Saturno sancte create." This confirms Wagner's punctuation, which places an interrogation after 'hominum,' instead of continuing the construction to 'permittit.' 'Quod genus' is probably to be explained by 'quae patria,' not, as might be argued from v. 542, by supposing 'hominum' to be emphatic. For 'quae tam barbara permittit,' comp. G. 2. 315, and note. 'Patria morem permittit' is equivalent to "terra morem sibi proprium permittit:" see on G. 1. 52, and comp. v. 51 above. There is the same notion in Catull. 10. 14, "quod illic Natum dicitur esse."

540.] There is a pathetic force in 'hospitio;' we are barred even from the welcome which the shore gives the shipwrecked man. Serv. refers to Cic. pro Rosc. Am. 26, "Nam quid est tam commune, quam spiritus vivis, terra mortuis, mare fluctuantibus, litus eiectis?" Comp. Ilioneus' language 7. 229 foll.

541.] 'Prima terra,' on the edge of their territory. "Primi litoris oram" G. 2. 44.

542.] 'If you are so strong as to defy human indignation.' It is his cue to recognize the great power of Carthage. 'Mortalia arma,' i.q. "mortalium arma," G. 3. 319 note.

543.] 'Sperare' in the sense merely of expectation, like ἐλπίζειν, is common. There is no occasion to understand 'fore.' 'But expect gods who forget not the righteous or unrighteous deed.' "Deos sperare" occurs Plaut. Cas. 2. 5. 38, Mil. 4. 5. 10, Cist. 2. 3. 52 in a somewhat different sense. 'Fandi atque nefandi' is from Catull. 64. 406, "Omnia fanda nefanda malo permixta furore." It is hard to say whether 'fandum' and 'nefandum' thus coupled should be taken in the supposed old sense of the gerundive, as a present participle, and so as strictly equivalent to 'fas' and 'nefas,' or understood in the ordinary way, things that may or may not be spoken. With the general sense comp. Od. 2. 66., 9. 269 foll. Virg. may conceivably have thought of Catull. 30. 11, "Si tu oblitus es, at di meminere, at meminit Fides."

544.] 'Aeneas was our king,' not 'we had a king called Aeneas,' which would imply that Aeneas was unknown. Heyne was the first who put a comma at 'alter.' The old punctuation connected 'iustior' with 'pietate,' a combination in itself very harsh, and moreover involving an unexampled inversion. For the omission of 'neque' in the first clause, comp. Caes. B. C. 3. 71 (quoted by Gossr.), "sed in litteris, quas scribere est solitus, neque in fascibus insignia laureae praetulit." So in Greek, Aesch. Ag. 532, Choeph. 294. With 'pietate maior' comp. 11. 292, "Hic pietate prior." Cerda comp. Il. 3. 179, ἀμφότερον, βασιλεύς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής. 'Bello et armis' pleonastic, 4. 615., 7. 235 (comp. the latter passage generally).

546.] Lucr. 5. 857, "quaecumque vides vesci vitalibus auris." Lachm. on Lucr. 3. 405 objects to the combination "aetheriae" or "aetheris aurae" or "aura," on the ground that "aurae" belong to the "aër," not to the "aether;" accordingly, wherever the words occur, he would alter "aetherius" into "aërius," as here and 6. 762, or "aurae" into "orae," as in 4. 445., 7. 557, G. 2. 292. Both changes

Aetheria, neque adhuc crudelibus occubat umbris,
Non metus; officio nec te certasse priorem
Paeniteat. Sunt et Siculis regionibus urbes
Armaque, Troianoque a sanguine clarus Acestes.

are natural enough; "aetherius" and "aërius" are confused in the MSS. 5. 518, 520., 8. 221; in G. 2. 47 Med. has "auras" for "oras." But whatever may be the case with Lucr. (and I am glad to see that Prof. Munro rejects his predecessor's view), there seems on the one hand no reason why Virg. may not have used "aether" loosely in this connexion, as equivalent to "caelum" (a word with which "aurae" is not unfrequently joined, 6. 363., 7. 543, 768., 11. 595), while on the other "aura" at any rate is found in Virg. in a sense in which it is peculiarly appropriate to "aether," if not actually synonymous with it, "Aetherium sensum atque aurai simplicis ignem," 6. 747. This is probably its sense here, as Henry suggests,—the same mixture of the notions of light and air which we find G. 2. 340, "lucem hausere." Henry comp. Stat. Theb. 1. 237 (of the blind Oedipus), "Proiecitque diem nec iam amplius aethere nostro Vescitur," on which Lachm. merely remarks, "Statio licuit improprie loqui." Elsewhere Virg. connects "aether" with life, 6. 436., 11. 104. Heyne remarks that Virg. was probably thinking of such passages as Od. 20. 207 foll., *εἴ που ἔτι ζώει καὶ ὁρᾷ φάος ἠελίοιο· Εἰ δ' ἤδη τέθνηκε καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδαο δόμοισιν*, a supposition which may perhaps be thought to confirm the view of 'aura aetheria' just maintained.

547.] 'Crudelibus umbris,' the cruel darkness of death. Heyne and Wagn. take 'umbris' as the dative and 'occubare umbris' as a synonym for "occumbere morti." But "occumbere" means to fall, 'occubare' to lie dead, so that Forb. is doubtless right in making 'umbris' abl., unless we suppose that 'occubat umbris' can be i. q. "iacet inter umbras," lies among the spectres.

548.] 'Nec' is the reading of all the MSS., except the Hamburg corrected, and of Serv., and is supported by the occurrence of the expression "nec te paeniteat" E. 2. 34., 10. 17, where it is nearly equivalent to "nec pudeat." 'Ne' was recommended by Heins. and introduced by Heyne, and has been followed by most subsequent critics. Retaining 'nec,' we must understand 'non metus' with Henry, 'we have no cause to dread,' which would agree with Dido's words v. 562. But the expression is a harsh one, though it may perhaps be palliated by such phrases as "haud mora." There should, I think, be a semicolon or colon after 'metus;' not a period, as Ribbeck punctuates, as if a new thought began here and were carried on to the end of v. 550. It is Aeneas who will repay Dido if he lives. 'Officio certasse priorem,' to have taken the lead in the rivalry of good deeds. Comp. the phrase "provocare aliquem beneficio." "Si muneribus certes" E. 2. 57. Comp. generally the parallel 7. 233, "Nec Troiam Ausonios gremio excepisse pigebit." 'Certasse,' like 'paeniteat,' assumes that Dido has already done what Ilioneus asks her to do. See E. 2. 34, referred to above.

549.] It is difficult to determine the exact point of this sentence, as 'et' may mean, besides Aeneas, i. q. "we have other protectors who may receive us and repay you," or, besides Carthage, i. q. "we have other cities where we may settle, and are not come to intrude on you," or lastly, besides Italy, i. q. "we have another chance if our hopes there are gone." The last would accord with the remainder of the speech, which dwells on the two courses open to them, that of fulfilling their Italian destiny should Aeneas be alive, or that of settling in Sicily should he and his heir be dead.

550.] 'Armaque' Rom., Pal., Gud., Serv., Ti. Donatus; 'arvaque' Med. The great majority of MSS. would seem to be in favour of the former: the latter is found in at least one of the Oxford MSS., that of Ball. Coll. In internal probability the two words seem to be as nearly balanced as possible. 'Arva' brings out further the notion of a settlement, and is used repeatedly in connexion with the Trojan settlement in Italy (see among many other passages v. 569 below, 4. 311, 355, and comp. 3. 136). 'Arma' adds a new thought, and one which is natural enough in the mouth of Ilioneus. Arms are a natural addition to a city: comp. v. 347 foll. above, "urbem Patavi sedesque locavit Teucrorum, et genti

Quassatam ventis liceat subducere classem,
Et silvis aptare trabes et stringere remos:
Si datur Italiam, sociis et rege recepto,
Tendere, ut Italiam laeti Latiumque petamus,
Sin absumpta salus, et te, pater optime Teucrum,
Pontus habet Libyae, nec spes iam restat Iuli,
At freta Sicaniae saltem sedesque paratas,
Unde huc advecti, regemque petamus Acesten.
Talibus Ilioneus; cuncti simul ore fremebant
Dardanidae.

nomen dedit, armaque fixit Troia," 12. 192 foll., "socer arma Latinus habeto . . . mihi moenia Teucri Constituent, urbique dabit Lavinia nomen." The Trojans have arms of their own (comp. 4. 48, where observe "urbem" and "regna" in the immediate context); but in the absence of Aeneas they must seek armed assistance elsewhere. Such being the balance of probabilities, I have decided, after much hesitation, by external evidence, adopting 'arma' with Henry and Ribbeck, against most modern critics. 'Arva' was first introduced by Heyne. Oddly enough, there are traces of a similar variety in Pal. and another MS. below, v. 569, where, though 'arma' would be out of the question, there is a certain parallelism. 'A sanguine,' without a participle or word indicating origin, 5. 299.

551.] Wagn., Jahn, and Wund. seem right in taking vv. 551—558 as one sentence, "liceat subducere classem, ut Italiam petamus si datur Italiam tendere, sin absumpta salus, ut saltem Siciliam petamus." The old method had been to break up the passage, considering 'ut petamus' as an elliptical expression, and the second 'petamus' as optative. 'Subducere classem,' to lay up the fleet, opposed to "deducere," to launch. Instances are given by Forc. Ribbeck supposes the passage to be unfinished, thinking the transition from the previous sentence to the present a harsh one; but see on v. 549.

552.] 'Silvis aptare trabes,' to fashion planks in the woods; that is, to fit them to the breaches which required mending in the ship's side. Comp. 5. 753, G. 1. 171 note. [Serv. mentions a variant 'optare.'—H. N.] 'Stringere remos,' to clear branches or trees of their leaves and twigs for oars, hence called "tonsae." Comp. G. 2. 368, "tum stringe comas, tum bracchia tonde." Silius has imitated the expression (6. 352), "Aut silvis stringunt remos aut abiete secta Transtra novant." Comp. also A. 4. 399, "Frondentisque ferunt remos et robora silvis Infabricata fugae studio." 'Silvis,' as if he had said, 'give us the use of your woods for repairing our ships,' while it gives the picture of hasty work, carried on in the woods themselves, as in the passage just quoted.

553.] The repetition of 'Italiam' has been complained of, but it really adds force, showing what is the speaker's first object. Comp. 3. 253, "Italiam cursu petitis, ventisque vocatis Ibitis Italiam." "Classem sociosque receptos" below v. 583.

554.] 'Italiam Latiumque:' see v. 3. Ilioneus has not previously mentioned Latium, while he has spoken of Italy vv. 530 foll. as an unknown country; but Virg.'s love of variety leads him to neglect these minutiae. So Dido talks of "Saturnia arva" below v. 569.

555.] "Pater optimus" of Aeneas 5. 358. ['Optume' Rom.—H. N.]

556.] 'Pontus habet.' 6. 362, "Nunc me fluctus habet versantque in litore venti." 'Spes Iuli,' the hope of future manhood supplied by Iulus. So Henry, rightly. Comp. 4. 274., 6. 364., 10. 524.

557.] 'Sedes paratas,' opposed to those which they would have yet to build. "Urbemque paratam" 4. 75.

558.] 'Regemque petamus Acesten,' seek a king in Acestes, in place of Aeneas.

559.] 'Cuncti—Dardanidae' repeated 5. 385, where as here 'simul' means not that they shouted all together, which is expressed by 'cuncti,' but that they shouted assent to the speaker. 'Ore fremebant,' ἐπευφήμησαν. Weidner.

Tum breviter Dido, vultum demissa, profatur:
Solvite corde metum, Teucri, secludite curas.
Res dura et regni novitas me talia cogunt
Moliri, et late finis custode tueri.
Quis genus Aeneadum, quis Troiae nesciat urbem,
Virtutesque virosque, aut tanti incendia belli?
Non obtunsa adeo gestamus pectora Poeni,
Nec tam aversus equos Tyria Sol iungit ab urbe.
Seu vos Hesperiam magnam Saturniaque arva,

561—578.] 'Dido welcomes them, offers them either a temporary sojourn or a lasting home, and promises to search for Aeneas.'

561.] For 'vultum' Pal. corrected and another MS. have 'vultu.'

562.] 'Solvite corde metum,' a variety for 'solvite corda metu.' 'Solve metus' has however already occurred v. 463. Pierius mentions other readings, 'metus' and 'seducite,' neither of which however appears to be found in any first-class MS.

563.] 'Res dura,' my hard case, i. e. the difficulty she had in keeping her ground on a hostile territory, and her fears from her brother. 'Novitas' is rather a favourite word with Lucr., who uses "novitas mundi" of the infancy of the world 5. 780, 818, 943. Canon. has 'cogit.'

564.] 'Custode' sing. in pl. sense 9. 380.

565.] She compliments Aeneas by calling the Trojans 'Aeneadae' (above v. 157).

566.] Comp. Catull. 68. 90, "Troia virum et virtutum omnium acerba cinis." This reference however does not prove, as Wagn. thinks, that 'virtutesque virosque' is to be taken as a hendiadys. The natural sense is 'the gallant deeds and the heroes.' 'Tanti incendia belli:' comp. Cic. pro Marcell. 9, "belli civilis incendium salute patriae restinguere." The same metaphor occurs de Rep. 1. 1 and elsewhere in Cic. 'Tanta,' the reading before Heins., has no first-class authority. In the parallel 7. 222 foll. the siege and fall of Troy are also expressed by a metaphor, but it is from a tempest and a deluge.

567.] 'Obtunsa,' blunted and so dull; the reverse of "curis acuens mortalia corda" G. 1. 123. 'Pectora,' minds, not hearts. Hor. 1. Ep. 4. 6, "Non tu corpus eras sine pectore." 'Gestamus pectora' like "Is sapientia munitum pectus egregie gerat," Attius Brutus fr. 2: see Munro on Lucr. 3. 1049. Comp. φέρειν, φορεῖν. 'Obtunsa' is of course a predicate—'the minds within us are not so dull.'

568.] Both this and the preceding line are intended to rebut the supposition of ignorance respecting the history of Troy, not of want of feeling; so that the references of the older commentators to the recoil of the sun from the banquet of Thyestes are quite out of place. The notion seems to be 'we do not lie so far out of the pale of the civilized world—out of the circuit of the sun, and so out of the course of fame.' Comp. 6. 796, "iacet extra sidera tellus Extra anni Solisque vias." It would add great force to the passage if we could suppose Virg. to have conceived of the sun as the actual bearer of news to the nations of the earth, as in the well-known passage in the dying speech of Ajax, Soph. Aj. 845—849, and in Od. 8. 270, 302, Aesch. Ag. 632—676. But it is to be observed that in these passages the sun is the only possible witness; and though such a thought may possibly have crossed the mind of Statius when imitating this passage in Theb. 1. 683 ("Scimus, ait; nec sic aversum Fama Mycenis Volvit iter"), it would be hazardous to assume this to have been Virg.'s meaning when the passage can be explained without it, and the simpler view is confirmed by the language of the parallel 7. 225—227. Silius (15. 334) has imitated these words in a way which seems to show that he understood them, like the old commentators, as having reference to the recoil of the sun at a dreadful occurrence. 'Iungit equos' seems to imply that the people disclaimed by Dido lie beyond the sunrising.

569.] 'Hesperiam magnam' (7. 4) like "Italiam magnam" 4. 345, seemingly an ornamental epithet. 'Saturniaque arva:' see 8. 349 foll.

Sive Erycis finis regemque optatis Acesten,
Auxilio tutos dimittam, opibusque iuvabo.
Voltis et his mecum pariter considere regnis?
Urbem quam statuo, vestra est; subducite navis;
Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.
Atque utinam rex ipse Noto compulsus eodem
Adforet Aeneas! Equidem per litora certos
Dimittam et Libyae lustrare extrema iubebo,
Si quibus eiectus silvis aut urbibus errat.
His animum arrecti dictis et fortis Achates

570.] 'Optatis,' choose, not wish.

571.] 'Auxilio tutos,' protected by an escort. 'Tutos' is a participle, as in 6. 238., 9. 43. 'Opibus iuvabo:' she will open her stores and arsenals to them, not, give them money. The line is nearly repeated 8. 171.

572.] Wagn. and others, following Serv. ("deest *vel si*"), strike out the interrogation at the end of this line, understanding it as a hypothesis without 'si,' on the ground that Dido is simply giving them their choice, not pressing an invitation. They do not however attempt to prove either that the invitation conveyed by the interrogative form is a pressing one, or that an invitation would be inappropriate here. On the contrary the whole tenor of Dido's language to the end of the speech seems to show that she hopes they will settle. For the expression comp. Hor. 1 Od. 27. 9, where no one has yet proposed to change the punctuation. 'Mecum pariter:' 'pariter' has its strict sense: on equal terms with me. The order in Pal. is 'pariter mecum.' Some inferior MSS. have 'consistere,' Rom. 'terris.' 'Considere' of settling in a country 3. 162., 4. 39 &c. ['Vultis' Med. and Rom.—H. N.]

573.] 'Urbem quam statuo, vestra est.' This attraction of the antecedent to the case of the relative has been abundantly illustrated by the commentators. The commonest and perhaps the best passage is Ter Eun. 4. 3. 11, "Eunuchum quem dedisti nobis, quas turbas dedit." "Urbem praeclaram statui" are Dido's words 4. 655.

574.] [Nonius p. 282 quotes with "habetur" for 'agetur.'—H. N.] 'Nullo discrimine agetur' is commonly explained by reference to the Greek ἄγειν, to weigh or to regard, in which case we must suppose 'agere' to be a variety for "ducere." Comp. 10. 108, "Tros Rutulusne fuat nullo discrimine habebo." It is possible however that Virg. may have also been thinking of "discrimen agere" as equivalent to "discrimen facere" (comp. "censuram," "dilectum agere," &c.). Serv.'s "'agetur,' regetur," if intended for anything more than the most general explanation, seems quite untenable.

575.] 'Noto eodem,' the same gale. "procacibus Austris" v. 536. 'Compulsus:' 'compello' like "cogo" means originally to drive together to the same spot, hence to drive together into straits, constrain ("compellere aliquem in angustias"). Either sense would be tenable here. 'Compulsus' may mean either driven as you were driven, in which case we might take 'eodem' adverbially (comp. Caes. B. G. 1. 4, "Omnis clientes suos eodem conduxit"), or driven by stress of weather ('Noto'). Comp. generally 7. 263 foll. "Ipse modo Aeneas . . . adveniat." 'Atque utinam' E. 10. 35. ['Conpulsus' Pal.—H. N.]

576.] 'Certos,' trusty messengers. See Forc. s. v.

577.] 'Dimittam,' "in diversas partis mittam," as Heyne explains it.

578.] 'Si quibus,' to see whether, 'to see' being implied in 'lustrare.' 'Eiectus,' 4. 373. Some inferior MSS. give 'montibus,' which Burm. prefers; but Dido's messengers are doubtless meant to seek Aeneas in other territories, e. g. the Gaetulian towns: comp. 4. 40. 173.

579—612.] 'Instantly Aeneas and Achates becomes visible. Aeneas thanks Dido for her splendid and ever-memorable generosity.'

579.] 'Arrecti,' excited; quite a different word from 'erecti,' reassured, though Heyne and Forb. seem to confound the two.

Et pater Aeneas iandudum erumpere nubem
Ardebant. Prior Aenean compellat Achates:
Nate dea, quae nunc animo sententia surgit?
Omnia tuta vides, classem sociosque receptos.
Unus abest, medio in fluctu quem vidimus ipsi
Submersum; dictis respondent cetera matris.
Vix ea fatus erat, cum circumfusa repente
Scindit se nubes et in aethera purgat apertum.
Restitit Aeneas claraque in luce refulsit,
Os umerosque deo similis; namque ipsa decoram
Caesariem nato genetrix lumenque iuventae
Purpureum et laetos oculis adflarat honores:
Quale manus addunt ebori decus, aut ubi flavo

580.] [' Iandudum ' Med. and Pal. originally, ' iamdudum,' Rom.—H. N.] ' Erumpere nubem.' Comp. Hor. 4 Od. 15. 9, " Rectum evaganti licentiae." Prop. 4. 2. 21, " praescriptos evecta est pagina gyros," Lipsius' conj. for the corrupt " praescripto sevecta gyro."

582.] ' Shall we not reveal ourselves now?' It is implied that they had the power to do so in v. 516, though the mist in fact vanishes without their will. The line may be a translation of Apoll. R. 1. 463, Αἰσονίδη, τίνα τήνδε μετὰ φρεσὶ μῆτιν ἑλίσσεις; The latter part is nearly repeated 9. 191.

583.] ' Receptos,' sc. " esse," as they did not see the fleet before them.

584.] ' Unus abest,' Orontes. Comp. v. 113., 6. 334.

585.] [' Summersum,' Rom.—H. N.]

586.] Weidner comp. Od. 16. 11, οὔπω πᾶν εἴρητο ἔπος ὅτε κ.τ.λ. The phrase however is not a commonplace with Hom., as ' vix ea fatus erat ' is with Virg.

587.] ' Purgat ' borrows ' se ' from ' scindit.' ' In aethera:' see on 5. 20. Wakefield's preference (on Lucr. 3. 507) of the variant ' aëra ' is particularly unfortunate, as it is the grosser " aër " that defecates into the purer " aether." Καὶ τότε δὴ ῥ' αὐτοῖο πάλιν χύτο θέσφατος ἀήρ, Od. 7. 143. [Lucr. 4. 340, " lucidus aër, Qui quasi *purgat* eos ac nigras discutit umbras Aëris illius."—H. N.]

588.] ' Restitit,' " abscedente scilicet nube," Serv. For ' refulsit ' see note on v. 402.

589—593.] The whole of this passage is almost a translation of Od. 23. 156—162, which is nearly repeated from Od. 6. 229 foll. Except in employing the agency of Venus, who is not only the mother of Aeneas, but the goddess of beauty, Virg. is as usual less appropriate as well as forcible than Hom. For ' os umerosque deo similis,' comp. also the well-known lines, Il. 2. 478, Ὄμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν κ.τ.λ., and see on 4. 11.

590.] [Pal. has ' iuventa.'—H. N.]

591.] ' Adflarat,' as regards ' caesariem,' is a zeugma; as regards ' lumen ' it may refer to the supposed connexion between light and air, indicated by such passages as 3. 600, " hoc caeli spirabile lumen " (see above on v. 546). ' Purpureum,' glowing. For the vague use of ' purpureus ' see on E. 5. 38. The word here probably refers to the rosy bloom of youth. [Serv. says it = " pulchrum," comparing Horace's " purpureis ales oloribus:" and so Porphyrion on Horace 4 Od. 1. 10.—H. N.] ' Honores,' lustre. ' Laetus ' is φαιδρός. [Virg. may have thought of Eur. Bacch. 236, οἰνωπός, ὄσσοις χάριτας Ἀφροδίτης ἔχων.—H. N.]

592.] Hom. has simply ὡς δ' ὅτε τις χρυσὸν περιχεύεται ἀργύρῳ ἀνὴρ Ἴδρις, which answers to ὣς ἄρα τῷ κατέχευε (Ἀθήνη) χάριν, the point being that the beauty of Ulysses is, as it were, gilded with diviner grace, as silver is gilded with more precious gold. Virg. has taken the idea of beauty superadded by art, and expressed it in two ways, neither of them exactly the same as Homer's. The first (' quale manus addunt ebori decus ') is the mere superaddition of art to a beautiful material (' manus,' in the technical sense of the artist's hand, v. 455 above); the second, the adornment of silver or marble with gold, a practice

Argentum Pariusve lapis circumdatur auro.
Tum sic reginam adloquitur, cunctisque repente
Inprovisus ait: Coram, quem quaeritis, adsum,
Troius Aeneas, Libycis ereptus ab undis.
O sola infandos Troiae miserata labores,
Quae nos, reliquias Danaum, terraeque marisque
Omnibus exhaustos iam casibus, omnium egenos,
Urbe, domo, socias, grates persolvere dignas
Non opis est nostrae, Dido, nec quidquid ubique est
Gentis Dardaniae, magnum quae sparsa per orbem.
Di tibi, si qua pios respectant numina, si quid
Usquam iustitia est et mens sibi conscia recti,
Praemia digna ferant. Quae te tam laeta tulerunt

similar to that referred to 10. 135, and illustrated in Heyne's Excursus. 'Flavo:' elsewhere gold is called "fulvum," 7. 279, &c.

594.] Connect 'cunctis inprovisus.' Burm. after Serv. thinks 'sic' means 'thus beautified;' an ingenious but unlikely notion.

597.] 'Sola' is to be understood loosely, alone of thōse not allied to Troy, and so excluding Helenus and Acestes.

598.] 'Reliquias Danaum:' see on v. 30 above.

599.] 'Exhaustos' Med., Rom., Pal., Gud. 'Exhaustis' fragm. Vat. originally, Serv. Ribbeck alone has adopted the latter, which is very plausible in itself, agreeing with the use of "exhaustus" elsewhere in Virg. (comp. 4. 14., 9. 356., 10. 57, a strong parallel, 11. 256), and sufficiently weighty in external authority. After much hesitation I have allowed the parallel "tot casibus actos," above v. 240, to decide me to follow the rest of the editors. Comp. "quo magis exhaustae fuerint," G. 4. 248, of the bees. 'Omnium:' the only instance in which Virg. has forced this intractable word into a hexameter.

600.] 'Urbe, domo, socias,' offer to make us the partners of your city and your home—open your city, your very home to us. The construction seems to be 'socias ("tibi" or "tecum") urbe, domo' (instr. or modal abl.). Not unlike is G. 4. 153, "consortia tecta Urbis habent." 'Grates persolvere dignas,' 2. 537.

601.] 'Opis' in its original sense of means or power. Forb. comp. Hor. 1. Ep. 9. 9, "Dissimulator opis propriae." ['Quicquid' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

602.] 'Nec quidquid ubique est gentis Dardaniae' = "nec omnium, quotquot sunt, Dardanorum." 'Magnum quae sparsa per orbem,' both as fugitives and as captives.

603.] Comp. generally 2. 536. "Si quid pietas antiqua labores Respicit humanos," 5. 688.

604.] 'Iustitiae,' the old text before Heyne, is found in Med. (second reading) and some other MSS. 'Iustitia' however is found in Med. (first reading), Rom., Pal., fragm. Vat. and Gud., besides Serv., and is rightly preferred by all modern editors. There is still a question whether 'mens sibi conscia recti' is to be coupled with 'Di' or with 'iustitia.' Those who read 'iustitiae' of course adopted the former view; but it is supported also by Serv., though reading 'iustitia,' with the remark that the doctrine that virtue is its own reward is Stoic, and in modern times by Peerlkamp, and undoubtedly receives strong confirmation from 9. 252 foll., which is generally parallel, "Quae vobis, quae digna, viri, pro laudibus istis Praemia posse rear solvi? pulcherrima primum Di moresque dabunt vestri." On the whole however the latter view is that to which the passage itself seems most naturally to point. 'If justice and conscious rectitude be of any account anywhere on earth.' Comp. 2. 142, "si qua est, quae restat adhuc mortalibus usquam Intemerata fides." "Mens sibi conscia facti" is read by some in Lucr. 3. 1018, where Lachm. retains "factis," joining "sibi" with "praemetuens."

605.] Comp. Od. 6. 154 foll., and for the construction v. 539 above, G. 2. 315.

Saecula? qui tanti talem genuere parentes?
In freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbrae
Lustrabunt convexa, polus dum sidera pascet,
Semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt,
Quae me cumque vocant terrae. Sic fatus, amicum
Ilionea petit dextra, laevaque Serestum,
Post alios, fortemque Gyan, fortemque Cloanthum.
  Obstipuit primo aspectu Sidonia Dido,
Casu deinde viri tanto, et sic ore locuta est:
Quis te, nate dea, per tanta pericula casus

607.] 'Dum montibus umbrae lustrabunt convexa,' while the shadows move in the hollows of the hills. 'Umbrae,' not, as Heyne thinks, the shadows of the woods, but those cast by the hills themselves, E. 1. 84. 'Lustrabunt' Heyne explains rightly of the shadow moving with the sun. With 'convexa' comp. "convexo nemorum," v. 310, and the word "convallis." Many critics, from the time of Serv., have taken 'convexa' with 'sidera' (comparing Ov. 4. ex Pont. 9. 129), supposing 'lustrabunt' to be corrupt ('lustra dabunt,' Heins., 'constabunt,' Burm.; Ribbeck thinks the passage imperfect). The use of a word in one sense in a context which would seem to suggest another, is not un-Virgilian, even where, as here, that other sense is not meant to be in any way recognized. 'Polus dum sidera pascet' is from Lucr. 1. 231, "unde aether sidera pascit" (comp. Id. 5. 523 foll.). Virg. also had v. 230 ("Unde mare ingenui fontes externaque longe Flumina suppeditant") in his eye, though the prominent thought with him is not the constant supply, but simply the constant course of nature. Perhaps, as the earlier critics suggested, Virg. may also have thought of Callim. Del. 176, τείρεσιν, ἡνίκα πλεῖστα κατ' ἠέρα βουκολέονται, the stars being conceived of as a flock grazing in the sky. Med. and one or two others have 'pascit:' see on 4. 336.

609.] This line is repeated from E. 5. 78. The sense of that passage is, so long as rural life exists, you shall be celebrated with festivals like the gods. So here we may explain, with Wagn., 'so long as nature holds her course, your name shall be perpetuated in the land where I may be, be it Italy or any other.' Comp. 5. 49—60, where a similar promise is made to the memory of Anchises, and 4. 335, where the same acknowledgment is made more weakly to Dido herself. This seems more likely than Henry's view, 'whatever becomes of *me*, *your* fame is assured.'

610.] 'Vocant' expresses that he is dependent on destiny, and so implies that he will have to leave Dido, as Henry remarks. Comp. 3. 494, "nos alia ex aliis in fata vocamur," 5. 656, "fatisque vocantia regna."

611.] 'Petit dextra,' puts forth his right hand to: comp. "cornu petere." 'Serestus,' apparently not the same as "Sergestus" v. 510: see on 4. 288., 5. 487. The present passage, combined with v. 510, would be rather in favour of the identification, which might be compared with the double quantity of words like "Sychaeus," though Heyne says of it "quod vix feram ne in malo quidem poeta."

612.] V. 222 above. Here 'Gyan' and 'Cloanthum' seem to be epexegetical of 'alios.'

613.] ['Opstipuit' Med.—H. N.]

614—642.] 'Dido tells him she has heard of him from Teucer, a wandering Greek, and bids him welcome. She sends food to the crews at the ships, and orders a splendid banquet in the palace."

614.] 'Casu tanto,' at the stupendous disaster. It would be harsh to separate 'primo,' as an adverb, from 'aspectu' (see however 4. 176); as an adjective, it may still be taken adverbially, as in 4. 166, E. 6. 1.

615.] 'Quis casus,' τίς τύχη, "quae fortuna" (comp. above v. 240). 'Quae vis,' τίς βία. The meaning seems to be, "How inveterate the ill-fortune that persecutes you! how savage the violence that leads you here!" the question being one of wonder. In v. 9 he is driven through 'casus:' here the 'casus' drives him.

Insequitur? quae vis immanibus applicat oris?
Tune ille Aeneas, quem Dardanio Anchisae
Alma Venus Phrygii genuit Simoentis ad undam?
Atque equidem Teucrum memini Sidona venire
Finibus expulsum patriis, nova regna petentem
Auxilio Beli; genitor tum Belus opimam
Vastabat Cyprum et victor dicione tenebat.
Tempore iam ex illo casus mihi cognitus urbis
Troianae nomenque tuum regesque Pelasgi.
Ipse hostis Teucros insigni laude ferebat,
Seque ortum antiqua Teucrorum ab stirpe volebat.
Quare agite, o tectis, iuvenes, succedite nostris.
Me quoque per multos similis fortuna labores
Iactatam hac demum voluit consistere terra.
Non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.
Sic memorat; simul Aenean in regia ducit

616.] 'Immanibus,' savage, with reference to the Libyans, an apology for the roughness of her own people being blended with an identification of his misfortunes with her own. "Terrae applicat ipsum," 12. 303. Here it = "appellere," v. 377 above. ['Inmanibus' Med. 'Adplicat' Med. and Pal.; 'applicat' Rom.; but Serv. says that 'applicat' is the older spelling.—H. N.]

617, 8.] Comp. Il. 2. 820. 'Genuit:' Virg. may mean only that the meeting of Venus and Anchises was by the banks of the Simois. Serv. however says, "Deae vel Nymphae enituntur circa fluvios vel nemora."

619.] Teucer, being refused admission in Salamis by his father on his return from Troy, founded a new Salamis in Cyprus. Virg. supposes him to have sought the assistance of Belus, king of Tyre, whom he represents to have conquered the Cyprians shortly before. See Heyne's Excursus.

622.] "Dicione tenerent," above v. 236.

623.] 'Casus' may mean strictly 'fall,' here and 2. 607.

624.] 'Pelasgi' for the Greeks is post-Homeric. In Hom. the Pelasgi are a tribe allied with the Trojans. In the same way the Dardanii are a particular tribe which was commanded by Aeneas.

625.] ['Hostis,' probably nom. sing., not acc. pl.—H. N.] 'Ferebat' used to extol, as in the fuller expression, "ferre ad caelum laudibus." Comp. 8. 288, "qui carmine laudes Herculeas et facta ferunt." "Insigni laude," Lucr. 6. 95.

626.] 'Volebat,' not 'wished that he were,' but 'gave himself out to be,' being the son of Hesione, Laomedon's daughter. In this use of the word the notion is generally that of a vain pretension or fancy: but Cic. 1 De Or. 4. "Graeciam, quae semper eloquentiae princeps esse voluit," approaches nearly to the meaning here. Virg. evidently meant to express the Homeric εὔχεται εἶναι. 'Ab' was restored by Heins. from Med. and others for 'a,' which does not seem to be found in any first-class MS.

627.] "Succedo penatibus hospes," 8. 123.

628.] 'Per multos labores' with 'iactatam.' Comp. v. 615 above, &c. "Iactatum periclis," 6. 693.

629.] 'Consistere terra,' 6. 807. [Comp. for the whole expression Cicero pro Quinctio 2, "ut multis iniuriis iactatam atque agitatam aequitatem in hoc tandem loco consistere et confirmari patiamini." This passage confirms 'consistere' here, as against the reading of Pal. and Gud. 'considere.'—H. N.]

630.] 'Disco' seems to be used instead of "didici," as more modest. The commentators in general do not notice the tense: Serv. however seems to have found some difficulty in it, as he wishes to take 'non' twice, "Quare non disco? quia non sum ignara."

631.] 'Simul—simul,' like ἅμα—ἅμα.

Tecta, simul divom templis indicit honorem.
Nec minus interea sociis ad litora mittit
Viginti tauros, magnorum horrentia centum
Terga suum, pinguis centum cum matribus agnos,
Munera laetitiamque dei.
At domus interior regali splendida luxu
Instruitur, mediisque parant convivia tectis:
Arte laboratae vestes ostroque superbo,
Ingens argentum mensis, caelataque in auro
Fortia facta patrum, series longissima rerum

Here, as in 2. 220, they couple two verbs with the same subject: in v. 513,, 5. 675, two subjects with the same verb.

632.] ['Divum' Med. Rom.—H. N.] 'Indicit honorem,' orders sacrifice to be offered, in honour of the preservation of Aeneas. Comp. "supplicatio indicitur," Caes. B. G. 7. 90. Heyne remarks that this is different from the Homeric custom of sacrificing to the gods the victim of which the guest is to partake. Both however are found in Aesch. Ag. 87 foll., 594 foll., compared with vv. 1056 foll.

634, 5.] Taken, but, as usual, with an exaggeration, significant of unreality, from Od. 8. 59 foll. Comp. 5. 96 note. 'Magnorum horrentia centum Terga suum,' for "centum sues tergis horrentibus." Comp. 4. 511 note. 'Centum' may go either with 'terga' or with 'suum;' but it more probably belongs to the former. See on 5. 404, "tantorum ingentia septem Terga boum."

636.] [Gellius 9. 14 says, "In illo versu non dubium est quin 'dii' scripserit (Vergilius) pro 'diei,' 'Munera laetitiamque dii,' quod imperitiores 'dei' legunt, ab insolentia scilicet vocis istius abhorrentes. Sic autem 'dies,' 'dii,' a veteribus declinatum est, ut 'fames, fami,' 'pernicies, pernicii,' 'progenies, progenii,' 'luxuries, luxurii,' 'acies, acii.'" Serv. mentions three readings, 'dei,' which he explains as = "Liberi patris," 'dii,' and 'die,' both the genitives of 'dies.' Ti. Donatus read 'dei,' which he explains as = "vini." Med. and Rom. read 'dei,' Pal. 'dii.' Gellius is in all probability simply transcribing from an older scholar, perhaps Caesellius Vindex, who is cited in the same chapter.—H. N.] 'Munera laetitiamque dei' evidently refers to wine, which would naturally form a part of Dido's presents; the expression being resolvable into "munera laetifica dei laetitiae datoris" (comp. v. 734, "Adsit laetitiae Bacchus dator"). Bacchus, as Henry remarks, is called simply 'deus' 9. 337, "multoque iacebat Membra deo victus," according to one interpretation of the words. On the other hand, it would be difficult to affix any precise sense to the line if 'dii' were read. Heyne's explanation is "pecudes quae pro munere sint, et quarem epulis dies hilariter agatur." 'Dii' has been adopted however by most of the later editors. If any awkwardness is felt from the asyndeton, we may impute it to the imperfect state of the passage.

637.] Imitated from Catull. 64. 43—51. Comp. especially v. 46, "Tota domus gaudet regali splendida gaza." The words 'regali splendida luxu instruitur' are to be connected closely together, 'is being set out in the splendour of royal magnificence' ("instruitur ut splendida sit" Serv.), 'luxu' being probably connected with 'splendida' like "gaza" in Catull. l. c. 'At domus interior' recurs 2. 486, also of the "atrium." Comp. the banquet in 3. 353 foll. note. Cic. has "instructa et exornata domus" 2 Verr. 2. 34, "omnibus rebus instructum et paratum convivium" ib. 4. 27.

638.] 'Mediis tectis' is explained by 'domus interior.'

639.] 'Arte laboratae' is the predicate. 'The coverlets were embroidered and of princely purple: on the table was spread massy silver plate, and vessels of gold chased with legends.' 'Vestes' for "stragulae vestes," as in Lucr. 2. 36 &c. 'Ostro superbo,' abl. of the material.

640.] "Ingens argentum" 3. 466, as we speak of plate as 'silver.' 'Ingens' probably includes both massiveness and quantity. The gold seems to be plate also, cups, &c.

Per tot ducta viros antiqua ab origine gentis.
Aeneas, neque enim patrius consistere mentem
Passus amor, rapidum ad navis praemittit Achaten,
Ascanio ferat haec, ipsumque ad moenia ducat.
Omnis in Ascanio cari stat cura parentis.
Munera praeterea, Iliacis erepta ruinis,
Ferre iubet, pallam signis auroque rigentem,
Et circumtextum croceo velamen acantho,
Ornatūs Argivae Helenae, quos illa Mycenis,
Pergama cum peteret inconcessosque Hymenaeos,
Extulerat, matris Ledae mirabile donum:
Praeterea sceptrum, Ilione quod gesserat olim,

642.] 'Antiqua' Rom., Pal., and Gud. originally, 'antiquae' Med., Pal., and Gud. corrected. The former, which was restored by Heyne but ejected by Wagn., seems slightly preferable, both on the ground of authority and as avoiding a harsh elision.

643—656.] 'Aeneas sends Achates for Ascanius, bidding him bring royal ornaments as a present for Dido.'

643.] 'Consistere mentem.' Cic. 2 Phil. 28, "neque vigilantem neque in somnis posse mente consistere." Pro Domo 54, "ut neque mens, neque vox, neque lingua consisteret."

644.] 'Rapidum' explains 'praemittit.' Achates is sent to bring Ascanius in time for the feast which is about to begin. ['Achates' Gud.—H. N.]

645.] 'Ferat—ducat' are a sort of oratio obliqua, "Ascanio fer ipsumque duc" (comp. 2. 652., 4. 288 foll., 8. 507), though it is not easy to distinguish between such constructions as these and such as "volo facias."

646.] No strictly parallel instance has been adduced of this use of 'stat,' which seems to imply concentration, halting as it were and making a stand. Comp. "consistere in aliquo." See on 2. 163, which is not parallel.

647.] Comp. 7. 243, "Dat tibi praeterea Fortunae parva prioris Munera, reliquias Troia ex ardente receptas." "Pergameis erepte ruinis" 3. 476.

648.] [The 'palla' was a long four-cornered piece of cloth worn by women as a garment, reaching down to the feet: Serv. on A. 11. 746 and Isid. 19. 25. 2, "muliebris vestis deducta usque ad vestigia." It was worn in different ways, sometimes folded round the body like the *toga*, sometimes so as to form a double covering for the breast and shoulders, as well as a single one for the lower limbs. In this case it was called "tunicopallium." The name 'palla' was also given to the ceremonial costume of priests, singers, and instrumentalists. In this case it was simply a *tunica talaris* worn under a *chlamys*. Serv. here, Nonius pp. 537—8. See Marquardt, Römische Alterthümer vol. 7, p. 560 foll.—H. N.] For 'signis auroque rigentem' (which is probably a hendiadys) comp. Lucr. 5. 1427, "veste Purpurea atque auro signisque ingentibus apta," where "rigentibus" has been plausibly conjectured.

649.] 'A veil with a border of yellow acanthus.' Serv. on 7. 188 mentions the veil of Ilione as one of the seven national heirlooms which preserved the Roman empire. The 'acanthus' seems to have been specially appropriated to borders of this kind, so that Hesychius actually defines the word *περίῤῥαμμα ὑφασμένον*. ['Circumtextum velamen,' the Greek *κύκλας*, as Serv. remarks. "Quod amictui habet purpuram circum, vocant circumtextum," Varro L. L. 5. 132: comp. Isid. 19. 24. 10.—H. N.] The more ordinary colour of the 'acanthus' was white, but later poets (Calp. 4. 68, Stat. 3 Silv. 1. 37, quoted by Heyne) speak of it as red or purple.

650.] ['Ornatus' the Latin equivalent of *κόσμος*.—H. N.] 'Argivae Helenae:' Ἀργείην Ἑλένην, Il. 2. 161. 'Mȳcenis:' 2. 577 note. Contrast Aesch. Ag. 690, *ἐκ τῶν ἁβροτίμων προκαλυμμάτων ἔπλευσε*. Helen took away with her her *κτήματα* which the Greeks sought to recover, Il. 3. 285, &c.

653.] Ilione, according to one story, was married to Polymnestor, the treacherous king of Thrace. She is unknown to

Maxima natarum Priami, colloque monile
Bacatum, et duplicem gemmis auroque coronam.
Haec celerans iter ad navis tendebat Achates.
At Cytherea novas artis, nova pectore versat
Consilia, ut faciem mutatus et ora Cupido
Pro dulci Ascanio veniat, donisque furentem
Incendat reginam, atque ossibus inplicet ignem;
Quippe domum timet ambiguam Tyriosque bilinguis;
Urit atrox Iuno, et sub noctem cura recursat.

Hom. Juno bears a sceptre Ov. F. 6. 38, and Hecuba speaks of herself as supported by Priam's sceptre Eur. Tro. 150, but no instance has been adduced where it is carried by a woman who is not even a queen, but only a princess royal.

654.] 'Collo' for the neck, a construction generally found where there is a verb or verbal notion, as in 10. 135, "Aut collo decus aut capiti." Such a notion we may borrow here if we please from "munera ferre" above v. 647. So perhaps 7. 350, "fit tortile collo Aurum ingens coluber," though there a local abl. is at least equally possible. ['Monile bacatum' properly a bracelet of gems in the form of berries: so a pearl bracelet; "ornatum magaritis." Serv. With the whole of this passage comp. Lampridius Alex. Severus 41. 1 "matronas regias contentas esse debere uno reticulo atque inauribus et *bacato monili* et corona . . . et *unico pallio (et tunicopallio?* So the best MSS.) auro sparso et *cyclade* quae sex uncias auri plus non haberet."—H. N.]

655.] 'Duplicem gemmis auroque coronam:' probably a double circlet of gold and gems, whether formed by one circlet of each is difficult to say. The commentators evidently are at a loss, as their explanations are mere conjecture; some suggesting that 'duplex' refers to the combination of gems and gold, while others think that the double crown means a bridal crown as distinguished from the crown worn by virgins, which *may* have been single.

656.] 'Celerans' = "celeriter exsequens," an expression imitated by Val. Fl., who has "imperium celerare" twice, 4. 80, 385.

657—694.] 'Venus distrusts Dido, and lays a plot to secure her affections by substituting Cupid for Ascanius, whom she conveys to Idalia.'

657.] Virg. seems to have had in his mind Apoll. R. 3. 112 foll., where Aphrodite, at the instance of Here and Athene, prevails on Love to inflame Medea with a passion for Jason: but there is no similarity in the details. 'Novas artis' carries the reader back to v. 417. Virg. however may have intended to represent the Homeric ἔνθ' αὖτ' ἄλλ' ἐνόησε, which he has translated 12. 843.

658.] 'Faciem,' shape. Comp. G. 2. 131, A. 3. 310., 5. 222, quoted by Forb. ['Multatus' Med.—H. N.]

659.] 'Dulci' carries us back to his father's feelings v. 646, and forward to his probable attractions for the queen. 'Donisque furentem incendat reginam,' inflame the queen to madness by his gifts. Comp. v. 714, "pariter puero donisque movetur." There is possibly an allusion to the scene in the Medea of Euripides, where Medea's children carry to Creusa a crown and a robe which actually consume her. The parallel may serve as an answer to Schrader's wonder, mentioned by Heyne, that a wealthy queen like Dido should be captivated with presents.

660.] 'Ossibus inplicet ignem.' Comp. Cic. Div. 1. 36, "Di vim suam naturis hominum inplicant." 'Ossa' is put for the seat of feeling, like "medullae." Comp. G. 3. 258. [Lucr. 3. 250 "postremis datur ossibus atque medullis Sive voluptas est sive est contrarius ardor."—H. N.]

661. 'Domum ambiguam' is to be explained by "Iunonia hospitia" v. 671; and so 4. 96, "veritam te moenia nostra, Suspectas habuisse domos Karthaginis altae." 'Tyrios bilinguis' is of course an anticipation of the Roman feeling against Carthage. 'Bilinguis' occurs as a reproach more than once in Plautus (see Freund), where it represents the forked tongue of a serpent, and has apparently no connection with the notion of speaking two languages.

662.] There is no occasion to separate this line from what precedes with Wagn.,

Ergo his aligerum dictis adfatur Amorem:
Nate, meae vires, mea magna potentia solus,
Nate, patris summi qui tela Typhoëa temnis,
Ad te confugio et supplex tua numina posco.
Frater ut Aeneas pelago tuus omnia circum
Litora iactetur odiis Iunonis acerbae,

as vv. 670, 671 prove. "Daphnis me malus urit" E. 8. 83, where the anxiety is that of love.—'Sub noctem' may be explained by observing that the action has arrived at evening. Having set her son on the way to Carthage, Venus is not at rest. She is alarmed at the warmth of his reception, and knowing that Ascanius has been sent for to the banquet, at the last moment she proposes to substitute Cupid for him. But there seems also a reference to the common thought that night aggravates rather than soothes anxiety, for which Henry comp. 4. 522 foll. 'Cura recursat,' 12. 802.

663.] ["'Aligerum,' compositum a poeta nomen," Serv. No instances of the word are quoted in the lexicons from any writer earlier than Virg.—H. N.]

664.] "Qui solus es meae vires, mea magna potentia." The punctuation of Med., followed by many editors, which connects 'solus' with what follows, is harsh and opposed by similar expressions, such as 8. 574, "care puer, mea sola et sera voluptas." Catull. 64. 215, "Nate mihi longa iucundior unice vita." Comp. 10. 507, "O dolor atque decus magnum rediture parenti." With the nom. 'solus' Forb. comp. Ov. Her. 14. 73, "Surge, age, Belide, de tot modo fratribus unus," remarking that it is a question among grammarians whether 'solus' has a vocative. The line is imitated by Ov. M. 5. 365, "Arma manusque meae, mea, nate, potentia, dixit, Illa, quibus superas omnis, cape tela, Cupido."

665.] For Typhoeus or Typhon struck by lightning comp. Aesch. Prom. 358 foll. The bolts are called from the giant they slew, as Serv. remarks, like Roman generals from the nations they conquered. A more far-fetched explanation is that of Pomponius Sabinus, who makes 'Typhoëa' = "Aetnaea," Aetna being called 'Typhois' Ov. Her. 15. 11, as resting, according to one story, on Typhoeus. The orthography 'Typhoia,' like "Cyclopia" (v. 201), is adopted by Heyne for the sake of the metre, contrary to all the extant MSS., which have 'Typhoea.' Serv. however says "multi 'Typhoia' legunt, ut 'cerialia' et 'cerealia.'" The device of Cupid breaking or trampling on the thunderbolt is common in gems.

666.] 'Tua numina,' the acc. of the person of whom the request is made, not of the thing requested. Comp. 8. 382, "Ergo eadem supplex venio et sanctum mihi numen Arma rogo," 3. 543 "numina sancta precamur Palladis." ['At' Pal. for 'ad.'—H. N.]

667.] Serv., in commenting on the adroitness of the whole address, notices 'frater tuus,' "ostendit ei etiam profuturum qui rogatur." 'Omnia circum litora;' elsewhere Aeneas is said to wander over all lands (v. 756., 5. 627 &c.); here for the sake of variety he is said to wander about them, tossed from one to another and resting on none. So 'litora' is used rather than 'terras.' Comp. 3. 75, "oras et litora circum errantem," of Delos. See on v. 32 above. 'Pelago,' on or over the sea, not the instr. abl. Comp. v. 3.

668.] 'Iactetur' fragm. Vat. originally, Pal., 'iacteturque' Med., Rom., Gud., and most MSS., including fragm. Vat. corrected, and Serv., who says "vacat *que*." It seems hopeless to explain 'iacteturque,' as Wagn. inclines to do (Q. V. 12. 13), either by making 'que' couple 'pelago' with 'omnia litora,' or by supposing a corruption in 'pelago' or 'circum;' or again, as might be just possible, by supposing 'pelago' to be coupled with 'odiis' (comp. 2. 179, where two dissimilar ablatives are joined by 'et'); while the insertion of 'que' is sufficiently accounted for by an anxiety to mend the metre. With the lengthening of the final syll. here Weidner comp. 4. 222., 5. 284, G. 3. 76, in all which places there is a kind of pause after the word, so that here probably we should take 'odiis' in a loose connexion with 'iactetur' as an abl. of circumstance, rather than as an instr. abl. Comp. 8. 292, quoted just below. 'Acerbae' fragm. Vat., Pal., Gud., all originally,

Nota tibi, et nostro doluisti saepe dolore.
Nunc Phoenissa tenet Dido blandisque moratur
Vocibus ; et vereor, quo se Iunonia vertant
Hospitia ; haut tanto cessabit cardine rerum.
Quocirca capere ante dolis et cingere flamma
Reginam meditor, ne quo se numine mutet,
Sed magno Aeneae mecum teneatur amore.

'iniquae' Med., Rom., and apparently the great bulk of MSS. with Ti. Donatus. Internal evidence is strongly for 'acerbae,' as its insertion cannot easily be explained, while 'iniquae' doubtless came from a recollection, of 8. 292, "fatis Iunonis iniquae," where there seems to be no various reading. It is curious that in 11. 587, "fatis urguetur acerbis," some inferior MSS. give "iniquis," apparently from a recollection of 2. 257.

669.] 'Nota,' for 'notum;' a Grecism: see Il. 16. 128 &c. Comp. 11. 310, "Cetera qua rerum iaceant perculsa ruina, Ante oculos interque manus sunt omnia vestras." Pliny, Paneg. 44 (quoted by Wund.), "An prona parvaque sunt ad aemulandum, quod nemo incolumitatem turpitudine rependit?" 'Et nostro doluisti saepe dolore,' apparently a phrase for sympathy, with which Forb. comp. Plaut. Pers. 5. 1 ult., "Bene ei, qui hoc gaudio gaudet." 'Dolore' however may be merely an abl. of the occasion, 'thou hast grieved at my grief.' Serv. gives both interpretations.

670.] 'Nunc,' Pal., fragm. Vat. originally, and some others. 'Hunc' Med., Rom., Gud., &c., which Wagn. ingeniously explains as = "eum nunc." On the whole I have preferred 'nunc,' with Wakef. and Ribbeck, as the repetition of 'hunc' v. 680 would be rather formal. The line is imitated from Od. 1. 55 foll., as Weidner remarks.

671.] 'Quo se vertant,' what may be their issue. "Quo sese vertant tantae sortes somnium," Enn. Alex. fr. 1. "Quod se bene vertat," for the more usual "quod bene vertat," is found Enn.' A. 1. fr. 69. Here the word may suggest a notion of change, like "ne quo se numine mutet," v. 674. "Aeneia hospitia," 10. 494, in a different sense.

672.] The nom. to 'cessabit' is "Iuno," contained in 'Iunonia.' Comp. Livy 2. 53, "Veiens bellum exortum, quibus (Veientibus) Sabini arma coniunxerant" (quoted by Forb.). Serv. says that there is a proverb "res est in cardine, hoc est, in articulo." A similar use of 'cardo' is found in imitators of Virg., as Statius and Val. Flaccus, and twice in Quintilian: see Forc. Here it may conceivably have been chosen with reference to 'vertant,' which would agree with Serv.'s explanation. "a ianua, quae motu cardinis hac atque illac inpelli potest."

673.] 'Capere ante dolis et cingere flamma.' Both terms are taken from strategy, though they are clearly not meant to be harmonized. The sense is, I mean to make a complete conquest of her, so as to preclude all other intervention. With 'cingere flamma,' comp. 10. 119, "moenia cingere flammis."

674.] 'Ne quo se numine mutet,' that Dido's friendly feelings may not be changed by Juno. 'Quo numine' may either be rendered generally, by any power but mine, or by Juno's power in any way, like "quo numine laeso," v. 8. The abl. however is rather that of circumstance than of the instrument. [Henry understands the words to mean "by any whim of her own."—H. N.]

675.] ['Set' Med.—H. N.] 'Mecum:' "pariter atque ego" is the common interpretation, adopted by Heyne, Wagn., and Forb. Comp. G. 1. 41, "Ignarosque viae mecum miseratus agrestis." According to this interpretation Venus would wish that Dido's affection should not be hollow ("quippe domum timet ambiguam Tyriosque bilinguis"), but as sincere as her own. It might also be proposed to connect 'mecum' closely with 'teneatur,' kept on my side, or, in my power, which would accord with the general metaphor of the previous lines. Comp. 4. 115, "Mecum erit iste labor." 'Teneri amore' is a common expression; and if the latter interpretation be adopted, Virg. has blended this with other notions, perhaps that of a town invested ("obsidione teneri," 10. 109). Serv., who objects to the common view, on the ground that Dido could not love Aeneas like a mother, has "per meos amores, me adnitente," which would not be so natural.

Qua facere id possis, nostram nunc accipe mentem :
Regius accitu cari genitoris ad urbem
Sidoniam puer ire parat, mea maxima cura,
Dona ferens, pelago et flammis restantia Troiae ;
Hunc ego sopitum somno super alta Cythera
Aut super Idalium sacrata sede recondam,
Ne qua scire dolos mediusve occurrere possit.
Tu faciem illius noctem non amplius unam
Falle dolo, et notos pueri puer indue vultus,

676.] For 'qua,' 'quam' is read by Gud., 'quo' by some other MSS. 'Accipere,' of hearing, 2. 65, like "dare," of telling, E. 1. 18. "Haec tibi mens est," 8. 400, though there the notion is rather of purpose than of opinion.

677.] "Regius puer," 5. 252, of Ganymede. 'Accitu genitoris,' like "dei iussu," 2. 247.

678.] 'Mea maxima cura:' so Ascanius 10. 132 is called "Veneris iustissima cura," as also "Dardanius puer." Wagn. not unnaturally complains of the words as otiose here, the plot not being intended to benefit Ascanius in any way, except so far as he is served by anything which serves Aeneas. It is possible however that the removal of Ascanius to Idalia may be meant to present itself to Venus as a natural outlet for her own affection, as well as in pursuance of the plot: comp. 10. 46—53, where the general thought is parallel. The very obscurity with which this is indicated may be an intentional stroke, in a speech from which everything is excluded which does not bear on the one object of persuading Cupid. But on such matters it is easy to be over-subtle.

679.] 'Pelago et flammis' is probably the dat. ('restare' being construed like 'superesse'), not the abl., as Forb. thinks.

680.] ['Sopitum somno,' as Henry has seen, is not a pleonasm, as "sopire" and "sopor" mean unconsciousness of any kind. 'Sopire,' for instance, is often used by Livy of the unconsciousness resulting from a blow or from a loss of blood.—H. N.] Comp. Lucr. 4. 453, "cum suavi devinxit membra sopore Somnus, et in summa corpus iacet omne quiete" (quoted by Forb.). 'Super alta Cythera:' Venus, like other gods, had her temples in high places. Cythera is called high here, and in 10. 86. "Alti Idaliae luci" are mentioned just below, v. 692, and "celsa Paphos," 10. 51 Comp. also "sublimis abit," v. 415. Wagn. appears right in remarking that "super" is frequently used for entering a high place, as "sub" for entering a low place, and "per" for entering a large place.

681.] 'Sacrata sede,' in my temple or grove. "Cereris sedem sacratam," 2. 742. As might be expected, two MSS. have "secreta."

682.] 'Ne qua scire dolos.' There is something inartificial in the arrangement here, as Cupid has not yet been told that he is to personate Ascanius, and the only way in which Ascanius could spoil the plot would be by appearing along with Cupid. Venus however has had the details in her mind from the first, v. 658, and she naturally dismisses the subject of Ascanius first, so as to conclude her speech with instructions to Cupid. Henry distinguishes between knowledge of the plot ('scire dolos') and accidental intervention ('medius occurrere'). "Medius intercipit," 10. 402.

683.] "Digitum non altior unum," Lucr. 4. 414. See Madv. § 306. 'Noctem non amplius unam' is to be explained like "plus septima ducitur aestas" G. 4. 207 (note), the case, which here is the acc. of duration, not being altered by the construction with the comparative, any more than if "quam" had been used. See Madv. §§ 305, 306.

684.] 'Falle dolo,' personate. Gossrau comp. μορφὴν δολώσας, Soph. Phil. 129, where however δολοῦν merely means to disguise. Comp. rather the use of 'mentior,' and see note on v. 407. 'Notos pueri puer indue vultus:' it will not be difficult for you to put on the expression of a boy as you are a boy yourself. Venus removes an objection by anticipation. The notions of actual transformation and of imitation are blended and perhaps confused throughout. 'Notos,' not known

Ut, cum te gremio accipiet laetissima Dido
Regalis inter mensas laticemque Lyaeum,
Cum dabit amplexus atque oscula dulcia figet,
Occultum inspires ignem fallasque veneno.
Paret Amor dictis carae genetricis, et alas
Exuit, et gressu gaudens incedit Iuli.
At Venus Ascanio placidam per membra quietem
Inrigat, et fotum gremio dea tollit in altos
Idaliae lucos, ubi mollis amaracus illum
Floribus et dulci adspirans complectitur umbra.
  Iamque ibat dicto parens et dona Cupido
Regia portabat Tyriis, duce laetus Achate.
Cum venit, aulaeis iam se regina superbis

to Cupid, but i. q. "solitos:" "non corpore notae Sufficiunt vires," 12. 911. 'Pueri puer:' comp. 5. 559.

685.] 'Laetissima,' when Dido, at the height of her pleasure as a queen exercising splendid hospitality, and rejoicing herself in the feast, opens her heart and takes thee to her bosom.

686.] 'Inter mensas,' at the table. "Discite, non inter lances mensasque nitentis," Hor. 2 S. 2. 4. 'Inter' seems strictly to mean while the feast is going on, like "inter pocula," "inter vina." 'Laticem,' of wine, G. 2. 192. With 'Lyaeum,' which, as Heyne remarks, would more naturally have been "Lyaeium," comp. "cineri Sychaeo," 4. 552, "latices Lenaeos," G. 3. 510.

687.] 'Amplexus dare,' the correlative of "amplexus petere," 8. 615. 'Oscula figet,' 2. 490 note. ['Adque' Rom. originally and fragm. St. Gall.—H. N.]

688.] 'Fallas,' sc. "eam," as is proved by the parallel passage 7. 350, "fallitque furentem Vipeream inspirans animam." 'Poison her unobserved.' Comp. also 9. 572, "longe fallente sagitta." The mixture of the images of fire and poison reminds us again of the details of the catastrophe in Euripides' Medea, referred to on v. 659.

690.] 'Gressu gaudens incedit Iuli' refers to his change of nature from a winged god to a boy, not to his change of gait from that of a god (vv. 46, 405., 5. 649) to that of Iulus. 'Gaudens,' like "laetus" in v. 696, expresses the sly pleasure with which he enters into his part.

691.] 'Venus—dea:' see note on v. 412.

692.] Lucr. 4. 907, "somnus per membra quietem Inriget." Furius Antias ap. Macrob. Sat. 6. 1, "mitemque rigat per pectora somnum." The expression seems to be a translation of the Homeric ἐπὶ γλυκὺν ὕπνον ἔχευεν, περὶ δ' ἀμβρόσιος κέχυθ' ὕπνος, but the notions expressed by the two are in all probability quite different; the Homeric image being apparently that of sleep enveloping a man (the reader of Don Quixote will recall Sancho Panza's "Blessings on the man that invented sleep! it folds round a man like a cloak"), while in 'inrigat' the conception would seem to be of dew or rain coming down. Comp. the image in 5. 854, where Sleep shakes a bough dripping with the dews of Lethe over the temples of Palinurus, and its imitation in Val. Fl. 4. 15. Whether the dews are the dews of night or of the body in sleep, is not clear. Pers. 5. 56 would prove the latter, if he does not mean satirically to pervert the image.

694.] 'Umbra' implies that he was cradled among the flowers and leaves. Catull. 61. 8, calls upon Hymen to wreath himself "floribus suaveolentis amaraci." ['Amaracus' or marjoram (if the modern botanists are right) was evidently connected by the ancients with love: Catull. l. c. and Lucr. 4. 1179. See Ellis on Catull. l. c. 'Aspirans' Pal. originally. 'Complectitur' Pal.—H. N.]

695—722.] 'Cupid arrives as the feast is beginning. He is fondled by Dido, whose affections he kindles gradually.'

695.] 'Iamque ibat:' meanwhile Cupid had set out on his way.

696.] If 'laetus' is to be connected with 'duce,' it means that he shows signs of pleasure as he goes along.

697.] 'Cum venit.' On his arrival the

Aurea composuit sponda mediamque locavit.
Iam pater Aeneas et iam Troiana iuventus
Conveniunt, stratoque super discumbitur ostro.
Dant manibus famuli lymphas, Cereremque canistris
Expediunt, tonsisque ferunt mantelia villis.
Quinquaginta intus famulae, quibus ordine longam
Cura penum struere, et flammis adolere Penatis;

feast begins. 'Composuit—locavit:' the perfect coupled with the historic present 'venit,' as the pluperfect would have been coupled with the past. 'Aulaea' are doubtless the awning or curtain that hung from a Roman ceiling to catch the dust, and under which the couches would be arranged. Comp. Hor. 2 S. 8. 54, and the Schol. there. So also Serv. and the older commentators interpreted it, and so Henry. It is difficult however to account for the abl., which may be either *in* or *under* a curtain, or settled herself ('composuit se') with a curtain, as contributing to the ease of the banquet. Heyne, followed by the later editors, takes 'aulaea' for the tapestry on the couch; but there seems to be no authority for this use of the term. Horace's "cenae sine aulaeis et ostro" (3 Od. 29. 15) might support such a meaning if established, but cannot be quoted to prove it.

698.] 'Aurea,' dissyllable, 7. 190. Serv. thought it might be nom. 'Sponda,' the open side of the bed or couch. Dict. A. 'lectus.' 'Mediam,' in the centre of the triclinium. This seems to have been the host's place (Hor. 2 S. 8. 23). Gossrau and Henry think the meaning is, that Dido occupied a couch by herself in the middle of the banqueting-hall. The narrative seems to afford little or no help in determining the question: see however on v. 718. An imitation in Val. F. 2. 346 is perhaps in favour of Gossrau's view, as both Hypsipyle and Jason are represented as taking the middle place; but the passage is too rapid and summary to throw much light on Virg.

699.] 'Iam' does not begin a new paragraph, as the early editors thought; but there is no occasion to connect this line, as Wagn. and Forb. have done, with the lines before, as though it were intended to mark still farther the time of the arrival of Ascanius.

700.] 'Super' may be taken either as a preposition (comp. "fronde super viridi," E. 1. 81) or adverbially—on purple spread over the couch, a view supported by v. 708, and Stat. Ach. 2. 82, "picto discumbitur ostro."

701.] 'Dant manibus famuli lymphas.' This is the order of the words in Med., Rom., Pal., the St. Gall palimpsest, Gud., and other good MSS. The common reading, supported by the MSS. of Priscian (De fig. num. ed. Kr. 2. 389), is "dant famuli manibus lymphas." Med., Pal., and Gud. have 'famulae,' which seems to have been introduced from v. 703. For the details comp. Od. 1. 144 foll. &c., and see G. 4. 376 foll. notes. 'Cererem canistris expediunt,' serve out the bread promptly from the baskets, "proferunt," says Serv. In Hom. heralds serve the water, maids the bread, boys the wine.

702.] 'Tonsis mantelia villis:' see on G. 4. 377. Here Med. a m. p. and Gud. originally have the spelling 'mantilia.'

703, 4.] All the MSS. appear to give "ordine longo" [and so Nonius p. 247, and Ti. Donatus.—H. N.]. But 'longam' has the authority of Charisius, the oldest extant grammarian, and was current as well as 'longo' in the time of Gellius (4. 1). It also seems to have been read by Ausonius, who (Idyll. 3. 27) has "Conduntur fructus geminum mihi semper in annum. Cui non longa penus, huic quoque prompta fames." This passage of Ausonius seems also to give the explanation of 'longam'—a store that will last for a long time. [Gellius 4. 1. 17 quotes from Quintus Scaevola to show that 'penus' meant "quae (prandii aut cenae causa) longae usionis gratia contrahuntur et reconduntur," and so Serv. here, who distinguishes between 'penus' and "cellarium," the latter being only a temporary store. "'Struere,' ordinare, componere; unde et structores dicuntur ferculorum compositores," Serv. "To arrange and keep in order the 'penus.'"—H. N.] These 'famulae' are evidently distinguished from the two hundred who serve the banquet. 'Intus' may be a translation of Hom.'s κατὰ δῶμα in the parallel

Centum aliae totidemque pares aetate ministri,
Qui dapibus mensas onerent et pocula ponant.
Nec non et Tyrii per limina laeta frequentes
Convenere, toris iussi discumbere pictis.
Mirantur dona Aeneae, mirantur Iulum
Flagrantisque dei vultus simulataque verba,
Pallamque et pictum croceo velamen acantho.
Praecipue infelix, pesti devota futurae,
Expleri mentem nequit ardescitque tuendo
Phoenissa, et pariter puero donisque movetur.
Ille ubi complexu Aeneae colloque pependit
Et magnum falsi inplevit genitoris amorem,

passage, Od. 7. 104; but it more probably has reference to the "cella penaria," as opposed to the hall in which the guests were served. 'Ordine' refers not to 'struere,' but to the division or course of labour among the servants, as in G. 4. 376, A. 5. 102. 'Longo' was retained by Heinsius and Heyne, and is still preferred by Gossrau and Henry; but 'longam' was restored by Wagn., and is generally read by the later editors. 'Ordine longo' is of course common enough in Virg.; but this would be the very reason for its introduction here by a transcriber. ['Adolere' here is explained twice by Nonius (pp. 58 and 247), as = "augere," "honorare," "propitiare;" to honour, from the notion of increasing. Comp. A. 7. 71 "castis adolet dum altaria taedis." So also Serv. here. There seems no reason to question this interpretation. Conington however took it merely to mean the keeping up of the fire for cooking, comparing κτησίου βωμοῦ, Aesch. Ag. 1038, ἑστίας μεσομφάλου, ib. 1056.—H. N.]. For other uses of 'adolere' see note on E. 8. 65, and comp. G. 4. 379. 'Penatis' seems to be etymologically connected with 'penus,' and therefore the two are appropriately joined. For the construction 'cura struere' see on G. 1. 213.

705.] Henry remarks, "It is neither indifferently nor accidentally that Virg. assigns to Dido a number of attendants all of one age. It appears from the following passage of Tac. A. 15. 69, that etiquette did not permit persons of private rank to be waited on by such attendants: 'iubetque praevenire conatus consulis: occupare velut arcem eius: opprimere delectam iuventutem: quia Vestinus inminentis foro aedes decoraque servitia et pari aetate habebat.'"

706.] Most of the MSS., including Med., Gud., and partially Pal., have 'onerent' and 'ponant,' which Wagn. rightly recalled as agreeing better with 'quibus cura' before. Heyne had introduced 'onerant' and 'ponunt' from Rom.: it is found too in the St. Gall palimpsest. Virg. follows Hom. in setting on the cups at once. The Romans were apt to reserve drinking to the second course, as Serv. remarks on v. 723 below.

708.] 'Convenere iussi' does not equal "convenere et iussi sunt," as Wagn. thinks. 'Toris iussi discumbere pictis' is merely a poetical phrase for, bidden to the banquet. 'Limina' for "tecta."

710.] 'Flagrantis' expressive of the glowing looks of lovers, and therefore appropriate to the god of love. Catull. 64. 91, "flagrantia declinavit Lumina."

711.] 'Pictum,' with its border embroidered. Comp. v. 649. Some have wished to omit the line; but it draws out 'dona' into detail, as v. 710 draws out 'Iulum.'

712.] 'Pesti' is equivalent to "exitio." Comp. E. 8. 41, "ut perii," and A. 4. 497, "lectumque iugalem Quo perii." So "peste teneri," 4. 90. Not unlike is its use of material fire 5. 683, 699.

713.] ["'Tuendo'" dum intuetur. Serv.—H. N.]

714.] She is moved by the bearer as much as by the gifts. An old reading was 'puero pariter;' but this order is only found in inferior MSS.

715.] "Pendent circum oscula nati," G. 2. 523.

716.] 'Satisfied the love of his pretended father.' For 'falsi' see note on

Reginam petit. Haec oculis, haec pectore toto
Haeret et interdum gremio fovet, inscia Dido,
Insidat quantus miserae deus. At memor ille
Matris Acidaliae paulatim abolere Sychaeum
Incipit, et vivo temptat praevertere amore
Iam pridem resides animos desuetaque corda.
  Postquam prima quies epulis, mensaeque remotae,
Crateras magnos statuunt et vina coronant.
Fit strepitus tectis, vocemque per ampla volutant

v. 684, and comp. 3. 302, "falsi Simoentis ad undam." Serv.'s explanation, "qui fallebatur, quem decipiebat," is improbable. ['Implevit' Rom. and Gud.—H. N.]

717.] 'Haeret oculis,' &c., hangs on him with her eyes and with her whole heart. Val. Fl. 6. 658, imitates the construction: "Persequitur lustrans, oculisque ardentibus haeret." There is something of the same image in Tennyson's "And her eyes on all my motions with a mute observance hung."

718.] 'Gremio fovet:' he was probably reclining next her at table. This explains 'interdum.' Henry rightly remarks on the force of 'Dido' after 'haec,' as tending to concentrate our thoughts on her.

719.] 'Insidat,' Med., Gud. corrected, supported also by the MSS. of Non. p. 311. 29; 'insideat,' Rom., St. Gall palimps. Gud. originally has 'insidiat,' which probably points the same way. The word is lost in Pal. Serv. recognizes both readings, and on 6. 708 quotes "insidat." On the whole it seems best, with Heyne and Ribbeck, to adopt the rarer word. The difference is between resting on the bosom and settling or sinking down into it.

720.] The only account of the epithet 'Acidaliae' is given by Serv., who after narrating an absurd etymology from ἄκιδες, cares, explains the word from the Acidalian spring near Orchomenus in Boeotia, where the Graces, Venus' attendants, bathed. The one other author who has used the word is Martial, who speaks, 6. 13. 5, of Venus' zone as "nodus Acidalius," and 9. 14. 3, of "Acidalia harundo," as a pen with which Venus would write, apparently a reed growing by the spring.

721.] Serv. (who is followed by Wund.) explains 'praevertere,' "praeoccupare, propter Iunonem." Comp. "capere ante dolis," v. 673. But the meaning more probably is, to surprise her unguarded heart—her long devotion to the dead having made her cease to regard love as anything but a thing of the past. So 'vivo amore' is love for a living object, and consequently itself living and real.

722.] 'Resides' is coupled with 'desueta' in the only other passages in Virg. where it occurs 6. 813., 7. 693. [Henry also quotes Ov. M. 14. 436 "resides et desuetudine tardi Rursus inire fretum, rursus dare vela iubemur."—H. N.]

723—756.] 'The feast proceeds. Dido makes a libation to Jupiter, Bacchus, and Juno, and prays that the Carthaginians and Trojans may be united. The time passes in song and talk, till Dido begs Aeneas to tell the whole story of the fall of Troy and his seven years of wandering.'

723.] ['Posquam' Rom., originally, and so Ribbeck.—H. N.] 'Postquam prima quies epulis,' when they first paused from the feast. Comp. Livy 21. 5. 9, "Cum prima quies silentiumque ab hostibus fuit" (quoted by Wagn.). 'Postquam prima' is equivalent to "cum primum." There may be a notion of the actual noise of the banquet, which is succeeded by a pause, and then by the sound of conversation ("fit strepitus tectis," &c.). 'Mensae remotae:' see on v. 216 above. The cups came in with the "mensae secundae" at a Roman meal. Comp. G. 2. 101; Hor. 4 Od. 5. 31. For 'remotae' Pal. originally has "repostae."

724.] 'Statuunt,' as Henry remarks, is appropriate to the size of the bowls. A man could hide himself behind a crater, 9. 346. Comp. Il. 6. 526, κρητῆρα στήσασθαι ἐλεύθερον ἐν μεγάροισιν. For 'vina coronant' see note on G. 2. 528. The line is repeated 7. 147, with the change of "laeti" for 'magnos.' [Nonius p. 545 has "laeti" here.—H. N.]

725.] For 'fit' some inferior MSS.

Atria; dependent lychni laquearibus aureis
Incensi, et noctem flammis funalia vincunt.
Hic regina gravem gemmis auroque poposcit
Implevitque mero pateram, quam Belus et omnes
A Belo soliti; tum facta silentia tectis;

have 'it,' which is supported by several passages in Virg., especially 4. 665, "it clamor ad alta Atria," 5. 451, "it clamor caelo," acknowledged by Serv., and adopted by Ribbeck. 'Tectis' then would = "ad tecta." 'Fit strepitus' however, is paralleled by "fit sonitus" 2. 209, "fit gemitus" 6. 220, and agrees exactly with "facta silentia tectis" just below v. 730. This would seem to show that the noise begins after the pause made by clearing away the food, as suggested on v. 723. Thus 'tectis' will have the sense 'in the hall.' The Longobardic MS. and a few others read 'alta' here for 'ampla,' probably from 4. 665. 'Vocem volutant' of the talkers, as "volutant murmura" of the winds 10. 98. "Vocem volutant" is said 5. 149 of the shores that echo the sound, a sense which some have wished to impart here, making 'perampla' one word. The commentators comp. Od. 1. 365, μνηστῆρες δ' ὁμάδησαν ἀνὰ μέγαρα σκιόεντα.

726.] The mention of the lamps here seems to show that they are now first lighted, so that 'incensi' is emphatic. ['Lychni' is attested by the best MSS. here, though the older form of the word was 'lucinus' or 'luchinus;' see Ritschl Opusc. Phil. 2 p. 477 foll. This form is found in some cursives here, and preferred by Ribbeck. 'Laquearibus.' Servius says "legitur et 'lacuaribus.' Cicero Tusculanarum (1. 35, 3. 19) 'tectis caelatis, lacuatis.'" Rom. originally has 'laqauribus,' i. e. 'laquaribus.' 'Lacuaria,' not 'laquearia,' is probably the right form, if the word means panels in a ceiling; it has the authority of the Verona Scholia in A. 8. 25, and of the Verona fragm., which reads 'laquaria.' 'Laquearia' (from "laqueus") would mean chains. The ancient glossary published by Mai Class. Auct. vol. 6 says (confusing the two words) "*laquearia* catenae aureae, ornamenta tectorum." So Gloss. Amplon. pp. 345, 346, and Papias. Imitating this passage, Theb. 1. 520, Statius says, "Ast alii tenebras et opacam vincere noctem Aggressi, tendunt auratis vincula lychnis;" which supports 'laquearibus' in the sense of chains.—H. N.]

727.] Lucretius (5. 295) has "pendentes lychini," which he distinguishes from "pingues taedae." ['Funalia.' The note of Serv. being here corrupt, I quote from Isid. 20. 10. 5 "funalia sunt quae intra ceram sunt, dicta a funibus, quos ante usum papyri cera circumdatos habuere maiores." Wax tapers with wicks of hemp.—H. N.]

728.] 'Hic' of time 2. 122., 3. 369.

730.] 'Soliti,' sc. 'implere mero.' Comp. 9. 300, "Per caput hoc iuro per quod pater ante solebat." It is doubtful whether 'a Belo' means descended from Belus, or from the time of Belus; but analogy seems rather in favour of the latter. Belus here is not Dido's father (v. 621), but the supposed founder of the Tyrian dynasty. "Tum facta silentia linguis" 11. 241. The silence is natural enough when the queen is going to speak (comp. Alcinous' address to the herald Od. 7. 178). Serv. however has a note which seems to show that it was a regular custom at a certain period of the banquet, though I do not profess to understand all his words: "Mos erat apud veteres ut lumine incenso silentium praeberetur, ut optativam sibi laudem loquendo nullus averteret. Apud Romanos etiam, cena edita (?) sublatisque mensis primis silentium fieri solebat, quoad ea quae de cena libata fuerant ad focum ferrentur et igni darentur, ac puer deos propitios nuntiasset, ut dis honor haberetur tacendo: quae res cum intercessit inter cenandum, Graeci quoque θεῶν παρουσίαν dicunt." [For attempts to emend the passage see Thilo's edition.—H. N.] In the imitation by Val. F. 2. 347, silence is mentioned:

"Sacris dum vincitur extis
Prima fames, circum pateris it Bacchus, et omnis
Aula silet: dapibus coeptis mox tempora fallunt
Noctis, et in seras durant sermonibus umbras:"

but though his conception of the banquet seems not quite the same as Virg.'s, he has appropriated so much of his master's

Iuppiter, hospitibus nam te dare iura locuntur,
Hunc laetum Tyriisque diem Troiaque profectis
Esse velis, nostrosque huius meminisse minores.
Adsit laetitiae Bacchus dator, et bona Iuno;
Et vos, o, coetum, Tyrii, celebrate faventes.
Dixit, et in mensam laticum libavit honorem,
Primaque, libato, summo tenus attigit ore;
Tum Bitiae dedit increpitans; ille inpiger hausit
Spumantem pateram, et pleno se proluit auro;
Post alii proceres. Cithara crinitus Iopas

language that he can hardly be cited as an independent witness.

731.] Since thou art reputed the author of the laws of hospitality. For the incident comp. Od. 7. 179 foll. and 13. 50 foll. ['Loquntur' Med. and Rom.—H. N.]

732.] 'Laetum' includes good fortune as well as mere festivity. Comp. "laetum augurium," "prodigium," &c. 'Tyriis Troiaque profectis' 4. 111. With the wish in the next line contrast the imprecation 4. 622 foll.

734.] Hesiod, Works 614, Δῶρα Διωνύσου πολυγηθέος, 'Bona Iuno:' Juno the giver of blessings; "bene sit" being the common form of wishing health, as Cerda remarks: not 'adsit bona' as Wagn. thinks. Serv. mentions another reading "adsis." [Med. has 'atsit.'—H. N.]

735.] Comp. 8. 173, "sacra . . . celebrate faventes," and see on 5. 71. Dido first bespeaks the favour of the gods, then that of her people, begging them to make the gathering auspicious. Comp. generally "celebratur omnium sermone laetitiaque convivium" Cic. 2 Verr. 1. 26. 'Coetus' of a festive gathering Catull. 64. 33, 385, 407.

736.] 'In mensam'—the altar, as it were, of Hospitable Jove. "In mensam laeti libant" 8. 279. This use of a table for libation is questioned by one of the interlocutors in Macrob. Sat. 3. 11, and supported by another, who adduces a passage from Papirius the ritualist lawyer, where a table dedicated to Juno is said to be used as an altar. From this he argues that the table in 8. 279 had doubtless been dedicated along with the "ara maxima:" in the present case he thinks the libation was less formal, being practised by Dido alone (contrast "omnes" 8. 278), who as a queen had certain immunities. Lersch, who quotes this and other passages § 66, seems to ignore the distinction. In Hom. at any rate there are libations where there is no mention of altars (Il. 16. 230 foll.). 'Laticum honorem,' the offering which consists of wine. The 'mensa' seems to be the "mensa secunda," that being the time of the feast when libations took place. We may observe that nothing is said here of the delicacies accompanying the second course, though they appear to be glanced at 8. 283.

737.] 'Libato,' not "honore libato," but the impersonal participle used absolutely. See Madvig, § 429. With 'summo tenus attigit ore' comp. Eur. Iph. A. 950, ἅψεται οὐδ' εἰς ἄκραν χεῖρ'. "Labrorum tenus" Lucr. 1. 940.

738.] ['Impiger,' Rom., Gud.—H. N.] Bitias is a Carthaginian name. Comp. Sil. 2. 409. Serv. refers to Livy for the fact that a Bitias commanded the Carthaginian fleet. The cup seems to be passed to the Carthaginians, because it was chiefly from them that the pledge of hospitality was required. 'Increpitans,' bidding him be quick ('inpiger'). "Aestatem increpitans seram Zephyrosque morantis" G. 4. 138. 'Hausit' and 'se proluit' are opposed to 'summo tenus attigit ore.' There is playful humour in the contrast, which is too lightly touched to be undignified, as some have thought, even if Virg. could not appeal to the example of Hom. in speaking of the Phaeacian court.

739.] 'Pleno se proluit auro.' "Swilled himself with the full gold." Trapp. See Apoll. R. 1. 470. The commentators comp. Hor. 1 S. 5. 16, "multa prolutus vappa."

740.] The bard is introduced at the feast in imitation of Hom., Od. 1. 325 foll. and 8. 499 foll. Mr. Gladstone must have forgotten this passage, and also 9. 774 foll., when he notices (Homeric Studies,

Personat aurata, docuit quem maximus Atlas.
Hic canit errantem lunam solisque labores;
Unde hominum genus et pecudes; unde imber et ignes;
Arcturum pluviasque Hyadas geminosque Triones;
Quid tantum Oceano properent se tinguere soles
Hiberni, vel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet.
Ingeminant plausu Tyrii, Troesque secuntur.
Nec non et vario noctem sermone trahebat
Infelix Dido, longumque bibebat amorem,

vol. 3, p 532) as a significant fact that Virg. "has nowhere placed on his canvas the figure of the bard among the abodes of men."—'Crinitus.' Long hair was part of the costume of bards, in imitation of Apollo. See Cerda's note. Serv. on v. 738 says "Iopas unus de procis Didonis, ut Punica testatur historia." If this is not an error for 'Iarbas,' we must suppose that Virg. here as elsewhere has chosen to take a hint from chroniclers to whom it did not suit him to incur a larger debt.

741.] 'Personat,' fills the hall. Comp. Tac. A. 16. 4, "Plebs personabat certis modis plausuque conposito." 'Quem' is the reading of Med., Rom., Pal., and other MSS. adopted by the later editors. Heyne and formerly Wagn. read 'quae,' which has the authority of Serv., "*quae* legendum est, non *quem*," and some MSS. Were the change worth making, the MSS. would scarcely stand in the way, as 'e' is often written for 'ae,' and QVEMAXIMVS might be interpreted either way (see on G. 2. 219.) Atlas in Hom. Od. 1. 52 knows the depths of the sea and supports the pillars of earth and heaven, the epithet given to him being *ὀλοόφρων*. He seems also to have been a sort of mythical representative or progenitor of physical philosophers, among whom he is recorded by Diogenes Laertius. Being identified with the African mountain, he is naturally chosen by Virg. here as the instructor of a Carthaginian bard. For the conception of Iopas see note on G. 2. 477, and comp. the song of Orpheus Apoll. R. 1. 496 foll., and that of Virg.'s own Silenus, which is imitated from it, E. 6. 31 foll.

742.] 'Errantem lunam,' the revolutions of the moon. G. 1. 337, "Quos ignis caeli Cyllenius erret in orbis." For 'solis labores' see on G. 2. 478. Henry's attempt to make 'labores' here mean simply revolutions is refuted by that passage and by Prop. 3. 26. 52, there quoted, and not supported by Sil. 14. 348, "atque una pelagi lunaeque labores," which is merely a zeugma. 'Labores,' as he says, are toils; but an eclipse may be one of the moon's toils, as a storm one of the sea's.

743] 'Unde hominum genus,' &c. This is among the first subjects of the songs of Orpheus and Silenus. 'Imber' the element of water. Comp. Lucr. 1. 714, "Et qui quattuor ex rebus posse omnia rentur, Ex igni terra atque anima procrescere et imbri."

744.] 'Pluvias' is a translation of 'Hyadas.' Comp. note on v. 293. Some inferior MSS. give "Pleiadas" or "Pliadas" for 'pluvias,' 'Triones:' see on G. 3. 381: here the Great and Little Bear are meant. The line is repeated 3. 516, where, as here and G. 1. 138, the enumeration is meant as a poetical equivalent for the stars generally. Comp. Il. 18. 484.

745.] For this and the next line see G. 2. 481, 482 and note.

747.] 'Ingeminant plausu' like "ingeminant hastis," 9. 811. Some inferior MSS. give 'plausum,' with the Schol. on Lucan 1. 133. The natives are naturally made to set the fashion, the strangers to follow it, as Serv. remarks. ['Sequntur' Pal. and Rom.—H. N.]

748.] "Traherent per talia tempus" 6. 537 note. See also on G. 3. 379, where I have explained "noctem ducere," "trahere," of speeding along. But it is very difficult to say, as the more usual sense of "trahere" when applied to time is to protract (see the Lexicons), and the reference here may be to the length to which the conversation continued into the night. Perhaps Virg. intended to blend the two notions, in spite of their apparent inconsistency, meaning no more than that the conversation lasted the whole night long.

749.] She drank in love with the words of Aeneas. 'Longum' probably refers to

Multa super Priamo rogitans, super Hectore multa;
Nunc, quibus Aurorae venisset filius armis,
Nunc, quales Diomedis equi, nunc quantus Achilles.
Immo age, et a prima dic, hospes, origine nobis
Insidias, inquit, Danaum, casusque tuorum,
Erroresque tuos; nam te iam septima portat
Omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus aestas.

the notion of length contained in 'trahebat.' "Longum amorem" 3. 487 note. Serv. says "Adlusit ad convivium. Sic Anacreon, ἔρωτα πίνων:" but this can hardly be meant.

750.] "Multa super Lauso rogitat" 10. 839.

751.] 'Quibus armis.' See note on v. 489. "Quibus ibat in armis" 9. 269.

752.] 'Quales Diomedis equi.' No especial praise is given to the horses of Diomed in the Iliad, though high praise is given to those which he takes from Aeneas (Il. 5. 263 foll.), and with which he wins the chariot-race (Il. 23. 377 foll.), as also to those which he takes from Rhesus (Il. 10. 567). Serv. thinks that these are meant to be the descendants of the flesh-eating horses of Diomedes of Thrace, Lucr. 5. 29. It is possible that there may be some confusion between the names; it is possible too that Virg. may have remembered the prowess of Diomed's horses in the chariot race without recollecting that they were once Aeneas' own. Generally too he may have remembered that Diomed was in a chariot when he encountered Aeneas. That he refers to this encounter and also to that of Achilles with Aeneas is almost certain from 10. 581, where Liger says to Aeneas, "Non Diomedis equos, non currum cernis Achilli."—'Quantus,' how terrible in war. Comp. "quantus In clipeum adsurgat" 11. 283, said by Diomed himself of Aeneas. The notion of bulk is prominent, but not, as Henry thinks, the only one.

753.] 'Immo,' nay rather, instead of answering more questions in detail, tell us the whole story from the first.

754.] 'Tuorum' and 'tuos' are distinguished, as in the one case Dido is thinking of those who perished at Troy, in the other of Aeneas who escaped. In answering the question 2. 10 Aeneas classes himself with his friends, "casus nostros."

755.] 'Portat errantem' should be taken closely together. "Septima post Troiae excidium iam vertitur aestas, Cum freta, cum terras omnis . . . ferimur" 5. 626. The form of Dido's words shows that she knew the time of the fall of Troy not from Aeneas, but from Teucer (v. 623), or from common fame. The general meaning is, 'You have the experiences of seven years to tell: it will be better that we should hear them continuously, the story being as long as it is.'

P. VERGILI MARONIS

AENEIDOS

LIBER SECUNDUS.

THE voice of criticism has unanimously fixed on this book, along with the Fourth and Sixth, as affording the best evidence of the true greatness of Virgil. Whether or no we believe the story told in Suetonius' biography, that the poet himself chose these three books to read to Augustus as a specimen of his work, it indicates at any rate the judgment passed by antiquity; and modern opinion has not been slow to ratify the verdict.

The conception of the present book is eminently fortunate. Homer has made Ulysses tell the story of his wanderings to Alcinous, and so had supplied the canvas on which the younger artist might work: but the tale of Troy taken forms no part of the narrative of the Odyssey: it is briefly sung by a bard, whose strains move the tears of Ulysses, as the Trojan portraits at Carthage had moved those of Aeneas; but that is all. It was open to Virgil to make his hero tell the whole story of the destruction of Troy without trespassing on Homer's ground; and he seized the opportunity. The subject could not fail to be most impressive, and it is introduced with perfect propriety. Dido, it is true, knew the main incidents of the siege; but that was all the more reason why she should wish to hear them from the chief living witness on the side of Troy. Virgil too has shown his wisdom not only in what he has said, but in what he has left unsaid. Dido's curiosity would naturally extend over the whole ten years; but the poet knew that a detail of the siege, natural as it might be, would weary his readers. He tells us that the queen asked of Priam and Hector, of Diomed and Achilles; but he does not require us to listen to Aeneas till he can concentrate our attention on 'the last agony of Troy,' the one night in which the city was taken and sacked.

The taking of Troy was, as might be expected, a favourite subject with poets before Virgil. It formed part of the epic cycle; it was treated by the masters of the Greek drama. Of these works the only one that has come down to us is the Troades of Euripides; and even that has its scene laid after the catastrophe, which it deals with only by way of retrospect. We know enough of the others to be assured that the main incidents in Virgil's narrative—the story of the Trojan horse, the introduction of Sinon, the tragic death of Laocoon—are taken from his predecessors. It would have been unnatural if it had not been so. Custom bound Virgil to follow the legend in its main bearings as he had received it, though it left him quite free, as I have contended in the general Introduction to the Aeneid, to vary minor details, and give his own colour to the whole. How far Virgil is original in the minutiæ of his treatment, we cannot tell. Macrobius indeed makes one of his interlocutors (Sat 5. 2) speak of it as a fact known to every schoolboy, that the story of this book is taken almost word for word from one Pisander, who wrote a mythological history of the world in verse; but though the charge is circumstantially made, it is dis-

credited by the silence of other authorities, whose ignorance contrasts strangely with this schoolboy knowledge; and Heyne, in his first Excursus to this book, has made it more than probable that the plagiarism of the poet is really the blunder of the critic, who is supposed to have confounded two Pisanders, one who lived before Virgil, but did not write the mythologico-historical poem, and another who did write the poem, but lived after Virgil.[1] The little that we know from Servius and others about the treatment of the stories of Laocoon and Sinon by earlier writers points rather to difference from Virgil's version than to identity with it: and though we must not build so much on this, as it is the wont of such witnesses to dwell rather on points of dissimilarity than on points of agreement, we may take it as showing that Virgil did really exercise his privilege of varying the smaller circumstances of the narrative, especially as his successors, Quinctus Smyrnaeus and Tryphiodorus, who are supposed to have been diligent copyists of the early writers, differ from him considerably in their manner of treatment. At any rate, whatever may have been Virgil's obligations to his predecessors for the incidents of his narrative, we cannot doubt that the golden thread which runs through the whole, the feeling of Aeneas himself, is substantially his own. The steps by which the hero comes to realize his position as an inhabitant of a captured city, a partisan of a cause against which the gods have finally declared,—steps indicated with such subtlety that it is only of late that they have been fully recognized (see on vv. 322, 402),—are not likely to have been transmitted by legend, while they bear in themselves the strongest marks of the poet's peculiar art.

Perhaps there is no better way of estimating the greatness of Virgil in this book than by glancing at the manner in which the subject has been treated by the three later poets, Smyrnaeus, Tryphiodorus, and Tzetzes. With his example before them, not to mention the other writers whom they probably followed, they have yet contrived to divest a most stirring and pathetic story of a large part of its interest. Smyrnaeus bestows two of his fourteen books, the twelfth and the thirteenth, on the capture of Troy. He goes over much the same ground as Virgil; but his narrative is flat and lifeless: the incidents do not flow out of each other, and sometimes, instead of incident, we are put off with the tedious generality of a mere historical abridgment. Calchas advises the Greeks to try stratagem rather than force: Ulysses on the moment strikes out the notion of the wooden horse with all its details: Neoptolemus and Philoctetes, like Milton's Moloch, are for open war, and attempt to lead their people to battle at once, but are checked by a thunderbolt from Zeus, which quite overawes them; an incident briefly despatched, and apparently introduced for no object whatever. Soon after we hear that the gods are at war with each other, as in the twentieth Iliad, hurling as missiles the hills of Ida; but we are expressly told that while all nature is convulsed, the human combatants are unconscious of what is going on, and even this invisible warfare is soon terminated by another thunderbolt from Zeus, so that, as before, we are at a loss to understand the relevancy of the incident. When the horse is made, Sinon is left with it, having expressed to the Greeks his willingness to undergo burning alive, or any torture that the Trojans may inflict. Accordingly, he stands silent while the enemy surrounds him, trying him first with mild words of inquiry, afterwards with the harsher methods of mutilation and burning: and then, having given this undoubted proof of his courage, he voluntarily tells his story. Laocoon, who disbelieves him, is struck blind on the spot, the state of his eyes being described with a sickening minuteness of detail; yet even in this condition he continues urging his countrymen to burn the

[1] Welcker, Epischer Cyclus, p. 99, thinks that there may have been a spurious poem on the subject forged in the Alexandrian age, and attributed to the earlier Pisander;—rather a hypothetical mode of saving Macrobius' credit.

horse, and so the serpents are sent to destroy his children by his side. Cassandra then takes his place in denunciation, but is gibed at by the Trojans: she tries herself to burn or break open the horse, but torch and weapons are wrested from her. A paragraph is spent in enforcing the statement that the Greeks suffered during the sack as well as the Trojans, and the modes of their deaths are enumerated with statistical particularity. Some, we are told, were hit by goblets, others by tables, others by torches and spits with meat adhering to them, others by hatchets: some have their fingers cut off in trying to ward off blows: some are bruised with stones, and some pierced with lances, which the Trojans were able to wield in spite of the wine they had drunk. We are told of Aeneas' escape, which it appears was owing partly, as in Virgil, to the protection of his mother, who warded off the weapons of the enemy, but partly also to a speech of Calchas to the Greeks, ordering them to spare him on account of his signal piety in taking his father and son with him rather than his treasure. But perhaps the greatest piece of flatness is found in Pyrrhus' speech to old Priam, who has been praying for death at his hands:—

> ὦ γέρον, ἐμμεμαῶτα καὶ ἐσσύμενόν περ ἀνώγεις·
> οὐ γάρ σ' ἐχθρὸν ἐόντα μετὰ ζωοῖσιν ἐάσω·
> οὐ γάρ τι ψυχῆς πέλει ἀνδράσι φίλτερον ἄλλο.

Tryphiodorus is a writer of a somewhat lower stamp, perhaps equal in power to Smyrnaeus, but inferior in taste and judgment. He concentrates himself chiefly on the wooden horse and the events immediately connected with it, fifty lines being given to a minute description of all its parts, from which it appears that it was a costly as well as elaborate performance,—its eyes being made of beryl and amethyst, and its teeth of silver. Ulysses, as in Smyrnaeus, lays down the programme of operations: the heroes rise one after another, as at the challenge of Hector in the seventh book of the Iliad, and volunteer in the service; and when they are lodged in the horse, Pallas provides them with ambrosia; immediately after which they are aptly compared to beasts running down a rock to escape a winter torrent, and waiting in their den, famished with hunger. Sinon is left, mangled, like Ulysses in Helen's story in the fourth Odyssey, with stripes from his own hand, and tells a similar story to that in Virgil, except that he represents himself as having been scourged by his comrades because he refused to fly with them. The dragging of the horse into the city is detailed at tedious length,—the agency of the gods, which duly appears later in the poem, being tastelessly anticipated, and Here being made to open the gates wider than usual, while Poseidon knocks down part of the stonework of the entrance. Cassandra protests, as in Smyrnaeus, and is severely upbraided by her father, who sends her to her chamber. Helen's story in Homer is again put under requisition, and the adulteress is made to address the Greeks within the horse in the tones of their respective wives; but the incident is an isolated one, and no attempt is made to harmonize it with the rest of the story. For the rest of the book the narrative proceeds more rapidly, the different events of the sack being despatched each in a few lines, without any attempt at pictorial narrative. The poet cannot, he says, tell all that happened on that night; that is a business for the Muses: he feels himself to be a chariot-driver nearing the goal. Tzetzes need hardly detain us a moment, as his narrative of the sack of Troy is utterly contemptible, with no pretension to poetry, and very little to style or metre. He is fortunately brief, and in fact presents a condensed résumé of the story as told by his various predecessors, Virgil included, the absence of detail enabling him in general to avoid the points in which they differ. There is however quite enough to distinguish him from them, or from any other writer professing to be a poet. When the heroes get into the horse, he takes the opportunity of telling us the personal characteristics of the leading Greeks in lines like these:—

Κάλχας μικρὸς ἔην, λεπτός, λευκός, δασυχαίτης,
κρᾶτα φέρων πολίην, ὁλόλευκον πρὸς δ' ἄρ' ὑπήνην.
Τυδείδης δ' ἄρα σώματι ἦεν τεσσαράγωνος,
εὐσχήμων, σίμος, στειναύχην, ξανθογένειος.

This he may have borrowed from Dares Phrygius, whose work, as we now have it, abounds in notices of the sort. But he is probably original when he says that he cannot tell what was the precise occasion on which Ulysses fell temporarily into the hands of the Trojans, his attention to the incident having been distracted by the cruel treatment he received from "the crafty wife of Isaac," or when he censures Tryphiodorus for talking of the horse as crowned with flowers when it was the depth of winter, and professes that he, Tzetzes, had been taught by Orpheus never to tell a falsehood. But it is an insult to Virgil even to mention such absurdities in connection with the Second Book of the Aeneid.

A curious critique of Virgil's narrative from a military point of view by Napoleon I. may be found in an abridged form in the Classical Museum, vol. i. pp. 205 foll. It is needless to say that the story does not stand a test which it was never meant to stand: much of the Emperor's censure however falls really, not on Virgil, but on the legend which, as we have seen, he necessarily followed.

[For a summary statement of Virgil's obligations to the writers of the epic cycle, see note on pp. lxiv.—v.

A note on Virgil and Pisander will be found at the end of the commentary on this book.—H. N.]

CONTICUERE omnes, intentique ora tenebant.
Inde toro pater Aeneas sic orsus ab alto:
  Infandum, Regina, iubes renovare dolorem,
Troianas ut opes et lamentabile regnum
Eruerint Danai; quaeque ipse miserrima vidi,

1, 2.] 'Aeneas begins thus.'

1.] 'Ora tenere' is not, as in G. 4. 483, equivalent to "linguam continere," but means 'to hold the countenance in attention,' as in 7. 250 (where observe the epithet "defixa," and comp. 6. 156), 8. 520. 'Intenti' then must be taken adverbially as part of the predicate, like "defixi" in the passage last referred to. Silent attention is however the general notion: and it is probable that Virg. did not carefully distinguish the two senses of 'ora.' See 1. 256, "oscula libavit."

3—13.] 'The story is a painful one, but I will tell it.'

3.] Imitated from Od. 7. 241, ἀργαλέον, βασίλεια, διηνεκέως ἀγορεῦσαι Κήδε': the conception of the speech itself however is of course taken from Ulysses' later narrative, books 9—12. Observe the order: 'Too cruel to be told, great queen, is the sorrow you bid me revive.' 'Infandum,' note on 1. 525. The word here seems to bear its transferred as well as its original sense.

4.] 'Ut' follows 'renovare dolorem,' which is practically equivalent to 'narrare,' as it is in telling about sorrow once felt that the renewal of the pain consists. Häckermann, followed by Ladewig, Haupt, and Ribbeck, ingeniously puts a period after 'dolorem,' so as to connect 'ut . . . fui' with 'quis talia fando,' v. 6, the sentence thus created being a sort of expansion of v. 3, 'fando' answering to 'infandum:' but this, though rhetorically effective, would be hardly in Virg.'s manner, while it would detract from the propriety of the clause 'quaeque . . . fui,' if indeed it would not lead us rather to expect 'viderim . . . fuerim.' I am glad to see that Wagn. (Lectt. Vergg. p 415) defends the old pointing on similar grounds. 'Lamentabile' is used proleptically. 'How the power of Troy and its empire met with piteous overthrow from the Danaans."

5.] 'Quaeque—et quorum,' &c., also epexegetical of 'dolorem,' which is first explained generally, then limited, as Henry remarks, to the scenes which Aeneas witnessed and those in which he took an active part—his personal narrative.

Et quorum pars magna fui. Quis talia fando
Myrmidonum Dolopumve aut duri miles Ulixi
Temperet a lacrimis? et iam nox umida caelo
Praecipitat, suadentque cadentia sidera somnos.
Sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros
Et breviter Troiae supremum audire laborem,
Quamquam animus meminisse horret, luctuque refugit,
Incipiam.
Fracti bello fatisque repulsi
Ductores Danaum, tot iam labentibus annis,

6.] 'Pars magna.' Comp. 10. 426, "Lausus, Pars ingens belli," G. 2. 40. 'Fando,' as Serv. says, in the course of speaking, v. 81. Wagn. aptly refers to Livy 8. 17., 21. 34, for instances of this use of the gerund in prose, illustrating it also by an imitation of this passage in Sil 2. 651, "quis tristia fata piorum Imperet evolvens lacrimis?" which shows that it is equivalent to the present participle.

7.] 'Myrmidonum Dolopumve,' not constructed with 'miles.' The Myrmidons and Dolopes (Il. 9. 484) were the soldiers of Achilles, the greatest, and Neoptolemus, the most savage, enemy of Troy. So the epithet 'duri' is intended to mark the soldier by the general, perhaps with a reference to his Homeric title πολύτλας: see on 3. 94.

8.] 'Et iam,' an additional reason for declining the task: imitated from Od. 11. 330, where Ulysses breaks off in the middle of his narrative with a similar excuse.

9.] 'Praecipitat' is hurrying down the steep of the sky, midnight being past. Possibly also it denotes the fall of the dew, being connected with 'umida,' as "ruit" is with "imbriferum," G. 1. 313. For the intrans. use of the verb comp. Cic. de Orat. 3. 55, "sol praecipitans me admonuit." [Cato ap. Front. ad M. Aur. 2. 6. (p. 32 Naber:) "dum se intempesta nox . . . praecipitat."—H. N.]

10.] Od. 11. 380. "Amor," as in 6. 133, where it is immediately explained by "cupido." For the construction, see on G. 1. 213. ['Set' Med.—H. N.]

11.] 'Supremum laborem,' its destruction, as "dies supremus" is the day of death, and "sors suprema" (5. 190) the final doom. Claud. Eutrop. 2. 289, "Phrygiae casus venisse supremos." 'Labor' by itself means no more than πόνος or μόχθος in Greek, sorrow or suffering, 1. 597., 2. 362., 4. 78., 9. 202. 'To hear the brief tale of Troy's last agony.'

12.] Muretus thinks this passage imitated from Cic. Phil. 14. 3, "refugit animus, P. C., eaque formidat dicere." It is itself imitated by Sen. Ag. 417, "refugit loqui Mens aegra tantis atque inhorrescit malis," which seems to show, as Wund. thinks, that 'refugit' as well as 'horret' goes with 'meminisse.' The perf. seems best explained as expressing the instantaneous and instinctive action of the feeling. Prof. Munro comp. Sen. H. F. 1200, "quid hoc? manus refugit: hic errat scelus," where however the structure of the sentence makes the tense more explicable. Weidner thinks 'horret' is a sort of perf. of "horrescit," and so explains its combination with 'refugit,' appealing ingeniously to Sen. Ag. l. c., where 'inhorrescit' is coupled with 'refūgit,' the pres. He explains 'refugit' on the analogy of δέδοικα &c., a single past act leading to a continuing state.

13—39.] 'Despairing of reducing Troy by siege, the Greeks feign departure, having first built a wooden horse, which they fill with armed men, and leave behind them as a pretended offering to Pallas. We pour out of the town, and question what should be done with the horse, some being for taking it in, others for destroying it.'

13.] 'Incipiam' appears rightly understood by Henry, 'I will essay,' rather than 'I will begin.' E. 5. 10, G. 1. 5, Lucr. 1. 55. So the ordinary sense of "inceptum." 'Fracti,' nearly the same as "fessi," v. 109, but stronger. 'Repulsi,' beaten back from the attack on Troy.

14.] 'Ductores Danaum,' Lucr. 1. 86. ["'Ductores' sonantius est quam 'duces,' ut 'regnatorem Asiae' (v. 557 below): quod heroum exigit carmen." Serv.—

Instar montis ecum divina Palladis arte
Aedificant, sectaque intexunt abiete costas;
Votum pro reditu simulant; ea fama vagatur.
Huc delecta virum sortiti corpora furtim
Includunt caeco lateri, penitusque cavernas
Ingentis uterumque armato milite complent.
Est in conspectu Tenedos, notissima fama

H. N.] 'Labentibus,' the present, is to be distinguished from "lapsis," though the stress falls as much on 'tot' and 'iam.' 'Now that the flying years had begun to number so many.'

15.] 'Instar montis,' with reference to the height rather than to the bulk. So 9. 674, "abietibus iuvenes patriis et montibus aequos," and Od. 9. 191., 10. 13, where the Cyclops and the queen of the Laestrygonians are compared to mountains. Comp. also vv. 186, 187, "Hanc tamen inmensam Calchas attollere molem Roboribus textis caeloque educere iussit." 'Divina Palladis arte' is a translation of Eur Tro. 10, μηχαναῖσι Παλλάδος. Hom. Od. 8. 493 has τὸν Ἐπειὸς ἐποίησεν σὺν Ἀθήνῃ. Pallas is selected from the deities favourable to the Greeks as the patroness of art. So she is the builder of the Argo, the first ship. See the next note. Rom. has 'divinae.' ['Equm' Pal., 'equum' Rom. Gud.—H. N.]

16.] 'Aedificant' and 'intexunt' are both terms of ship-building. Catull. 64. 9, "Ipsa (Pallas) levi fecit volitantem flamine currum, Pinea coniungens inflexae texta carinae," which Virg. perhaps had in his mind. See further on 11. 326. Even 'costa' is used in speaking of a ship, Pers. 6. 31. Lucr. 5. 1297 has "in equi conscendere costas." 'Intexunt' form by interlacing, 6. 315, 10. 785, 'abiete' being instr. abl. But for these parallels, 'secta abiete' might be, as has been suggested to me, material abl. with 'costas,' 'intexunt' meaning interweave with the horse. 'Intexunt' has nearly the force of "intertexunt," as "insere" G. 2. 302 of "intersere."

17.] 'Votum,' to Pallas, as explained v. 183. Serv. quotes from Attius (Deiph. fr. 1), "Minervae donum armipotenti hoc abeuntes Danai dicant," which he says was the inscription on the horse; and so Hyginus (fab. 108), "In equo scripserunt; Danai Minervae dono dant." Pallas is sent down, Il. 2. 156, to prevent the Greeks from departing. The custom of making vows for a safe return is largely illustrated by Cerda. Taubmann quotes an epigrammatic expression from Petronius, "in voto latent (Danai)." 'Ea fama vagatur:' the emphasis is on 'ea' rather than on 'vagatur.' 'Such is the story they spread,' not 'the story spreads far and wide.' So "fama volat," 3. 121.

18.] 'Huc' is further defined by 'caeco lateri' ("huc includunt," G. 2. 76), a mode of expression illustrated by Wagn. on E. 1. 54, and not unlike the double acc. in Greek, τύπτω σε κεφαλήν. 'Delecta virum corpora:' Od. 4. 272, ἵππῳ ἔνι ξεστῷ ἵν' ἐνήμεθα πάντες ἄριστοι Ἀργείων. Thus 'sortiti' must mean simply 'having picked out,' as in G. 3. 71, unless we suppose a 'sortitio' to have taken place among the 'delecti,' so as to assign to some their places in the horse, while others, such as Agamemnon and Diomed, remained to organize the forces at Tenedos. 'Delecti' is the epithet of the chieftains at Aulis, Lucr. 1. 86. In Od. 8. 495, Ulysses is the main agent in putting the warriors into the horse, which he enters himself. 'Corpora,' periphrastic, like δέμας, 5. 318., 6. 22, 391., 7. 650., 10. 430, though in each case there is of course a special significance in the word, as here to suggest the notion of occupying space. ['Dilecta' Pal.—H. N.]

19, 20.] Henry seems right in taking the latter part of the sentence as simply explanatory of the former, the 'armato milite' being identical with the 'delecta corpora,' but it is not so certain that these are summed up in the nine who come out of the horse in v. 260, as vv. 328, 401, would lead us to suppose that the number was larger, even if we do not suppose Virg. to be in agreement with Hom., who in Od. 4. 287, mentions one, Anticlus, not included in Virg.'s list. 'Penitus' goes with 'complent.'

21.] 'Notissima fama,' as Wagn. remarks, is said rather by the poet than by the hero (comp. 3. 704), though in Hom.'s

Insula, dives opum, Priami dum regna manebant,
Nunc tantum sinus et statio male fida carinis;
Huc se provecti deserto in litore condunt.
Nos abiisse rati et vento petiisse Mycenas.
Ergo omnis longo solvit se Teucria luctu.
Panduntur portae; iuvat ire et Dorica castra
Desertosque videre locos litusque relictum.
Hic Dolopum manus, hic saevus tendebat Achilles;
Classibus hic locus; hic acie certare solebant.
Pars stupet innuptae donum exitiale Minervae

time (Il. 1. 38) the island is famous for a temple of Apollo Smintheus.

22.] 'Dives opum,' 1. 14.

23.] The island is said to be a 'sinus,' a bay, forming a doubtful roadstead, being all for which it was then remarkable. 'Male fida,' opposed to "statio tutissima," G. 4. 421. Forb. rightly distinguishes 'statio' from "portus," and Henry appositely refers to Vell. Pat. 2. 72, "Exitialemque tempestatem fugientibus statio pro portu foret."

24.] 'Huc' may be taken with 'condunt,' as Forb. (G. 1. 442, "conditus in nubem"), but it had perhaps better go with 'provecti,' as otherwise we should have expected "in litus.' 'Deserto in litore' shows that the change in the fortunes of Tenedos had already begun.

25.] Wagn. is hardly right in explaining 'vento petere' here and v. 180 to mean no more than "navibus petere." In 1. 307., 4. 46, 381, where similar expressions are used, the meaning evidently is that the person is supposed to be driven by the winds: here the notion seems to be that of dependence on the winds, though we are meant to infer that the winds are favourable. Thus Heyne's interpretation "vento secundo" is virtually true. In 3. 563 the addition of 'remis' makes the case somewhat different.

26.] From Eur. Tro. 524, where the Trojans address each other ἴτ', ὦ πεπαυμένοι πόνων.

27.] 'Panduntur portae,' as a sign of peace. Hor. 3 Od. 5. 23, A. P. 199. Cerda. 'Dorica castra:' see on v. 462.

28.] Nearly repeated 5. 612.

29.] This and the next verse express in an objective form what is said or thought by the parties of Trojans. Comp. 7. 150 foll., where however the discoveries of the reconnoitrers are put in oratio obliqua. 'Dolopum:' note on v. 7. 'Tendebat,' pitched his tent, 8. 605, a military word, whence "tentorium." For the implied anachronism see on 1. 469. ['Saevos' Pal. originally.—H. N.]

30.] 'Classibus hic locus.' The ships, as Henry remarks, were drawn up on the shore, and the tents pitched among them. The opposition is between 'classibus' and 'acie.' 'Here they pitched; here they fought with us.' 'Acie' was restored by Heins. from Med., Rom., and other MSS. 'Acies' is however supported by Gud. corrected, Canon., and others, and given as an alternative by Serv.

31.] 'Donum Minervae,' "non quod ipsa dedit, sed quod ei oblatum est." Serv., rightly, as is shown by the parallel v. 189, and by the passage from Attius quoted on v. 17, from which Virg. doubtless took the words. The epithet 'innuptae,' which is rather in the Homeric style than appropriate to anything in the context, makes it likely that he was referring also to Eur. Tro. 536, χάριν ἄζυγος ἀβροτοπώλου, which according to the ordinary interpretation is understood in precisely the same way, though Hermann questions the applicability of ἀβροτοπώλου to the goddess, and supposes ἄζυξ ἀβροτόπωλος to be the horse. The offering was made to Minerva as one of the tutelary deities of Troy, whom the Greeks had outraged, and as such it was virtually an offering to Troy and the Trojans—a consideration which reconciles the present passage with those where it is spoken of as a gift to the Trojans (vv. 36, 44, 49), and accounts for the epithet 'exitiale.' That some such object was pretended before Sinon came forward to develop the story we have seen in v. 17. 'Minervae' seems still to be the gen., as in Cic. Verr. 2. 3. 80, "civium Romanorum

Et molem mirantur equi; primusque Thymoetes
Duci intra muros hortatur et arce locari,
Sive dolo, seu iam Troiae sic fata ferebant.
At Capys, et quorum melior sententia menti,
Aut pelago Danaum insidias suspectaque dona
Praecipitare iubent, subiectisque urere flammis,
Aut terebrare cavas uteri et temptare latebras.
Scinditur incertum studia in contraria volgus.
  Primus ibi ante omnis, magna comitante caterva,

dona," presents made to Roman citizens (referred to by Gossrau).

32.] 'Molem equi,' v. 150 below. Thymoetes is one of the old men sitting on the wall, Il. 3. 146. Diodorus Siculus, 3. 87, makes him son of Laomedon.

33.] In Hom. (Od. 8. 504) the Trojans first drag the horse to the citadel (which in Virg. does not happen till v. 245), and then deliberate as here what to do with it, the party of Thymoetes being represented by the words *ἠὲ 'εᾶν μέγ' ἄγαλμα θεῶν θελκτήριον εἶναι.*

34.] 'Dolo:' because, according to the legend mentioned by Serv., and a scholiast on Lycophron, Thymoetes had a grudge against Priam, who in consequence of an oracle that a child born on a certain day would be the ruin of Troy, put to death an illegitimate son of his own by Cilla, wife of Thymoetes, not Paris, who had the same birthday. 'Iam,' 'now at last,' as Henry takes it. 'Sic ferebant' seems to mean 'were setting that way:' see on 11. 345. So apparently Cic. Pis. 2, "quod ita existimabam tempora reip. ferre." Virg. may have thought of Il. 2. 834, *κῆρες γὰρ ἄγον μέλανος θανάτοιο.* *τὸ φέρον* is the Greek synonyme for Fate.

35.] Capys, a companion of Aeneas, 9. 576., 10. 145. "Quae sit dubiae sententia menti" 11. 314.

36.] 'Insidias' for the horse itself, like "doli" v. 264. Od. 8. 494, *ὃν ποτ' ἐς ἀκρόπολιν δόλον ἤγαγε δῖος 'Οδυσσεύς*, unless *δόλον* be an adverbial or cognate acc. So Eur. Tro. 530, *δόλιον ἄταν*, also of the horse. 'Dona:' see on v. 31.

37.] It may be doubted from the word 'praecipitare' whether Virg. meant to translate Od. 8. 508, *ἢ κατὰ πετράων βαλέειν ἐρύσαντας ἐπ' ἄκρης.* ['Iubet' Pal. corr., Nonius p. 400.—H. N.] 'Subiectisque' is the reading of the MSS. Heyne introduced 'subiectisve,' on a warrant from Servius [who says "antiqua tamen exemplaria 've' habere inveniuntur."—H. N.]. Wagn. (Q. V. 34. 1) adduces other instances where 'que' couples notions, which, though not strictly compatible with each other, have some point in common,—as here burning and sinking are two modes of destroying the horse, and so are distinguished from any plan of examining it. [See note on 'The Aeneid and the Epic Cycle,' p. lxiv.—H. N.]

38.] Od. 8. 507, where the three propositions debated are breaking open the horse (*διατμῆξαι*, stronger than 'terebrare'), casting it from a precipice, and accepting it as a peace-offering to the gods. 'Temptare' here is simply to search, with no notion of danger, as Forb. thinks, whatever it may have elsewhere. 'Cavas latebras,' a translation of *κοῖλον λόχον*, Od. 4. 277., 8. 515.

39.] 'Scinditur in studia contraria' implies that they take opposite sides, apparently those of Thymoetes and Capys, with warmth, 'studia' being almost an anticipation of Tacitus' use of the word in the sense of factions, "Ultio senatum in studia diduxerat," Hist. 4. 6. The line is doubtless meant, as it is generally quoted, to characterize a mob contemptuously; but it points as much to party spirit as to giddiness. ['Vulgus' Rom.—H. N.]

40—56.] 'Laocoon warmly denounces the horse as a Greek stratagem, and hurls his spear at it.'

40.] 'Primus ante omnis' is not said, as Heyne thinks, with reference to 'magna comitante caterva,' which would be jejune. The meaning is, at this juncture Laocoon, followed by a large number, plunges into the arena and takes the lead. Thymoetes had been called "primus" v. 32, as having first made himself heard.

Laocoon ardens summa decurrit ab arce,
Et procul: O miseri, quae tanta insania, cives?
Creditis avectos hostis? aut ulla putatis
Dona carere dolis Danaum? sic notus Ulixes?
Aut hoc inclusi ligno occultantur Achivi,
Aut haec in nostros fabricata est machina muros
Inspectura domos venturaque desuper urbi,
Aut aliquis latet error; equo ne credite, Teucri.
Quidquid id est, timeo Danaos et dona ferentis.
Sic fatus validis ingentem viribus hastam
In latus inque feri curvam compagibus alvum

41.] ['Laucoon' Med.—H. N.] 'Ab arce:' Pergamus, which overlooked the shore. Heyne.

44.] 'Has this been your experience of Ulysses?' who is mentioned not as actually having been a principal in the scheme, which the Trojans could not have known, but as the natural author of fraud, "hortator scelerum Aeolides," 6. 529.

45.] The two cases put in this and the two following lines are that the horse is a receptacle of soldiers, and that it is a means of scaling the walls. In the former case it would be fatal if admitted within the city, in the latter even if left outside. There is not the slightest reason to suppose with Ribbeck that v. 45 and vv. 46, 47, were left as alternatives by Virg., who would have omitted the one or the other in revising his work.

46.] Heyne, after Vegetius, 4. 19, points out an allusion to the "turris," a military engine with several stories, run on wheels alongside the walls, which is approached by throwing out a bridge. See Dict. A. sub voce.

47.] 'To come down on the city from above.' 'Urbi' for "in urbem."

48.] 'Aliquis' is rightly explained by Wagn. as virtually equivalent to "alius quis:" comp. 9. 186, and see on 6. 533. 'Error,' means of misleading, hence deceit. Forb. comp. Livy 22. 1. 3, "errore sese ab insidiis munierat."

49.] 'Et' for "etiam," like *καί*. Hand. Tursell. 2. 520. Lachmann on Lucr. 6. 7, "Cuius et extincti propter divina reperta Divolgata vetus iam ad caelum gloria fertur," denies that 'et' has this sense either here or there, explaining the meaning to be "et eius extincti," "et eos dona ferentis." Whether he means to deny that 'et' ever stands for "etiam," is not clear; but it would seem impossible to give it any other sense in such passages as Ov. Her. 20. 183, "Nec bove mactato caelestia numina gaudent, Sed, quae praestanda est et sine teste, fide," and both here and in Lucr. l. c. the sense of 'even' is certainly favoured by the context. Mr. Munro, who apparently takes Lachm.'s objection as applying to Latin of the golden and earlier ages, does not, I am glad to see, defer to it.

50.] This verse may remind us that it is not always safe to argue from the position of words to their construction, as 'validis viribus' clearly goes with 'contorsit,' not with 'ingentem.' Comp. 5. 500.

51.] Some ingenuity has been wasted (see Wagn., Forb., Henry) in explaining 'in latus inque alvum.' Generally where the preposition is repeated there is no copula, as in v. 358, the former, as Forb. remarks, supplying the place of the latter. Here we have both, as in v. 337. All that can be said grammatically is that two notions are coupled: how they are coupled depends on the context. Here the question simply is whether the 'alvus' is regarded externally, in which case it would define the 'latus,' or internally, the spear piercing through the 'latus,' into the 'alvus,' as the spear e. g. of Turnus, 10. 482, pierces through the various parts of Pallas' armour. Either would be defensible: but what follows seems to recommend the latter. [Henry thinks 'alvum' defines 'latus,' "that part of the side which was the 'alvus,'" and quotes 7. 499 "perque uterum sonitu perque ilia venit harundo."—H. N.] 'Feri,' simply the beast: used especially of a tame animal 7. 489; of horses again 5. 818. "Ferus," "fera," and "ferum," are all used substantively. ['Conpagibus' Med. 'Alvom' Pal.—H. N.]

Contorsit. Stetit illa tremens, uteroque recusso
Insonuere cavae gemitumque dedere cavernae.
Et, si fata deum, si mens non laeva fuisset,
Impulerat ferro Argolicas foedare latebras,
Troiaque nunc staret, Priamique arx alta, maneres.
  Ecce, manus iuvenem interea post terga revinctum
Pastores magno ad regem clamore trahebant

52.] 'Contorsit:' Key, § 1323, b. c. d. 'Stetit illa tremens' is generally taken by the commentators of the horse; but it obviously refers to the spear, were it only that "alvus" would have to be supplied, not "equus" or "ferus." The force of the spear made it penetrate into the womb within, so that it remained quivering in the wood. Trapp seems to have understood the words rightly, and so Gossrau. 'Recusso,' like "repercusso," expressing the shock resulting from the blow.

53.) 'Cavae cavernae,' a pleonasm, belonging, as Forb. remarks, to the earlier times of the language, though the words are so arranged as to convey the effect of a forcible repetition. 'Insonuere cavae,' 'sounded through their depths,' or 'sounded as hollow.' Comp. G. 1. 336, "cava flumina crescunt Cum sonitu." 'Gemitum:' merely of the hollow noise (applied to the sea 3. 555, to the earth 9. 709), not of the arms, as in v. 243, much less of those within, as some imitators of the passage, beginning with Petronius, have thought, perhaps with reference to the other story, Od. 4. 280, &c.

54.] "Si mens non laeva fuisset," E. 1. 16. Here 'non' is to be taken closely with 'laeva,' 'si fata fuissent' being explained as in v. 433 below, "had fate so willed." Heyne's other explanation, 'si fata non fuissent,' "had it not been fated that Troy should fall, though supported by Od. 8. 511, αἶσα γὰρ ἦν, is harsh, as we should rather have expected 'si non mens laeva.' A third possible view, which would make 'laeva' the predicate to both 'fata' and 'mens,' might be defended from G. 4. 7; but 'mens' in that case would be contrasted rather badly with 'fata deum.' 'Fata deum' 6. 376., 7. 239.

55.] 'Impulerat.' See G. 2. 133, note. The distinction attempted by Wagn. "si fuisset, impulerat: at non fuit: si fuisset, ut esse poterat, impulisset," seems, in spite of the authorities appealed to by Forb., not only arbitrary but irrational, as the difference, whatever it be, is not in the protasis but in the apodosis, and the ind. is not likely to have been substituted for the subj. to denote a less probable and in fact impossible contingency. 'Ferro foedare,' 3. 241, of wounding the Harpies. Here there seems a mixture of the two notions of wounding the horse and slaying the Greeks, "Argolicas latebras" being substituted for "equum." Weidner however explains 'foedare' as = "foede detegere."

56.] [Velius Longus, p. 2220 P., Diomedes, p. 423, Marius Victorinus, p. 2477 P., all read 'stares, . . . maneres;' so Gud. and two other of Ribbeck's cursives; Serv. says, "'stares;' si 'staret,' 'maneres' sequitur propter ὁμοιοτέλευτον." Ti. Donatus has 'stares . . . maneret'; 'staret . . . maneret' is the second reading of Med., 'staret . . . maneres' its first reading, found also apparently in both Pal. and Rom.—H. N.] Wagn. adopts it, comparing 7. 684, and is followed by later editors, rightly it would seem. Weidner cites an imitation in Sil. 7. 561 foll. "Mutassentque solum sceptris Aeneia regna, Nullaque nunc stares terrarum vertice, Roma," where it is quite in keeping with the practice of an imitator to borrow the words from one part of his original, the rhetorical use of the second person from another. 'Stares... maneres' is the reading of Heyne, but it appears to have no first-class MS. authority, though Pierius speaks of it as found in ancient MSS. The occurrence of the imperf. subj. in conjunction with the pluperf. ind. is noticeable.

57—76.] 'A Greek surrenders himself prisoner, and is invited to give an account of himself.'

57.] The story of Sinon was the subject of a lost tragedy by Sophocles, and is variously told by Quinct. Smyrnaeus, Tryphiodorus, Dictys, Dares, and Tzetzes. See Introduction to this Book. In one of the versions he is made to mutilate himself like Ulysses in Od. 4. 244, a

Dardanidae, qui se ignotum venientibus ultro,
Hoc ipsum ut strueret Troiamque aperiret Achivis,
Obtulerat, fidens animi, atque in utrumque paratus,
Seu versare dolos, seu certae occumbere morti.
Undique visendi studio Troiana iuventus
Circumfusa ruit, certantque inludere capto.
Accipe nunc Danaum insidias, et crimine ab uno
Disce omnis.
Namque ut conspectu in medio turbatus, inermis,
Constitit atque oculis Phrygia agmina circumspexit:
Heu, quae nunc tellus, inquit, quae me aequora possunt

source from which, as Heyne suggests, the whole story may have originated. He is represented as the son of Aesimus the brother of Anticleia, and thus a first cousin to Ulysses. ['Pos terga' Ribbeck from two of his cursives.—H. N.]

59.] 'Ultro obtulerat:' 8. 611. Serv. mentions another reading 'quis (queis) se,' which is still found in some copies.

60.] 'Hoc ipsum ut strueret,' to compass this very thing, sc. to be brought to the king. The instances quoted of 'struere insidias, dolos' &c. are not strictly parallel, as they merely refer to scheming a thing against another, not to scheming a thing for one's self. Virg. however probably used 'strueret' as a "verbum insidiarum," according to his usual custom, so as to secure the associations connected with the term, though the real analogy to his expression is to be found in such phrases as "rem struere," and in the use of "moliri." 'Troiam aperiret Achivis' is rightly understood by Henry not of actually opening the gates, which Sinon is not said to have done, but of his effecting an entrance for the Greeks by the story he tells, and by letting them out of the horse.

61.] 'Fidens animo' is the reading of Rom., and of the MSS. of Sen. de Vita Beata 8. 3; but 'fidens animi' is supported by "furens animi," 5. 202, "praestans animi," 12. 19. The gen. is doubtless of the same class as those in 4. 529., 6. 332, G. 3. 289 &c., 4. 491, probably quasi-locative. See below on v. 120, Munro on Lucr. 1. 136. "Armorum fidens" in Lucan 9. 373 looks like a misunderstanding of the phrase.

62.] 'Versare dolos:' 11. 704. 'Versare,' like 'versutus,' πολύτροπος, to shift or shuffle; here to shuffle successfully: "Verte aliquid" Pers. 5. 137. [Nonius p. 418 read 'dolo,' sc. 'Troianos;' a variant mentioned by Serv., and found in one of Ribbeck's cursives.—H. N.]. 'Certe,' the common reading, before Pierius and Heins. restored 'certae' from the best MSS., has the authority of Med., Gud., and Pal. corrected. Though less poetical than, 'certae,' it would not be without force having the sense of 'saltem,' as in Cic. Tusc. 1. c. ult.—'Occumbere,' 1. 97, note. Rom. originally, and Pal. have 'occurrere.'

63.] 'Undique:' from all sides. Cic. 2 Verr. 2. 53, "concurritur undique ad istum Syracusas."

64.] Rom. has 'certat,' which was of course introduced because of 'ruit.'

65.] Aeneas, as Forb. and Henry observe, pointedly prepares to satisfy Dido's request 1. 753, "dic—insidias Danaum." 'Accipe,' 1. 676. 'Crimine:' Serv. mentions a reading 'crimen' supported also by Ti. Donatus, which was connected with 'insidias,' so as to improve the balance between 'ab uno' (sc. "e Danais") and 'omnis.' Silius however evidently found 'crimine,' as appears from his imitation 6. 39, "nosces Fabios certamine ab uno." 'Omnis' of course refers to 'Danaos;' "learn from a single act of guilt what all of them are."

67.] It seems needless to inquire, with Henry and Forb., whether Sinon's emotion is altogether feigned. Aeneas is describing him as he saw him, first showing signs of utter prostration, then partially recovering himself, v. 76, though still trembling, v. 107 (where "ficto pectore" immediately follows "pavitans"). 'Inermis' comes in naturally, as he is in the midst of a furious and armed populace.

69.] 'Nunc' simply 'at this present

Accipere? aut quid iam misero mihi denique restat,
Cui neque apud Danaos usquam locus, et super ipsi
Dardanidae infensi poenas cum sanguine poscunt?
Quo gemitu conversi animi, compressus et omnis
Impetus. Hortamur fari; quo sanguine cretus,
Quidve ferat, memoret, quae sit fiducia capto.
[Ille haec, deposita tandem formidine, fatur:]
Cuncta equidem tibi, Rex, fuerit quodcumque, fatebor

time:' 'iam denique,' 'now at last, after all.' With Sinon's exaggerated language comp. the more utter self-abandonment of Achemenides 3. 601, 605, and the taunts of Aeneas to Turnus 12. 892.

71.] 'Insuper' was the old reading: 'et super' however, which was restored by Heins. from the best MSS., is necessary, as Wagn. has seen, on account of 'neque.' 'Ipsi' probably is not to be pressed, as though the Trojans might be expected to receive an outcast from the Greeks; it seems rather to have the force of "etiam" See note on v. 394.

72.] "Dare" or "solvere sanguine poenas" occurs more than once, v. 366., 9. 422., 11. 592; but the modal abl. could not be used with 'poscere,' so 'cum' is introduced, 'along with my blood,' as "ex sanguine" is found with "sumere poenas" 11. 720., 12. 949.

73.] 'Quo gemitu;' comp. v. 145, "his lacrimis," and see on G. 1. 329, "quo motu." 'Conversi animi' might mean 'our attention was turned towards him,' like "convertere animos acris oculosque tulere Cuncti ad reginam Volsci," 11. 800: but the common interpretation of a revulsion of feeling is more probable, and is supported by an imitation in Sil. 10. 623, which Forb. quotes, "His dictis sedere minae et conversa repente Pectora: nunc fati miseret" &c.—'Compressus et omnis Impetus,' not 'all fury ceased,' as Trapp, and probably the rest, understand it, but 'every act of violence was stayed,' like "impetum facere." The Trojans would naturally be rushing on Sinon, or at any rate menacing him with their weapons. ['Conpressus' Pal.—H. N.].

74, 75.] The old pointing was after 'memoret:' Heyne put a stop after 'ferat,' which is to a certain extent supported by the parallel passage 3. 608, "Qui sit, fari, quo sanguine cretus, Hortamur; quae deinde agitet fortuna, fateri." But it seems better to punctuate after 'fari,' so as to make all that follows an oratio obliqua, "memora quo sanguine cretus sis" &c. Comp. 1. 645 note. 'Quae sit fiducia, capto,' ['what is the prisoner's case, what has he to say for himself, on what does he rely,' Henry: who well quotes Tac. A. 3. 11, "quanta fides amicis Germanici, quae fiducia reo." —H. N.]. Ribbeck's "quive fuat, memores quae" &c. is another of his unhappy conjectures. Much more ingenious is another suggestion by an unnamed young scholar, mentioned in his note, that a line should be supplied from the parallel passage in Book 3, "quidve ferat. Priamus rex ipse haud multa moratus Dat iuveni dextram, quae sit fiducia capto." 'Memorem' is another reading mentioned by Serv.; but with it not much sense could be extracted from "quae sit fiducia capto."

76.] This line is repeated 3. 612, while here it is omitted in Med. (where it is added by another hand in the margin), Pal., and Gud., and not noticed by Serv. Heyne infers from Pomponius Sabinus that it was erased on critical grounds by Apronianus, whose recension Med. represents. Rom. unfortunately fails us here, having an extensive lacuna after v. 72, down to 3. 684. It is certain that Virg. frequently repeats himself (probably with the notion of imitating Hom.), and equally certain that the inferior MSS. frequently introduce lines from other parts of the poem into places where they have no business, so that it seems safest to print the verse in brackets. In itself it is sufficiently appropriate, in spite of a slight verbal inconsistency with v. 107 though not necessary, as with 'inquit' the beginning of Sinon's speech is not very abrupt.

77—104.] 'He says his name is Sinon, a relation of Palamedes, whose death he resented, and thus incurred the enmity of Ulysses.'

77.] 'Fuerint quaecumque' was the

Vera, inquit; neque me Argolica de gente negabo;
Hoc primum; nec, si miserum Fortuna Sinonem
Finxit, vanum etiam mendacemque inproba finget.
Fando aliquod si forte tuas pervenit ad auris
Belidae nomen Palamedis et incluta fama

old reading before Heins., introduced apparently by those who thought, as Wagn. and Henry do still, that the clause referred to 'cuncta.' It is found in Gud. corrected and some others, and supported by Pal., "fuerit quaecumq" (the last two letters seem to be lost). 'Fuerit quodcumque,' beside Med., Gud. originally, &c., Serv. and Ti. Donatus, has the authority of Phaedrus, who imitates the passage 3 Prol. 27, "Sed iam, quodcunque fuerit, ut dixit Sinon, Ad regem cum Dardaniae perductus foret, Librum exarabo tertium Aesopi stilo," thus showing that he understood the words to mean 'in any event' (i. e. as explained v. 31, 'whether you read it or not'), a view which the future sense of 'fuerit' favours. Henry however thinks Phaedrus means 'this book, such as it may be.' Serv. remarks that 'quodcumque' is euphemistic, as we say, 'let the worst come to the worst.' Weidner comp. Od. 21. 212, σφῶϊν δ', ὡς ἔσεταί περ, ἀληθείην καταλέξω, which Virg. may have thought of.

78.] 'Vera' adheres to 'fatebor,' 'I will tell all truly.' 'Negabo' as 'fatebor,' 'I am not going to deny.' So in Ovid's imitation, M. 13. 315, "nec me suasisse negabo," where Ulysses is entering on the charge about Philoctetes. 'Finget' points the same way.

79.] 'Hoc primum:' a sort of parenthesis, like "hoc tantum" v. 690. 'This to begin with,' as in declaring that he should not deny himself to be a Greek he had as it were given them incidentally his first instalment of truth.—'Nec si' &c. The sentiment, according to Macrob. Sat. 6. 1, is taken from Attius, Teleph. fr. 6, "Nam si a me regnum Fortuna atque opes Eripere quivit, at virtutem non quiit."

80.] "Te quoque dignum Finge Deo" 8. 365. 'Fingo' is stronger than "facio" —'she has moulded him into misery, but shall never mould him into falsehood.' Comp. the use of the word 6. 80, G. 2. 407.—'Vanum' 1. 392. Observe the position of 'inproba:' 'her insatiate malice shall not go so far as to make me a liar.' 'Inprobus' is used specially of those who make others unscrupulous, 4. 412, E. 8. 49. See generally on G. 1. 119.

81.] 'Fando,' 'in talking:' note on E. 8. 71. 'Aliquid,' the old reading, supported by some MSS. both of Virg. and of Priscian p. 811, evidently arose from a misunderstanding of 'aliquod,' as if it went with 'fando.' 'Aliquod nomen' seems equivalent to "si nomen fando pervenit alicubi" or "aliquo tempore," or perhaps "aliqua forte," on the principle illustrated E. 1. 54. Ovid has imitated this line (15. 497), "Fando aliquem Hippolytum vestras puto, contigit auris . . . occubuisse neci."

82.] [According to the ordinary tradition Palamedes was the son of Nauplius, and was put to death through the instrumentality of Ulysses, who trumped up a charge of treason against him. The cause of the enmity of Ulysses against him is differently stated; some accounts alleging it to be mere jealousy, others mentioning that Palamedes had brought Ulysses to the war against his will and thus incurred his undying resentment. (See Scholia to Euripides Orestes 423, Tzetzes on Lycophron 385, Servius here, Hyginus 116.) Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides all wrote plays on the subject. As treated by Euripides in his 'Palamedes' (see the fragments in Nauck's edition) the story represented Palamedes (who was credited with a number of useful inventions) as a man of superior knowledge exposed to the jealousy of the crowd; fr. 585 (Nauck) Στρατηλάται τἂν μυρίοι γενοίμεθα, Σοφὸς δ' ἂν εἷς τις ἢ δυ' ἐν μακρῷ χρόνῳ: fr. 591, 'Εκάνετε ἐκάνετε τὰν Πάνσοφον, ὦ Δαναοί, Τὰν οὐδέν' ἀλγύνουσὰν ἀηδόνα Μουσᾶν. The "Cypria," according to Pausanias 10. 31. 2, represented Palamedes as having been strangled while fishing by Ulysses and Diomed; but Virg. has followed the common tradition that he was put to death, after trial, by the whole Greek army. Virg. however has two points which do not appear in the common account. First, he represents Palamedes as connected with Belus. On this the Verona Scholia say that Palamedes was ultimately descended from Danaus, and so from Belus, adding that Varro of Atax followed this tradition in his *Argonautica*. Hence, no doubt, Virg. adopted the genealogy. Secondly, Virg.

Gloria, quem falsa sub proditione Pelasgi
Insontem infando indicio, quia bella vetabat,
Demisere neci, nunc cassum lumine lugent:
Illi me comitem et consanguinitate propinquum
Pauper in arma pater primis huc misit ab annis.
Dum stabat regno incolumis regumque vigebat

says that he was killed because he wished to make peace with the Trojans. This statement Servius thinks is intended to be an invention of Sinon. But it may have formed part of the tragedy of Euripides, for it coincides exactly with the character of Palamedes as conceived by that poet.—H. N.] Palamedes was a favourite subject with the Sophists, some of whom exercised their ingenuity in dressing up a case for him or for Ulysses, while others fixed on him as the true type of a hero, not violent, like Achilles, but wise after the Stoic pattern, and even insinuated that Homer's silence about him was owing to jealousy of his supposed poetical power.

83.] 'Falsa sub proditione' means not 'under a false charge of treason,' as all the editors take it, a sense which the words would hardly bear, nor 'at the time of a false alarm of treason' (Henry), which would be an inopportune detail, and barely consistent with the legend, but simply 'under a false information,' 'proditio' being equivalent to 'indicium,' as in Flor. 3. 18, "postquam id nefas proditione discussum est," just as in Ov. Amor. 2. 8. 25, "index" and "proditor" are synonymous, "index ante acta fatebor, Et veniam culpae proditor ipse meae." There is no reference whatever to the pretended treason of Palamedes, though that happened to be the subject of the charge. The repetition 'falsa sub proditione, Insontem, infando indicio' is sufficiently accounted for by Sinon's apparent horror of the transaction. 'Sub proditione,' like "sub crimine," Juv. 10. 69.

84.] ["'Infando indicio,' propter aurum clam suppositum," Serv. Money was hidden in Palamedes' tent by his enemies, and then used by them as evidence of his supposed treason.—H. N.]

85.] 'Cassus lumine' occurs Lucr. 4. 368, of darkness or shadow, and Cic. Arat. 369 has "non cassum luminis ensem," of a constellation. 'Lumen' here of course is the light of day or life, as in 12. 935, "corpus spoliatum lumine," so that the expression is equivalent to "aethere cassis," 11. 104, and agrees exactly with 'demisere neci.' Comp. Aesch. Eum. 322, ἀλαοῖσι καὶ δεδορκόσιν.

86.] The apodosis begins here. 'In case you ever heard of Palamedes, I was his companion in arms and near kinsman,' i. e. I may designate myself as such; an ellipsis, as Trapp remarks, as good in English as in Latin. 'Illi' then is the emphatic word. 'Comitem' and 'consanguinitate propinquum' are not strictly co-ordinate, as the meaning evidently is that Sinon was sent to be Palamedes' comrade, being already his kinsman; but writers are not always conscious grammarians, and instances may be found even in prose where the ordinary epithet is confounded with the epithet used predicatively. ['Propincum' Med. —H. N.]

87.] Of the various explanations devised by the commentators to account for the mention of the poverty of Sinon's father, the most natural seems to be that some specification was to be expected in a plausible tale, and that poverty, while increasing the pathos of the story, would account for Sinon's dependence on a superior. So in the case of Achemenides, 3. 615. 'In arma,' to war, Lucan. 3. 292. 'Primis ab annis' can only mean 'from my early youth,' as in 8. 517, in spite of the difficulty to be noticed v. 138. It is probable, as Cerda suggests, that Virg. may have been thinking of the early age at which the Romans were sent to war; and this perhaps may lead us, with Heyne and Wagn., to extend a similar reference to 'pauper,' war in Virgil's time being a lucrative calling. Weidner attempts to connect 'primis ab annis' with 'comitem,' which would be intolerably harsh.

88.] 'Stabat regno incolumis' is rightly explained by Heyne as a variety for "erat regno incolumi." Comp. 1. 268. 'Regno' is used for "regia dignitate" 9. 596. For 'regumque' Canon. originally and some inferior MSS. have 'regnumque,' the old reading, which is scarcely intelligible, as 'regnum' could not stand for the state of the Greeks at Troy, and with Palamedes' influence at home we

Consiliis, et nos aliquod nomenque decusque
Gessimus. Invidia postquam pellacis Ulixi—
Haud ignota loquor—superis concessit ab oris,
Adflictus vitam in tenebris luctuque trahebam,
Et casum insontis mecum indignabar amici.
Nec tacui demens, et me, fors si qua tulisset,
Si patrios umquam remeassem victor ad Argos,
Promisi ultorem, et verbis odia aspera movi.
Hinc mihi prima mali labes, hinc semper Ulixes

have clearly nothing to do. 'Vigebat:' Lucr. 4. 1156, "Esse in deliciis, summoque in honore vigere."

89.] 'Conciliis' is the reading of Med. and Pal., 'consiliis' of the Verona palimpsest originally, and some others. The received distinction between the two words is that the former signifies an assembly in general, the latter a select deliberative body. The latter seems decidedly preferable, as the addition of 'regum' shows that the Homeric βουλὴ γερόντων, not the ἀγορή, is meant, and deliberative ability was the special virtue of Palamedes. Besides, 'consiliis' enables us at once to account for the corruption 'regnum' in the previous line.

90.] 'Gessimus nomen decusque,' like "gerere honorem," "auctoritatem," &c. 'Pellacis,' Med., Gud. corrected, Serv., Donatus on Ter. Phorm. 1. 2. 17, Velius Longus, p. 2227 P. 'Fallacis,' Pal., Gud. originally, probably Verona palimpsest, Charisius p. 52. [No doubt 'fallacis' is a gloss. 'Pellax' is not derived from "pellicere," but from the older form of the word "pellacere," the base of which is *lac*. Paulus p. 117 (Müller) "*lacit* in fraudem inducit. Inde est *allicere* et *lacessere*, inde *lactat inlectat delectat oblectat*." 'Pellacia,' the subst. derived from 'pellax,' is found in Lucretius (5. 1004) and his imitator Arnobius: it is also read by the Berne Scholia, and mentioned as a variant by Philargyrius, in G. 4. 443.—H. N.] The word is also found in Auson. Epitaph. 12. 4.

91.] 'Haud ignota loquor' seems to mean 'you doubtless know the story.' 'Concessit,' 10. 820. See also E. 10. 63.

92.] 'Adflictus:' dashed down from my prosperity, as Henry explains it; so 'tenebris,' in obscurity, contrasts with 'nomenque decusque.' "Ipsi se in tenebris volvi caenoque queruntur," Lucr. 3. 77. Comp. Id. 2. 15, 54., 5. 11. The last passage might be quoted in support of a curious variety in the Verona palimp. here, 'fluctuque.' [Sen. Contr. 1. 6. 1 (p. 92 Bursian) "captus in tenebris iacebam."—H. N.]

93.] "Casus insontis amici," 5. 350.

94.] 'Et' follows 'nec,' 'nec tacui' being taken as a positive statement. 'Tulisset' as 'ferebant,' v. 34. "Quidve ferat Fors," Enn. A. 203. The pluperfect is used on account of the oratio obliqua, as in v. 189., 3. 652., 9. 41, Livy 34. 6, which confirms the opinion that the so-called futurum exactum is really only the perf. subj. Wagn.'s other instances are not to the point. 'Tulisset' apparently for "se tulisset," i. e. "obtulisset." So the dictionaries quote "ferentem" from Nep. Datam. 4. 5. "Ferebant" v. 34 is not quite the same. "Fors" is often said "ferre" in a transitive sense, as in Enn. l. c. See on 11. 345.

95.] "Remeare proprie de victoribus dicitur. Vid. Cort. ad Lucan. 7. 256, et Burm. ad Val. Fl. 4. 589" Forb. 'Argos' for Greece: his real country of course was Euboea. Heyne rather prefers the reading of some inferior MSS. 'agros.'

96.] 'Promisi ultorem.' There is no occasion to understand "fore," here or in 4. 227. Comp. Sen. Contr. 9. 29. 13 (p. 286 Bursian) "qui et promisit oratorem et praestitit." Quint. Decl. 1. 6. (Forc.) 'Verbis' opposed to 'tacui:' 'by speaking out I made myself a bitter enemy (in Ulysses).'

97.] 'Hinc,' from this time, as 'semper' seems to show. [Nonius p. 230 reads "tunc."—H. N.] 'Labes:' the imitation of this passage in Justin. 17. 1. 5, "Haec prima mali labes, hoc initium impendentis ruinae fuit," shows that he took 'labes' in its primary sense of a downfall, as in Lucr. 2. 1145, "dabunt labem putrisque ruinas." We may paraphrase then "Hinc primum fortunae meae ruere incipiebant." So Serv. "ruinam significat, a lapsu." There is a passage immediately preceding this explanation of

Criminibus terrere novis, hinc spargere voces
In vulgum ambiguas, et quaerere conscius arma.
Nec requievit enim, donec Calchante ministro—
Sed quid ego haec autem nequiquam ingrata revolvo?
Quidve moror, si omnis uno ordine habetis Achivos,
Idque audire sat est? Iamdudum sumite poenas;
Hoc Ithacus velit, et magno mercentur Atridae.
Tum vero ardemus scitari et quaerere causas,

Serv., which has led to a suspicion that he had a different text from that before us: "Quia secuta sunt postea oraculum et adscita Calchantis factio: adscita sane dicitur adsumpta." From this Cunningham extracted "Hinc adscita mihi labes." But the gloss would be unintelligible without 'prima,' which it is evidently intended to explain, though the lemma seems to have fallen out. It would almost seem as if Serv. had used the word 'adscita,' and some latter grammarian had explained it by 'adsumpta,' his note afterwards coming to be incorporated in Serv.'s text.

98.] With 'spargere voces,' comp. the Greek σπερμολόγος. 'In volgum' is in accordance with the representations of Ulysses in the Greek drama as δημοχαριστής (Eur. Hec. 134), τοῦ ὄχλου μέτα (Id. Iph. A. 526).

99.] 'Quaerere conscius arma,' 'to seek allies as a conspirator,'—nearly equivalent to "quaerere arma consciorum," or "quaerere conscios," as Wagn. gives it. 'Quaerere arma' occurs in this very sense 11. 229. That Ulysses sought for allies appears from the introduction of Calchas, and from the anticipation of the event, v. 124, which argues that his designs were not entirely a secret.

100.] 'Nec requievit enim,' nor indeed did he rest. 'Enim' as G. 2. 104. The words at the end of Serv.'s explanation of 'ministro' are to be read "quasi non ex veritate responsuro."

101.] 'Sed autem:' Hand, Tursell. 1. 575, 583. The expression appears colloquial, being peculiar to the comic writers. 'Revolvo,' seemingly a metaphor from thread, 9. 391., 10. 61.

102.] The old punctuation made the question end at 'moror,' regarding 'si omnis' as the protasis to 'sumite.' Wagn., who changed it, might have urged that 'quidve moror,' standing alone, would come in rather tamely after the previous line, that the contrast between 'moror' and 'iamdudum' is better brought out by the alteration, and that the use of 'iamdudum' with the imperative, as in other passages, implies a vehemence hardly compatible with the precedence of a conditional clause. An argument, too, may perhaps be drawn from a slight verbal similarity in one of these passages, Stat. Theb. 1. 268, "quo tempore tandem Terrarum furias abolere et saecula retro Emendare sat est? Iamdudum a sedibus illis Incipe," which looks as if Statius had found the interrogation after 'sat est' in his copy of Virg. 'Ordine habetis,' like "honestatem eo loco habet," Cic. Fin. 2. 15.

103.] 'Id,' that I am a Greek, v. 79. [Henry takes 'id audire' as = "id esse," to be called, i. e. to be, a Greek.—H. N.] 'Iamdudum' with the imper. or subj. (Ov. M. 2. 482, A. A. 2. 457) is to be explained as a violation of logical congruity, for the sake of emphasis, 'iamdudum' belonging to past, 'sumite' to a future time, so that the Trojans are bidden to punish long since, because they have long since had the right to do so. [Sen. Epist. 84. 14 "inmdudum relinque ista;" 17. 9 "iamdudum exibit." 'Iandudum' Ribbeck from Pal.—H. N.]

104.] 'Magno mercentur:' 10. 503, "magno cum optaverit emptum Intactum Pallanta," perhaps a Grecism. Virg. probably thought of Il. 1. 255, ἦ κεν γηθήσαι Πρίαμος Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες.

105—144.] 'Pressed to enter into detail, he relates that the Greeks were enjoined by an oracle to offer a human victim before their departure, and that he was singled out for the purpose by the machinations of Ulysses, but escaped.'

105.] 'Tum vero' emphatic, as in E. 6. 27, A. 1. 485. 'Ardemus' with inf. 1. 515, 581., 4. 281. The words themselves do not imply that they actually questioned him, though the context does. 'Scitari,' as well as 'quaerere,' goes with 'causas.' Ov. M. 2. 511, "causamque viae scitantibus infit." Pal. originally has 'casus,' and so Ribbeck.

Ignari scelerum tantorum artisque Pelasgae.
Prosequitur pavitans, et ficto pectore fatur:
Saepe fugam Danai Troia cupiere relicta
Moliri et longo fessi discedere bello;—
Fecissentque utinam!—saepe illos aspera ponti
Interclusit hiemps, et terruit Auster euntis.
Praecipue, cum iam hic trabibus contextus acernis
Staret ecus, toto sonuerunt aethere nimbi.
Suspensi Eurypylum scitatum oracula Phoebi
Mittimus, isque adytis haec tristia dicta reportat:
"Sanguine placastis ventos et virgine caesa,
Cum primum Iliacas, Danai, venistis ad oras;
Sanguine quaerendi reditus, animaque litandum
Argolica." Vulgi quae vox ut venit ad auris,

106.] 'Pelasgae:' see on 1. 624, where it should have been mentioned that the epithet Pelasgic is applied to Argos Il. 2. 681, and associated with Dodona Il. 16. 233, so that Mr. Gladstone's statement (vol. iii. pp. 516, 517) is a little overstrained. See Dict. G. 'Pelasgi.'

107.] 'Prosequitur,' G. 3. 340, where an object is supplied. 'Ficto pectore fatur,' like "pollenti pectore carmen condere," Lucr. 5. 1, "divino cecinerunt pectore," Catull. 64. 383. [Henry would take the words as = with feigned emotion. —H. N.]

110, 111.] 'Fecissentque utinam' parenthetical, like "mansissetque utinam fortuna," 3. 615. 'Fecissent' is used idiomatically to express the general result of 'moliri' and 'discedere:' comp. 1. 58, E. 2. 44. 'Saepe,' as often; referring to 'saepe,' v. 108. 'Ponti:' we might have expected 'ponto,' but the MSS. give no variation, except that one of the later has 'portum,' as a correction, which might possibly point to 'illis—pontum.' Serv. explains 'ponti hiemps' as distinguished from "hiemps temporis" ("hiemps anni," Suet. Iul. 35): and so the genitive is put with "hiemps" in other writers to denote that the word is used analogically, "hiemps montis," Stat. Silv. 3. 5. 73, "rerum," Claud. Bell. Get. 151, "amoris," Ov. Her. 5. 34. Here it seems most natural to interpret 'the stormy state of the deep,' like "hiemat mare," Hor. 2 Sat. 2. 17 (Macleane's note), not exactly 'the stormy season,' like "pelago desaevit hiemps," 4. 52, which could not have come unforeseen on the Greeks, much less the winter, though the expression in 3. 285 rather resembles the present line. 'Euntis,' not for 'ituros,' as Forb., but a rhetorical exaggeration.

112.] 'Hic' the pronoun, not the adverb, v. 150, "molem hanc equi." 'Contextus:' see on v. 16. 'Acernis' need not to be pressed against "abiete," v. 16, or "pinea claustra," v. 258. See note on v. 577, and Introduction, p. xxxvi.

113.] 'Sonuerunt nimbi,' in prose, "nimbi et tonitrus orti sunt."

114.] Eurypylus, Il. 2. 736. ['Scitatum' Med., corrected from 'scitantum:' 'scitatum.' Nonius, p. 386, Charis. p. 241 P. "'Scitantem;' participium pro participio est, id est scitaturum. Alii 'scitatum' legunt, id est inquisitum," Serv. Pal. has 'scitantem.' It seems most probable that 'scitantem' is the corrupt, and 'scitatum' the true reading. Gud. has 'scitantem' corrected into 'scitatum.'—H. N.] 'Oracula Phoebi:' there is nothing to fix the oracle intended, whether Delphi, Delos, Patara, or Chrysa. In Hom. of course Calchas is the only interpreter of the divine will, and in Aeschylus he resolves the difficulty at Aulis.

116. 'Sanguine et virgine caesa,' hendiadys, which is expressed v. 118 by two clauses.

117.] 'Venistis:' the sacrifice of course was before the arrival; but we need not press the words, which merely mean "adventu vestro."

118.] 'And the sacrifice, to be propitious, must be of an Argive life.' "Farre litabo," Pers. 2. 75.

Obstipuere animi, gelidusque per ima cucurrit
Ossa tremor, cui fata parent, quem poscat Apollo.
Hic Ithacus vatem magno Calchanta tumultu
Protrahit in medios; quae sint ea numina divom,
Flagitat. Et mihi iam multi crudele canebant
Artificis scelus, et taciti ventura videbant.
Bis quinos silet ille dies, tectusque recusat

120.] 'Animi' appears to be the reading of all the MSS., but 'animis' found its way into some of the later editions, and was adopted by Heyne without inquiry. In itself either would do: comp. 8. 530., 9. 123, with 5. 404. Perhaps 'animi' suggests too definitely a verbal contrast between 'aures,' 'animi,' 'ossa:' but Virg. may have meant this. I have sometimes thought that 'animi' might = 'animis,' being constructed as in the passages referred to on v. 61; but the existence of expressions like "conversi animi" above v. 73, "cecidere animi" 3. 260. "concussi animi" 9. 498, is against this. 'Gelidusque per ima cucurrit Ossa tremor,' 6. 54., 12. 447.

121.] 'Cui fata parent,' a clause dependent on 'tremor,' the shuddering surmise being expressed by an indirect question. 'Fata,' the oracle, 1. 386. 'Parent,' 'ordain:' the word appears to be specially used of divine ordinance (Plaut. Mil. 3. 1. 132, "Aequom fuit, deos paravisse, ne omnes uno exemplo vitam viverent," Lucan 2. 68., 6. 783), a fact which may account for the omission of an acc. here; possibly also, as Wagn. thinks, the omission may be rhetorical, to produce a sense of horror. The passages in Lucan at any rate show that he took 'fata' as the nom. [I should prefer, as Serv. suggests, to take 'fata' as the acc., "cui praeparent mortem"; 'for whom they are to prepare.' The form of the sentence closely resembles that of 12. 718 "mussantque iuvencae Quis nemori imperitet, quem tota armenta sequantur." Madvig's emendation 'paret' is not necessary.—H. N.] 'Poscat:' Hor. 1 Od. 4. 12, "seu poscat agnam."

122.] 'Hic,' at this crisis, 1. 728. 'Magno tumultu' is said of Ulysses, not of the multitude, like "magnis Ithaci clamoribus," v. 128. Comp. the imitation of Stat. Ach. 1. 493, and the oratorical terms in Greek, *θορυβεῖν*, *ταράττειν*, *κυκᾶν*. For the conception of Ulysses as a boisterous demagogue comp. Eur. Iph. A. 528 foll. Hom. dwells on the vehemence of his oratory, Il. 3. 221, *ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ὄπα τε μεγάλην ἐκ στήθεος ἵει καὶ ἔπεα νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότα χειμερίῃσιν*, though he plays no such vulgar part in Iliad or Odyssey. Virg. may have been thinking of the *μεγάλοι θόρυβοι* of Soph. Aj. 142, which there however seem to be the clamours of the army caused by the whispers of Ulysses.

123.] 'Numina,' 'will.' Perhaps there is a reference to its original sense of "nutus," so that 'quae sint numina' may be equivalent to "quem di innuant." Such at any rate must be the general meaning, the question being to whom the oracle pointed. See on 1. 133. Lachmann's denial (on Lucr. 2. 632, where he reads 'nomine' for the 'numine' of the MSS.) that 'numen' can ever = 'nutus,' is contradicted, I think, by Catull. 64. 204, "Adnuit invicto caelestum numine rector, Quo tunc et tellus atque horrida contremuerunt Aequora." (And so Prof. Munro.) ['Divum' Med.—H. N.]

124.] 'Flagitat' is in keeping with 'magno tumultu,' 'insists on knowing;' and the omission of the copula also expresses vehemence. 'Canere,' like "augurare," of ordinary anticipation. "Huius tantae dimicationis vatem Q. Fabium haud frustra canere solitum, graviorem in sua terra futurum hostem Hannibalem," Livy 30. 28.

125.] 'Artificis scelus,' 11. 407, in a different sense. 'Taciti' is not strictly consistent with 'canebant;' but Virg. probably means that the forebodings were privately whispered, not openly expressed, for fear of Ulysses. ['Videbant,' were looking out for, providing against.—H. N.]

126.] Statius, in an obvious imitation of this passage, Theb. 3. 570 foll., 619 foll., has the words "atra sede tegi," "clausus," "elicior tenebris," showing, as Henry remarks, that he understood 'tectus' here literally, 'shut up in his tent.' Comp. 7. 600, "saepsit se tectis," where Latinus shuts himself up; ib. 618, "caecis se condidit umbris." So

Prodere voce sua quemquam aut opponere morti.
Vix tandem, magnis Ithaci clamoribus actus,
Composito rumpit vocem, et me destinat arae.
Adsensere omnes, et, quae sibi quisque timebat,
Unius in miseri exitium conversa tulere.
Iamque dies infanda aderat; mihi sacra parari,
Et salsae fruges, et circum tempora vittae;
Eripui, fateor, leto me, et vincula rupi,
Limosoque lacu per noctem obscurus in ulva
Delitui, dum vela darent, si forte dedissent.

when Tiresias refuses to speak, Soph. O. T. 320, he says ἄφες μ' ἐς οἴκους. Otherwise there would be no objection to the rendering 'secret' or 'cautious.'

127.] "'Opponere,' obicere, destinare." Serv. "Aequius huic Turnum fuerat se opponere morti," 11. 115.

129.] 'Composito,' by concert, seems to show that Calchas' reluctance was feigned, to give better effect to his disclosure. 'Rumpit vocem' (ῥηγνύναι φωνήν), 3. 246., 4. 553., 11. 377—here probably with the notion of breaking silence. 'Destinat,' 'dooms,' as is shown by the addition of the dative: not 'points out,' as Wagn. explains it.

131.] 'Tulere,' "passi sunt," Ruaeus. 'Acquiesced in turning on one poor wretch the fate which each feared for himself.' But there is much to be said for the other view, as explained by Henry, 'turned and carried to my destruction.'

133.] 'Salsae fruges,' Dict. A. 'Sacrificium,' where the "mola" is treated as identical with the οὐλοχύται, contrary to Voss's opinion on E. 8. 82, referred to by Forb.

134.] 'Eripui' has a logical, though not a grammatical relation to 'Iamque dies infanda aderat:' in prose, 'at last, seeing the fatal day had already arrived, I made my escape.' So 3. 356—8. "Iamque dies alterque dies processit et aurae Vela vocant tumidoque inflatur carbasus Austro; His vatem adgredior dictis ac talia quaeso." 'At last, seeing day after day was slipping by, and everything favourable for sailing, I seek an interview with Helenus.' 'Fateor, a hypocritical apology, 'as if it were a crime to save his life,' Trapp. 'Vincula rupi,' the bonds with which the victim when brought up to the altar was fastened till the moment of striking the blow. That he was actually led up to the altar appears from v. 156, unless we take 'gessi' there with Serv. as a rhetorical exaggeration. The general sense seems to be 'they were in the act of getting ready the sacrifice, the salt cakes, and the fillet for my brow ("quae circum tempora essent"), when I broke away.' The image of a victim escaping at the moment of sacrifice is not an uncommon one. Forb. quotes Sil. 16. 264, a description which seems taken partly from the present passage, partly from v. 223.

135.] 'Obscurus in ulva' is to be taken together, screened by the sedge, explaining how he came to be concealed in the marsh—a possible reference to the story of Marius, as Serv. suggests.

136.] Heyne altered the pointing, 'dum vela, darent si forte, dedissent,' but the order of the words and the rhythm of the line are so strongly against him, that the poet would in that case have been guilty of an inexcusable ambiguity. 'Dum vela darent' is 'while they might be setting sail,' to give them time to set sail, the subj. being used to show the logical relation of the clause to the verb preceding it. See note on G. 4. 457. 'Si forte dedissent' cannot stand, as Wagn. supposes, for "si forte daturi essent." The explanation of other passages to which he applies his hypothesis has been given on v. 94. 'Si forte tulisset,' v. 756, suggests a better interpretation, in the hope, or on the peradventure that they would have sailed, of which of course there would be a doubt, as the necessary condition had not been fulfilled. An inconsistency will still remain between 'darent' and 'dedissent,' the one implying that Sinon waited while they were getting off, the other that he trusted to their having got off before his waiting was over; but this is hardly an objection, if indeed

Nec mihi iam patriam antiquam spes ulla videndi,
Nec dulcis natos exoptatumque parentem;
Quos illi fors et poenas ob nostra reposcent
Effugia, et culpam hanc miserorum morte piabunt.
Quod te per superos et conscia numina veri,

the confusion might not be said to have a dramatic propriety. [Virg. probably thought of Il. 2. 794, δέγμενος ὁππότε ναῦφιν ἀφορμηθεῖεν Ἀχαιοί. Ti. Donatus takes 'si forte dedissent' with the following line: "had they sailed, (I thought) there was no longer any hope," &c.—H. N.]

137.] 'Antiquam,' an epithet of affection, not used, as in 4. 633, to distinguish the country of his birth from that of his sojourn. Comp. Soph. O. T. 1394, τὰ πάτρια λόγῳ παλαιὰ δώμαθ'.

138.] 'Dulcis natos:' Serv. mentions a reading 'duplicis,' which is found in Pal. originally, and Ribbeck adopts it. But the enumeration would be jejune, and the epithet 'dulcis' is tender and natural. Comp. 4. 33, G. 2. 523. 'Natos' presents a difficulty from the age of Sinon, who is said to have been sent to the war "primis ab annis," v. 87 (note). The notion that Virg. intentionally makes Sinon contradict himself is not to be thought of; while Henry's former interpretation 'the sons and the father,' i. e. my father and his sons, is equally impossible, and not to be defended from 4. 605., 6. 116, where the context at once fixes the sense. Had there been any object in reading 'exoptatamque,' we might have explained 'parentem' with reference to 'natos;' but the reverse process in a context like this is not so easy. Either we must suppose an oversight, or say that Sinon, though sent out early (the time, as remarked in note on v. 87, being probably fixed with reference to the Roman age for service), may yet have been married.

139.] 'Fors et' is the reading of Med., Pal., and Gud., supported by Serv., who explains it "forte et poenas," and says that others join 'forset,' as 'forsit' or 'forsitan,' a variety which of course offers a further confirmation. Heyne supposes 'et' to have arisen from 'at,' the old way of writing the common reading 'ad,' which is recognized by Pomponius; but in the absence of a more ancient authority it seems more probable that 'ad' was introduced from the parallel passage 8. 495, "Regem ad supplicium communi Marte reposcunt," to avoid the difficulty of the original text. But "ad" and "et" are confused elsewhere, as in v. 781 below, and perhaps in Catull. 11. 11, "Gallicum Rhenum horribilisque et ultimosque Britannos" (so MS. Dresd.; the oldest copies omit "et"), where all perplexity would be removed by reading "Gallicum Rhenum horribilem usque ad ultimosque Britannos." Wagn. and Forb., who read 'et,' take 'poenas' in apposition with 'quos,' comp. 6. 20; there however the structure of the sentence gives more scope for such a construction, which here could only be explained by reference to the use of ποινὰς in Greek. Had Virg. intended a Grecism, we should probably have other instances of the kind in his imitators, such as Silius, who in 1. 677 has "poscendum poenae iuvenem." There seems no objection to the double acc. after 'reposco,' which is found 7. 606, for Burm.'s remark, adopted by Heyne, that the demand was not one from, but of the family of Sinon, is equally good against the expression 'poscere' or 'repetere poenas ab aliquo,' which it is needless to say is used where the person's own life is the satisfaction demanded. 'Fors et' is found 11. 50, Hor. 1. Od. 28. 31 &c., and is doubtless to be explained as an archaic expression, 'it may be and' = 'it may be that:' see below on v. 692.

140.] "Nefas quae triste piaret," below v. 184.

141.] 'Quod' is usual in adjurations, 6. 363, Hor. 1. Ep. 7. 94, Ter. And. 1. 5. 54. Grammatically it is of course the cognate or adverbial acc. after 'oro;' but we need not therefore take 'miserere,' &c. as epexegetical of it, which is the view of Gossrau, comp. 10. 903., 12. 819; as it may equally well stand for "quam ob rem," and in the other passages where it is used, as here, it comes in after a sentence supplying the considerations on which the petition is based. 'Veri,' of truth, not as Thiel thinks, of justice and right dealing, such as Sinon expects from the Trojans.

Per, si qua est, quae restat adhuc mortalibus usquam
Intemerata fides, oro, miserere laborum
Tantorum, miserere animi non digna ferentis.
His lacrimis vitam damus, et miserescimus ultro.
Ipse viro primus manicas atque arta levari
Vincla iubet Priamus, dictisque ita fatur amicis :
Quisquis es, amissos hinc iam obliviscere Graios ;
Noster eris, mihique haec edissere vera roganti :
Quo molem hanc inmanis equi statuere ? quis auctor ?

142.] 'Si qua est' instead of an acc. 4. 317., 6. 459., 12. 56. Forb. also comp. Soph. Phil. 469, *πρός τ' εἴ τί σοι κατ' οἶκόν ἐστι προσφιλές.* 'Restat:' Heins. restored 'restet,' the corrected reading of Med., found also in Pal., Gud., and other MSS., and sanctioned by Serv.; and Wagn. supports it by a reference to v. 536, "si qua est caelo pietas, quae talia curet." 'Restet' alone however would have no meaning as expressing a purpose; and to connect 'restet' with 'intemerata' would injure the rhythm. 'Si qua est, quae restat' appears to be a pleonasm, not unlike that in 6. 367, "si qua via est, si quam tibi diva creatrix Ostendit." ['Athuc.' Pal.—H. N.] Med. (first reading) and others also read 'umquam:' but see l. 604.

143.] 'Fides:' see on v. 541 below, "iura fidemque Supplicis erubuit."

144.] With 'animi non digna ferentis,' comp. 5. 751, "animos nil magnae laudis egentis," where, as here, it is identified with a person. It would be possible to separate 'animi' from 'ferentis' and construct it with 'miserere' (see on 6. 332); but this is not likely.

145—198.] 'We pity him, and Priam bids him explain the design of the Greeks in building the horse. He vows fidelity to us, and declares that the horse is an offering to Pallas in exchange for the Palladium, and that by accepting it we may strike a fatal blow at our enemies. We, alas! believe him.'

145.] 'His lacrimis:' to this tearful appeal. So "quo gemitu" of Sinon's speech, v. 73. 'Ultro' seems to express, we not only grant his life to his tears, but compassionate him, as 'petere ultro' is said of a man who not only maintains his rights, but acts on the offensive. Thus it may often be rendered 'gratuitously.' So "compellare ultro," to speak without having been first addressed. So Serv., "Non est *sponte*, nam rogaverat Sinon, sed *insuper*. Et venit ab eo quod est *ultra:* quia plus quam rogaverat praestiterunt."

146.] The common construction in Virg. is "levare aliquem aliqua re," as E. 9. 65, "ego hoc te fasce levabo." It may be doubted whether we have here that construction reversed, the fetters being said to be relieved of the man, 'viro' abl., or whether 'viro' is dat., and 'levari' has the force of being lightened or removed.

148.] 'Amissos obliviscere' for "amitte atque obliviscere," like "submersasque obrue puppis," 1. 69, "amittere" being used in its primary and earlier sense of "dimittere" ("quod nos dicimus *dimittere* antiqui etiam dicunt *amittere*," Donat. on Ter. Haut. 3. 1. 71), which, though mostly ante-classical, is found in Cic. (see Forc.). Sinon responds to the appeal v. 157 foll. by formally disconnecting himself from all previous ties. ['Iam hinc,' Pal.—H. N.]

149.] Serv. says that Livy gives "quisquis es, noster eris," as the formula actually used by a general in receiving a deserter from the enemy. 'Noster' is opposed to "alienus" more than once in Plautus (Mil. 2. 5. 21, Amph. 1. 1. 243), so that when Cicero (Q. Fr. 1. 1. 3) says "Halienus noster est cum animo et benivolentia, tum vero etiam imitatione vivendi," he doubtless intends a pun. Other instances quoted by Forc., where 'noster' clearly bears a similar sense, are Ter. Adelph. 5. 8. 28, Val. Fl. 2. 561. 'Eris' is probably Virg.'s own variation for "esto:" at any rate the future is used in an imperative sense (Madv. § 384, obs.), so that there is no difficulty about the coupling of 'eris' and 'edissere.' 'Mihique haec' &c.: Il. 10. 284, *ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατάλεξον,* addressed to Dolon.

150.] 'Quo:' 'to what end?' 4. 98., 12. 879. 'Molem equi:' v. 32. 'Auctor,' not builder, but adviser.

Quidve petunt? quae religio? aut quae machina belli?
Dixerat. Ille, dolis instructus et arte Pelasga,
Sustulit exutas vinclis ad sidera palmas:
Vos, aeterni ignes, et non violabile vestrum
Testor numen, ait, vos arae ensesque nefandi,
Quos fugi, vittaeque deum, quas hostia gessi:
Fas mihi Graiorum sacrata resolvere iura,
Fas odisse viros, atque omnia ferre sub auras,
Si qua tegunt; teneor patriae nec legibus ullis.
Tu modo promissis maneas, servataque serves
Troia fidem, si vera feram, si magna rependam.

151.] 'Quae religio aut quae machina belli.' 'Aut' is strictly disjunctive, as the two questions involve incompatible suppositions,—the one referring to the story spread by the Greeks themselves, the other to the suspicions of Laocoon and others. It would be forcing 'religio' too much to interpret it 'a religious offering;' but it may nevertheless be coupled with 'machina,' both being regarded as objects which the Greeks might desire. In prose "religionisne observandae, an machinae fabricandae causa?" 'Quae' is to be taken strictly, 'What was the religious object (if religious object there were)?' [So Ti. Donatus "utrum religionis alicuius causa": but Serv. explains 'quae religio' more simply as = "quae consecratio?" who consecrated it? (if consecrated it is?) Literally, 'what sanctity attaches to it?' —H. N.]

152.] With 'dolis instructus' Heyne comp. Il. 4. 339, κακοῖσι δόλοισι κεκασμένε. "Artis Pelasgae" v. 106.

154.] 'Aeterni ignes' of all the heavenly bodies, as 'ad sidera' merely means 'to heaven.' 'Vos et vestrum numen:' pleonastic, like Lucr. 1. 6, "fugiunt . . . te nubila caeli, Adventumque tuum." Comp. also 4. 27, "quam te violo aut tua iura resolvo." Markland ingeniously but needlessly conjectured 'Vestae' for 'vestrum'

156.] See note on v. 134.

157.] 'Fas est,' not "sit," as 'teneor' shows. 'I am free to break my oath of fealty to the Greeks.' ['Sacrata iura,' according to Serv., is equivalent to "sacramentum," the military oath. Literally the words 'sacrata Graium iura' mean the consecrated bonds or ties of allegiance imposed by the Greeks. Thus 'resolvere' is used of breaking a bond as in 4. 27, "ante, Pudor, quam te violo aut tua iura resolvo."—H. N.]

158.] 'Ferre sub auras,' ἄγειν ὑπ' αὐγάς, a phrase for which Forb. refers to Ruhnken on Timaeus, p. 265. Comp. "sub divum rapiam" Hor. 1 Od. 13. 13.

159.] 'Teneri legibus' is a phrase. Cic. Phil. 11. 5 opposes it to "solvi:" "Vopiscus . . . solvatur legibus, quanquam leges eum non tenent." Generally it seems equivalent to "legibus obnoxius esse," "poena teneri" being also used. On the other hand in 12. 819, "nulla fati quod lege tenetur," and Ov. M. 10. 203, "quoniam fatali lege tenemur," it appears to have the sense of "contineri," to be restrained. This might possibly be its force here, so as to restrict the reference of the words to the clause immediately preceding, 'I am free to reveal all secrets, nor does any law restrain me;' but the other view seems more consistent with the scope of the passage as explained on v. 157, as well as with general usage.

160.] 'Promissis maneas,' 8. 643, more commonly "stare promissis." 'In' is generally added (see Forc. 'maneo'), from which it appears that the case is local: and so the Greek ἐμμένειν. 'Servata serves fidem,' 'preserve faith with thy preserver.'

161.] 'If I shall make a large return (for life granted and protection assured).' Forb. and others call attention to the art with which Sinon's invocation and appeal are constructed, as if every part of them were capable of double sense. But though his appeal to the sacrifice which he had escaped was a sham oath, the same cannot be said of the address to heaven; and so we need not fancy that anything is intended here by the use

Omnis spes Danaum et coepti fiducia belli
Palladis auxiliis semper stetit. Impius ex quo
Tydides sed enim scelerumque inventor Ulixes,
Fatale adgressi sacrato avellere templo
Palladium, caesis summae custodibus arcis,
Corripuere sacram effigiem, manibusque cruentis
Virgineas ausi divae contingere vittas,
Ex illo fluere ac retro sublapsa referri
Spes Danaum, fractae vires, aversa deae mens.
Nec dubiis ea signa dedit Tritonia monstris.

of 'si,' 'feram' and 'rependam' being plainly futures. The irony is merely that of general hypocrisy.

162.] 'Coepti fiducia belli,' equivalent to "fiducia qua bellum inceperunt."

163.] The construction is not 'stetit auxiliis' for "stetit in auxiliis" (comp. 1. 646), which is Heyne's view, but 'stetit auxiliis,' 'stood by the aid,' 'was kept up by the aid.' Livy 8. 7, "disciplinam militarem, qua stetit ad hanc diem Romana res." Id. 45. 19, "regnum . . . fraterna stare concordia." So "Di quibus imperium hoc steterat," v. 352. See also note on v. 169. 'Impius,' already impious, as having wounded Venus and Mars (Forb.),—an interpretation required by 'scelerum inventor.'

164.] 'Sed enim' 1. 19, note. 'Scelerum inventor,' like "artificis scelus" v. 125, of Ulysses as a designer, as "hortator scelerum" 6. 529 of his powers of persuasion.

165.] 'Adgressi avellere,' 6. 583. The story of the Palladium was variously told; the main points however seem to be that its importance as one of the charms which rendered Troy impregnable became known to the Greeks through Helenus, and that Diomed and Ulysses made their way to the citadel by a secret passage and took the image, quarrelling about it on their road home. Its supposed possession by the Romans was accounted for in different ways, some saying that Diomed restored it to Aeneas in Italy (see on 3. 407), others that it was never taken by the Greeks, but hidden by the Trojans, and discovered by the Romans during the Mithridatic war. But it forms no part of Virg.'s story, being merely alluded to again 9. 151. See Serv.'s note on the present passage, and Heyne's Excursus, which treats chiefly of the capture of the Palladium as represented on gems. [Pal. has 'acvellere.'—H. N.]

168.] 'Virgineas vittas' seems to show, as Heyne remarks, that the figure was one of "Pallas vittata," not of Pallas with her helmet on. So the Vesta which Hector carries out v. 296 is "Vesta vittata." But it is strange that, having shield and spear, she should not also have worn her helmet. For a somewhat similar difficulty, see on 5. 556. 'Virgineas:' the fillets of virgins were different from those of matrons. Dict. A. 'vitta.' Prop. 5. 11. 34, "Vinxit et acceptas altera vitta comas," of marriage.

169.] See G. 1. 200, from which part of this line is repeated. The general notion is that of flowing away, as opposed to permanence, "stetit" 163 (and so Ti. Donatus). So Cic. Orator 3, "cetera nasci, occidere, fluere, labi, nec diutius esse uno et eodem statu." So too the philosophical use of 'fluere' in Lucr. e. g. 5. 280. The particular image it is difficult to fix, if indeed any definite image was present to the poet's mind. Perhaps that of a man carried off from his standing-ground "in solido" (11. 427) by the reflux of a wave ("retrahitque pedes simul unda relabens," 10. 307), and so borne back to sea, would come nearest to it: but as the same words in the passage from the Georgics introduce a different image, though one excluded here by the context, it is safer not to speak confidently. [The language recalls Lucr. 2. 69 "et quasi longinquo fluere omnia cernimus aevo, Ex oculisque vetustatem subducere nostris."—H. N.]

171.] "Ea signa dedit: eius rei signa dedit, id significavit." Forb. Wagn. refers to 4. 237 "hic nuntius," 7. 595 "has poenas," 12. 468 "hoc metu." The principle is the same as has been illustrated in the case of "qui" (E. 1. 53, &c.), and

Vix positum castris simulacrum : arsere coruscae
Luminibus flammae arrectis, salsusque per artus
Sudor iit, terque ipsa solo—mirabile dictu—
Emicuit, parmamque ferens hastamque trementem.
Extemplo temptanda fuga canit aequora Calchas,
Nec posse Argolicis exscindi Pergama telis,
Omina ni repetant Argis, numenque reducant,
Quod pelago et curvis secum avexere carinis.
Et nunc, quod patrias vento petiere Mycenas,

"ullus" (E. 10. 12). 'Nor were the portents dubious by which she gave signs of her anger.'

172.] 'Vix' is sometimes as here, 3. 90 &c., followed by a clause without any connecting particle, sometimes by a clause with "que" or "et" (2. 692), more frequently by a clause with "cum."

173.] 'Arrectis,' raised in fury, just as 1. 482 the goddess keeps her eyes on the ground in sullen displeasure: "arrigere lumina," like "comas," "auris," &c., being seemingly expressive of quicker motion than "erigere." 'Salsus sudor,' probably from some old poet, like "salsae lacrimae" Att. Med. fr. 15. Phin. fr. 7, Lucr. 1. 125, and "salsus sanguis," Enn. Cresph. fr. 8, Att. Epin. fr. 12. Inc. fr. 39. For the quality of saltness Forb. refers to Aristot. Prob. 2. 3. The force of the epithet here is to show the reality of the portent, as a proof of indignation. For the portent itself see G. 1. 480.

174.] 'Ipsa,' of herself; not the whole goddess, distinguished from the parts just enumerated, as Forb. thinks.

175.] The clashing of the arms is probably intended as well as their motion, as Cerda remarks, comparing a passage of Philostratus De Heroicis, where the spirit of Ajax is said *δουπῆσαι τοῖς ὅπλοις οἷον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις εἰώθει*. Comp. G. 1. 474, A. 8. 526 foll.

176.] 'Canit' here of prophetic injunctions, as elsewhere of prophecies. [Livy 7. 6 "id enim ille loco dicandum vates canebant."—H. N.] 'Extemplo' probably with 'canit.' 'Temptanda fuga aequora' seems to answer to "temptare Thetin ratibus" E. 4. 32. The dangers of the voyage have been already referred to v. 110.

177.] 'Exscindi telis' like "excindere ferro" 9. 137, and perhaps 6. 553, though there on the whole I have preferred "bello."

178.] 'Omina repetant' referring to the Roman custom of returning from the camp of the city for fresh auspices in case of anything unlucky. Serv. "Repetere auspicia" was the common phrase: see Drakenborch on Livy 8. 30, § 2. 'Numen reducant' is explained by "deos parant comites," v. 181, to refer to the same thing, the bringing back of fresh auspices from Greece, not to the bringing back of the Palladium, which it is evident from the context they had not carried to Greece. The gods are put for the auspices, as probably in 12. 286, "Pulsatos referens infecto foedere divos." If the army had actually had the gods with them, as Aeneas the Penates, it is difficult to see why they should have gone back to Greece. 'Numen' of an indication of the divine will vv. 123 above, 336 below, 3. 363., 7. 119 (where it might be exchanged for "omen"), 9. 661., 11. 232.

179.] 'Pelago et carinis,' over the sea and in ships, the copula being introduced to connect two different but equally admissible constructions, "pelago vehere" and "carinis vehere." So probably Aesch. Cho. 557, *δόλῳ τε καὶ ληφθῶσιν ἐν ταὐτῷ βρόχῳ*. 'Avexere,' from Greece to Troy, at the beginning of the expedition. The mood would more regularly have been the subj., but Virg. has returned to the oratio recta. Some inferior MSS. have 'advexere,' which was the reading before Heins.; two give 'adduxere.'

180.] v. 25 above. 'Quod petiere' is explained by Munro on Lucr. 4. 885 as a peculiar use of 'quod,' denoting the effect rather than the cause, 'the reason why they have sailed &c. is,' a use found also in Lucr. l. c., Ov. 3 Amor. 5. 39 foll. The instances given by Madv. § 398 b, obs. 2. e. g. "quod scribis te . . . ad me venturum, ego vero te istic esse volo" Cic. Fam. 14. 3, are of the same kind. Madv.'s explanation, 'as to the fact that,' will apply to all the passages equally, as it will to

Arma deosque parant comites, pelagoque remenso
Inprovisi aderunt. Ita digerit omina Calchas.
Hanc pro Palladio moniti, pro numine laeso
Effigiem statuere, nefas quae triste piaret.
Hanc tamen inmensam Calchas attollere molem
Roboribus textis caeloque educere iussit,
Ne recipi portis, aut duci in moenia posset,
Neu populum antiqua sub religione tueri.
Nam si vestra manus violasset dona Minervae,
Tum magnum exitium—quod di prius omen in ipsum
Convertant!—Priami imperio Phrygibusque futurum;
Sin manibus vestris vestram ascendisset in urbem,
Ultro Asiam magno Pelopea ad moenia bello

Lucr. 2. 532., 6. 740. Comp. also Prop. 5, 6. 49, "Quodque vehunt prorae Centaurica saxa minantes, Tigna cava et pictos experiere metus." In each case the speaker is adverting to some fact which he feels himself called upon to meet. [Munro in his third edition adds Cic. Att. 12. 18 a 2, Ov. Trist. 3. 1. 13, Am. 1. 13. 33.—H. N.]

181.] Note on v. 178. 'They are furnishing themselves with fresh forces and fresh auspices:' they are either in Greece doing so at this moment, or on a voyage of which that is the object.

182.] 'Inprovisi aderunt:' Serv. says well "Verum metum falso metu abigit, ut dum reversuros timent non timeant ne non abierint." 'Digerit omina,' arranges the omens, perhaps with reference to the 'sortes;' hence expounds the omens in order (ἐξηγεῖσθαι), explains the routine which must be followed to propitiate the gods and ensure success. The word is used 3. 446 of the Sibyl. For 'omina' here and in v. 178 some inferior MSS. have 'omnia,' which in this passage at least was for some time the common reading, and is supported by Canon. Canter appears to have restored 'omina' here on conjecture, and Stephens in the former passage, before Heins. introduced it from the MSS.

183.] 'Moniti,' by Calchas. 'Pro numine laeso,' not in exchange for the violated statue, but to make amends for the offence to the divinity, as in 1. 8.

185.] 'Inmensam' to be taken with 'attollere,' 'to rear in vast bulk.'

186.] 'Caelo educere' 6. 178. Comp. G. 2. 188, "editus austro" and note, though "austro" = "ad austrum" bears rather a different sense from 'caelo' = "ad caelum." For 'roboribus textis' see on v. 112 above.

187.] 'Aut' connects 'duci' with 'recipi,' as expressing mere varieties of detail, while both are coupled with 'tueri' by 'neu,' to express two different points of view. 'Posset' Pal., Gud., 'possit' fragm. Vat., Med., Priscian p. 1028. Ribbeck seems right in restoring the imperf. as the more regular. The words are constantly confounded (see on 6. 754), and here, as Wagn. remarks, "iussit' at the end of the preceding line may have caught the transcriber's eye.

188.] 'Antiqua sub religione,' the shelter of the worship of Pallas, as securing protection to the worshippers. So when the city is to be taken, the gods depart, v. 351.

189.] 'Violasset' note v. 94, 'dona' note v. 36.

190.] 'Omen,' augury. The denunciation of ruin however would itself be a bad omen; so Sinon even in repeating it thinks it necessary to pray that it may recoil on its author. 'Prius,' ere it reaches you. [' Dii' Med. and Pal.—H. N.]

192.] 'Ascendisset' may refer both to surmounting the walls, v. 237, and to entering the city and being lodged in the "arx."

193.] 'Ultro,' note v. 145; not merely repel the invaders, but retaliate. Comp. 11. 296, "ultro Inachias venisset ad urbes Dardanus, et versis lugeret Graecia fatis," where the language is exactly parallel. 'Asiam magno bello:' the terms are chosen so as to convey the meaning that the new war against Greece will be as great as the old against Troy. Not un-

Venturam, et nostros ea fata manere nepotes.
Talibus insidiis periurique arte Sinonis
Credita res, captique dolis lacrimisque coactis,
Quos neque Tydides, nec Larissaeus Achilles,
Non anni domuere decem, non mille carinae.
Hic aliud maius miseris multoque tremendum

like is Hor. 1 Ep. 2. 7, "Graecia Barbariae lento conlisa duello."

194.] Comp. 3. 505, "maneat nostros ea cura nepotes." The sense here is that Troy was to invade Greece in the next generation, as the Epigoni invaded Thebes where their fathers had fallen. 'Ea fata,' "magnum exitium" v. 190.

195.] 'Talibus insidiis,' the instrum. abl. In prose "talibus insidiis effectum est ut res crederetur."

196.] ["'Credita res,' aut fides habita, aut commissa res publica." Serv.—H. N.] 'Coacti,' the old reading before the time of Heins., supported by Gud. corrected and others, and the MSS. of Nonius, p. 253, is more euphonious: but 'coactis,' which is found in the best extant MSS., and was read by Serv. and perhaps Ti. Donatus, is much more forcible, and is confirmed by imitations in Ov. 1 Amor. 8. 83, "discant oculi lacr mare coacti," and Juv. 13. 133, "vexant oculos umore coacto," and was possibly itself imitated from Aesch. Ag. 794, *ἀγέλαστα πρόσωπα βιαζόμενοι.*

197.] 'Tydides:' called already, 1. 96, "Danaum fortissime gentis." ['Clariseus' Vat. fragm. 'Clarissaeus' originally Med. —H. N.]

198.] 'Mille carinae' 9. 148. The round number 1000 for 1186 (the actual sum in Hom.), had been already given by Aesch. Ag. 45, *στόλον Ἀργείων χιλιοναύταν*, and others. Cerda quotes a passage from Varro, R. R. 2. 1, "si, inquam, numerus non est ad amussim, ut non est, cum dicimus mille naves iisse ad Troiam, centumvirale esse iudicium Romae." In the sentiment and form of the expression, Virg., as he remarks, may have imitated Hor. Epod. 16. 3, "Quam neque finitimi," &c.

199—249.] 'Two monstrous serpents appear and destroy Laocoon and his sons. We accept the event as a token of the will of Heaven that we should admit the horse, which we forthwith drag into the city with festive demonstrations.'

199.] The story of Laocoon appears to have been variously related. See Introduction to this book. [Tzetzes on Lycophron 347 makes Laocoon a priest of Poseidon: but according to Euphorion, Laocoon, the priest of Poseidon, was stoned to death soon after the arrival of the Greeks. At the time of their departure another Laocoon, the priest of Apollo was appointed by lot to sacrifice to Poseidon. "Hic," continues Serv. from Euphorion, "piaculum commiserat . . . et ob hoc inmissis draconibus cum suis filiis interemptus est. Historia quidem hoc habet; sed poeta interpretatur ad Troianorum excusationem." Hyginus (p. 115 Schmidt) also makes the Laocoon who was killed by snakes a priest of Apollo, appointed by lot to sacrifice to Neptune: but gives a different cause for Apollo's anger against him. Evidently Virg. did not follow Euphorion here, any more than he did in the story of Sinon, whose part Euphorion, according to Serv. on v. 80, assigned to Ulysses.—H. N.] Of Sophocles' tragedy of Laocoon but very few fragments have been preserved: from one of them however (fr. 343, Nauck) it appears that his story must have differed from Virg.'s, as the flight of Aeneas with his father and a body of Trojan emigrants is distinctly mentioned, so that the hero of the play can hardly have died before the taking of the city. Serv. has a strange notice of Bacchylides, who, he says, speaks of Laocoon and his wife, or the serpents which came from the Calydnae islands and were turned into men ("in homines conversis" might conceivably mean 'attacking men'); but the passage may be corrupt. For fuller details of these legends see Heyne's Excursus. An interest of a different kind is given to the story by Lessing's celebrated treatise. [Med. writes 'Laucoon,' an orthography perhaps intended to represent the digamma which Priscian (p. 709 P.) attests. Serv. remarks on the alliteration 'maius miseris multoque,' and adds "apud veteres a similibus incipere vitiosum non erat." With this line Henry comp. Od. 4. 698 *ἀλλὰ πολὺ μεῖζόν τε καὶ ἀργαλεώτερον ἄλλο.*—H. N.]

Obicitur magis, atque inprovida pectora turbat.
Laocoon, ductus Neptuno sorte sacerdos,
Sollemnis taurum ingentem mactabat ad aras.
Ecce autem gemini a Tenedo tranquilla per alta—
Horresco referens—inmensis orbibus angues
Incumbunt pelago, pariterque ad litora tendunt;
Pectora quorum inter fluctus arrecta iubaeque
Sanguineae superant undas; pars cetera pontum
Pone legit sinuatque inmensa volumine terga;

200.] 'Inprovida' refers generally to the blindness of the Trojans, not to their inability to foresee this portent (Heyne); nor proleptically to its effect in making them rush on their doom (Wagn. ed. mi., Forb. &c.). Comp. v. 54. 'Pectora," the intellect, as 1. 567.

201.] 'Ductus sorte:' a variety for "electus ducta sorte." Comp. 1. 508, "sorte trahebat," and note. So in English a man is said to be drawn for the militia. Soph. Elect. 709, ὅθ' αὐτοὺς οἱ τεταγμένοι βραβῆς κλήροις ἔπηλαν, a thoroughly Sophoclean expression, altered, like others of the sort, by some later critics. Serv. quotes a fragment of Sallust, "sorte ductos fusti necat," [and the phrase is also found in Cic. Rep. 1 § 51 "si e vectoribus sorte ductus ad gubernacula accesserit," and in legal documents.—H. N.]. Comp. also Tac. A. 1. 54., 13. 29. Herder (referred to by Heyne) thought this description partly suggested by Il. 2. 305 foll.; but the resemblance is very slight.

202.] 'Sollemnis ad aras,' the altars where the customary sacrifices took place; Heyne, who comp. "sollemnis Circus" Ov. F. 5. 597, "sollemnia theatra," A. A. 1. 133, "campus sollemnis" Claud. 6 Cons. Hon. 5. Hyginus makes him sacrifice on the shore according to the Homeric practice, and this is probably Virg.'s meaning (comp. 3. 21, "Caelicolum regi mactabam in litore taurum"), as the subsequent description suggests.

203.] 'A Tenedo:' Quinctus Smyrnaeus and Lycophron Cass. 347 make them come from the Calydnae, two islands near Tenedos, mentioned Il. 2. 677 with Cos. Ti. Donatus is doubtless right in saying that this symbolized the appearance of the enemy from Tenedos; but there seems no occasion, in default of any intimation from the poet, to draw out the parallel into detail, as Henry does, not only making the destruction of Laocoon's sons and their father stand for the slaughter of the Trojans and the overthrow of their religion, but supposing that the movement of the serpents abreast represents the sailing of the ships together, the erection of their flaming crests the signal from the royal galley, the floating of their hinder parts on the surface the motion of the vessels in the rear, and lastly, their taking refuge under Pallas' feet the hostile settlement of Pallas herself on the citadel, v. 615. 'Gemini:' the names of the serpents were actually given in the legend, among others by Sophocles. Tzetzes on Lycophron l. c. calls them Porces and Chariboea, Lysimachus ap. Serv. Curiffis (?) and Periboea.

204.] ['Immensis' Pal.—H. N.]

205.] 'Incumbunt:' with a notion of movement supplied from the context.

206.] 'Angues iubati' appear to have been unusual, if not prodigies. Cerda refers to Livy 43. 13 (15), "in aede Fortunae anguem iubatum a compluribus visum esse," and to Plaut. Amph. 5. 1. 56, "devolant angues iubati," of the serpents strangled by Hercules; as also to Eur. Phoen. 820, φοινικολόφοιο δράκοντος, which Virg. may have had in his mind. These crests seem to have been of actual hair, as Pindar, Pyth. 10. 47, speaks of them as φόβαι. Pliny 11. 122 says "draconum cristas qui viderit, non reperitur."

207.] 'Sanguineae:' so the serpent in Il. 2. 308 is ἐπὶ νῶτα δαφοινός. 'Exsuperant,' the reading of but one late MS., found its way into the common texts, and was retained by Heins. and Heyne; but the later editors have properly replaced 'superant.'

208.] 'Legit pontum,' 'skims the deep,' is not precisely parallel to 3. 127, 706, Ov. F. 4. 289, 566, where the notion is really that of picking the way among islands or sunk rocks, so that perhaps it had better be compared to 'legere oram'

Fit sonitus spumante salo. Iamque arva tenebant,
Ardentisque oculos suffecti sanguine et igni,
Sibila lambebant linguis vibrantibus ora.
Diffugimus visu exsangues. Illi agmine certo
Laocoonta petunt; et primum parva duorum
Corpora natorum serpens amplexus uterque
Implicat et miseros morsu depascitur artus;
Post ipsum, auxilio subeuntem ac tela ferentem,
Corripiunt, spirisque ligant ingentibus; et iam
Bis medium amplexi, bis collo squamea circum
Terga dati, superant capite et cervicibus altis.
Ille simul manibus tendit divellere nodos,
Perfusus sanie vittas atroque veneno,
Clamores simul horrendos ad sidera tollit:

or 'litus,' the motion of the serpents along the surface of the water resembling that of a ship skirting the land. 'Sinuat,' the common reading, supported by Pal., Med., and other MSS., and by Serv. is restored by Wagn. instead of 'sinuant,' the reading of Heins. and Heyne, which Pierius found in some very old copies. As Wagn. remarks, the nom. 'pars cetera' is emphatic, opposing the second part of the sentence to the first. 'Their heads and breasts are erect; the rest floats in sinuous waves along the sea.'

209.] 'Fit sonitus:' caused by their rapid motion through the otherwise calm water. The clause confessedly relates to what goes before, not to what follows; so I have pointed accordingly. 'Arva,' as Henry remarks, is the field inside the beach, where the altars seem to have stood.

210.] 'Suffecti:' a rare use of "sufficio," seemingly in the sense of "inficio," with the notion of the process as taking place from beneath. Cic. Hortensius ap. Non. p. 386, "ut qui combibi purpuram volunt, sufficiunt prius lanam medicamentis quibusdam," unless the word is there to be understood in its ordinary sense, 'subject,' or 'submit wool to the the operation of certain dyes.' The other instances given in Forc. are apparently from imitators of Virg. 'Sanguine:' comp. 4. 643., 7. 399, where eyes glaring with excitement are called "sanguinei." 'Sanguine et igni,' which Ovid as usual copies, M. 8. 284 (quoted by Forb.), is a union of a physical cause with a metaphor.

211.] 'Vibrare,' of a serpent's tongue, Lucr. 3. 657. So "micat," G. 3. 439.

212.] 'Visu,' at the sight, like "aspectu suo," Lucr. 1. 91. See v. 382. 'Agmen,' of a serpent, G. 3. 423, A. 5. 90, where it is synonymous with "tractus;" here it expresses not only the long column, but the march. 'Certo' contrasts with 'diffugimus.' Lucan 9. 712, "semper recto lapsurus limite Cenchris."

213.] ['Laucoonta' Med. See on v. 199. —H. N.] 'Primum,' opposed to 'post,' v. 216. The names of Laocoon's sons are given by Hyginus as Antiphantes and Thymbraeus; by Thessander (Pisander?) ap. Serv., as Ethron and Melanthus. They were probably in attendance on their father officially, like the Camilli at Rome (Dict. A. 'Camilli').

215.] ['Implicat' Med. and Gud.— H. N.] 'Depascitur artus,' G. 3. 458. Perhaps Virg. thought of Il. 2. 314, ἔνθ' ὅγε τοὺς ἐλεεινὰ κατήσθιε τετριγῶτας.

216.] 'Auxilio:' either the instrum. abl. or the dative, as 1, 22, &c. In Quinct. Smyrnaeus, the father, though not destroyed himself, is deprived of power to help his sons. 'Tela ferentem," 12. 565.

217.] 'Spiris,' G. 2. 154., A. 12. 848.

219.] 'Capite et cervicibus,' of the serpents. Comp. "colla," v. 381.

220.] 'Simul—simul,' 1. 631. 'Tendit —divellere,' "aqua tendit rumpere plumbum," Hor. 1 Ep. 10. 20, of effort, almost like the frequentative "temptat."

221.] 'Sanie—veneno:' these serpents, as being portentous, combine the noxious powers of several varieties, devouring, strangling, and poisoning. 'Sanies,' of blood tainted by the venom, Lucan 9. 770, 783, 794. 'Vittas,' to show completely the inefficiency of his priestly character to protect him. So v. 430. 'Atro veneno,'

Qualis mugitus, fugit cum saucius aram
Taurus et incertam excussit cervice securim.
At gemini lapsu delubra ad summa dracones
Effugiunt saevaeque petunt Tritonidis arcem,
Sub pedibusque deae clipeique sub orbe teguntur.
Tum vero tremefacta novus per pectora cunctis
Insinuat pavor, et scelus expendisse merentem
Laocoonta ferunt, sacrum qui cuspide robur
Laeserit et tergo sceleratam intorserit hastam.

G. 2. 130 note, 3. 430. [Serv. remarks of this line "est interpositus versus, nam potest tolli salvo sensu."—H. N.]

223.] It seems better, on a comparison of E. 8. 85, to understand "est" after 'mugitus' than to supply "tollit," with Wagn. and Forb.; but the point is very doubtful. It signifies little whether we make 'mugitus' nom. sing. or pl.; but 'qualis' is said to be better supported by MSS. and grammarians, so the sing. seems the more probable, though in these matters the weight of external evidence must be very slight. The early commentators rightly remark on the propriety of the simile of the bull, as suggesting the sacrifice in which Laocoon was engaged by a kind of tragic εἰρωνεία. The simile is partially imitated from Il. 20. 403, where the bull is being offered to Poseidon. For a victim to escape from the altar, or to bellow when struck, was a bad omen. Cerda refers to Ov. M. 7. 597, "mugitus victima diros Edidit," and Livy 21. 63, "immolanti ei vitulus iam ictus e manibus sacrificantium sese cum proripuisset, multos circumstantis cruore respersit." See also v. 134, note. [Macrob. Sat. 4. 5. 8 quotes as follows: "mugitus, veluti fugit" &c.—H. N.]

224.] 'Incertam,' ill-aimed and so not fatal. "Certam hastam," 11. 767. "Certa sagitta," Hor. 1 Od. 12. 23.

225.] 'Delubra ad summa' is explained by what follows, 'saevaeque petunt Tritonidis arcem,' the temple of Minerva being at the top of the arx, v. 136.

226.] 'Effugiunt' to be joined with 'lapsu,' i. q. "elabuntur." 'Diffugiunt' is the reading of Med. and another MS., but the word probably came from v. 212, and has no place here, as it could only mean, 'fly in different directions;' whereas the story of the serpents seems to imply that they moved together from first to last, and the repetition of the word 'gemini,' and the fact that they fly to the same spot, confirm the presumption. 'Saevae:' comp. 1. 479, "non aequae Palladis."

227.] 'Que,' placed as in E. 5. 57, G. 3. 523. There seems to have been a statue of Pallas in the arx besides the Palladium, or possibly one was introduced in its place, as the worship of the goddess of course was still kept up. That the mention of it here is not a mere oversight of Virg.'s, appears from the legend that Cassandra was clinging to Pallas' statue when dragged away by the lesser Ajax. See Heyne's Excursus on Vesta, the Palladium, and the Penates. Pallas' statues, as Heyne remarks, had sometimes a serpent coiled at the feet, so that this part of the legend is in keeping. In Q. Smyrnaeus the serpents vanish into the earth near the temple of Apollo.

228.] 'Novus:' see note on G. 4. 357.

229.] "Divom metus insinuarit Pectora," Lucr. 5. 73, with whom the word "insinuo" is a favourite, being used in a variety of constructions (see Munro on Lucr. 1. 116). 'Scelus' may belong both to 'expendisse' and to 'merentem,' the latter being in any case the more emphatic word. 'Scelus merentem' occurs again 7. 307. 'Scelus expendisse' is a brief expression for "sceleris poenam expendisse," as in 11. 258, like "luere commissa," "peccata," &c., for "luere poenam commissorum," &c., and the similar use of τίνειν in Greek, e. g. Aesch. Cho. 435, πατρὸς δ' ἀτίμωσιν ἆρα τίσει. [Henry takes 'scelus' to mean "scelus poenarum;" the wickedness or horror of the punishment, as if Virg. had said "scelestas poenas."—H. N.]

231.] 'Laeserit' and 'intorserit' rather than "laesisset—intorsisset," because of 'ferunt.' 'Tergo' is not really inconsistent with 'latus,' v. 52, as it appears to be co-extensive, and sometimes convertible, with "tergus," 1. 372, &c.

Ducendum ad sedes simulacrum orandaque divae
Numina conclamant.
Dividimus muros et moenia pandimus urbis.
Accingunt omnes operi, pedibusque rotarum
Subiciunt lapsus, et stuppea vincula collo
Intendunt. Scandit fatalis machina muros,
Feta armis. Pueri circum innuptaeque puellae

232.] 'Simulacrum:' *μέγ' ἄγαλμα θεῶν θελκτήριον*, Od. 8. 509. 'Oranda numina,' 1. 666, note. 'Oranda,' not for "exoranda," but in its natural sense, though of course the Trojans hoped for a favourable answer. The passage is apparently imitated from Eur. Tro. 522 foll., quoted by Cerda, *ἀνὰ δ' ἐβόασεν λεὼς . . . τόδ' ἱερὸν ἀνάγετε ξόανον Ἰλιάδι διογενεῖ κόρᾳ.*

234.] ["In order to understand the picture here presented, it must be borne in mind that the gates of ancient cities were very small, little larger than our modern doors; and that the walls, which were high, were carried across over the gates, so that there was no division of the wall, but only a hole or opening in the undivided wall, where the gate stood. By the expression 'dividimus muros,' therefore, we are to understand that the Trojans enlarged the gate so as to make a complete division of the wall, viz., by breaking down that part of the wall over the gate on which the continuity of the wall depended:" Henry, who goes on to quote Plaut. Bacchides 955 R. "quom portae Phrygiae limen superum scinderetur;" the third *fatum* of Troy.—H. N.] 'Moenia' appears to be the buildings within the 'murus' ("Moenia lata videt triplici circumdata muro," 6. 549), so that when a breach was made in the 'murus' (probably close to the Scaean gate, so as to enlarge it, as Heyne says), the 'moenia' would be laid open. Where used generally the word seems nearly equivalent to the city, considered as a strong place. So "media per moenia ducit," 4. 74.

235.] This intransitive use of 'accingo' is quite after the manner of Virg.; but he does not use the word intransitively elsewhere, as in 11. 707 "te" is supplied from the previous clause. Non. p. 469 quotes from Pomponius, "dum ego revertor, age, anus, accinge ad molas." The Balliol MS. has 'accingunt se omnes.' In Quinct. Smyrnaeus and Tryphiodorus wheels are attached to the horses' feet, as made by Epeus. 'Rotarum lapsus:' *τρόχων βάσεις*, Soph. El. 718.

236.] 'Vincula intendunt,' like "vincula tende," G. 4. 399, the verb itself not meaning 'to bind,' but 'to stretch,' though it is frequently used in connexions where binding is spoken of, e. g. 4. 506., 5. 403 (notes). So perhaps Act. Apost. 22. 25, *ὡς δὲ προέτειναν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἱμᾶσι.* We need not however suppose the rope to have been twisted round the neck, but simply thrown over it (Forb. after Henry). 'Stuppea vincula:' *κλωστοῦ ἀμφιβόλοις λίνοισι*, Eur. Tro. 537.

237.] 'Scandit.' "Saltu super ardua venit Pergama," 6. 515, after Ennius, Alex. fr. 11, "Nam maxumo saltu superabit gravidus armatis equos, Qui suo partu ardua perdat Pergama," who perhaps followed Aesch. Ag. 825 foll., *ἵππου νεοσσός, ἀσπιδηστρόφος λεώς, Πήδημ' ὀρούσας ἀμφὶ Πλειάδων δύσιν· Ὑπερθορὼν δὲ πύργον ὠμηστὴς λέων.* In that case a fact has probably been created out of a metaphor, as Virg. evidently means that the horse was heaved over broken walls. ["'Fatalis,' mortifera," Serv.—H. N.]

238.] 'Feta armis:' Eur. Tro. 11, *ἐγκύμον' ἵππον τευχέων.* Besides the passage just quoted from Ennius, Lucr. 1. 476 has "Nec clam durateus Troianis Pergama partu Inflammasset ecus nocturno Graiugenarum." *Κοῖλον λόχον*, Od. 4. 277., 8. 515, is of course the lurking-place, but it is just possible that Eur. may have misunderstood it, as he certainly has misunderstood the epithet *δουράτεος* (comp. Od. 8. 493, 507, with Eur. Tro. 14). But the metaphor is natural enough. 'Pueri:' the description, as Cerda remarks, is probably taken from the Roman "tensae" (Dict. A.), which were escorted by senators and boys ("patrimi" and "matrimi") laying hold of the traces, to let go which was profanation. Mr. Keightley, in a communication to me, remarks a further propriety in the fact that the "tensae" proceeded from and returned to the Capitol, which would answer to the "arx" here.

Sacra canunt, funemque manu contingere gaudent.
Illa subit, mediaeque minans inlabitur urbi.
O patria, o divom domus Ilium, et incluta bello
Moenia Dardanidum! quater ipso in limine portae
Substitit, atque utero sonitum quater arma dedere;
Instamus tamen inmemores caecique furore,
Et monstrum infelix sacrata sistimus arce.
Tunc etiam fatis aperit Cassandra futuris
Ora, dei iussu non umquam credita Teucris.
Nos delubra deum miseri, quibus ultimus esset
Ille dies, festa velamus fronde per urbem.

The word is supposed to be derived from "tendo" ("a tensis vinculis"), which, if true, or if considered so by Virg., would give additional propriety to the use of 'intendunt' here.

239.] Heyne comp. Eur. Tro. 527 foll. 'Sacra' is explained by 'canunt,' as i. q. "sacra carmina."

240.] 'Minans,' 1. 162 (note). 'Urbi,' better taken with 'inlabitur' than with 'minans,' because of 'mediae.'

241.] Copied, according to Serv., from Ennius. Heyne thinks the reference is to Enn. Andr. fr. 9, "O pater, O patria, O Priami domus." 'Divom domus:' see v. 351. The exclamation is wrung from Aeneas as he thinks of the warning given just as the destruction of the city was about to be assured, and of the blindness which missed this last opportunity of escape. We may be reminded of Clarendon's words at the end of his narrative of the abortive attempt of Hampden, Cromwell, &c., to leave England: "So near came this poor country to its deliverance." ['Divum' Med. and Pal. —H. N.]

243.] 'Substitit:' as they were pulling it over the breach. Stumbling on the threshold was regarded as a reason for pausing in an undertaking (Weidner comp. Ov. M. 10. 452, Id. 1 Trist. 3. 55, Tibull. 1. 3. 19), so that Virg. means that the omen ought to have warned them, as well as the actual sound of the armour.

244.] 'Inmemores,' not taking thought, a sense which the word approaches in many other passages, though there is generally a notion of the thing neglected as having been previously in the mind, which here seems hardly to be the case. Comp. the use of "memorare" for to make mention of. [Serv. quotes from the ancient form of prayer used against their enemies by the Romans when going to war, "eique populo civitati metum formidinem oblivionem iniciatis." The whole of this is given by Macrobius S. 3. 9. 7 foll.—H. N.]

245.] 'Monstrum,' of anything portentous, as of Polyphemus, 3. 658. 'Infelix,' inauspicious.

246.] 'Etiam,' not, 'then, as often before,' but 'besides our other warnings.' 'Fatis futuris' seems to be either a dative, 'for a warning of the future,' or an abl. of the manner. See on G. 4. 452, where perhaps I have gone too far in saying that the balance inclines to the dative.

247.] Henry rightly takes 'credita' with 'ora,' arguing from the emphatic position of 'ora,' as well as from the greater poeticalness of the expression, and quoting Ov. M. 15. 74, "primus quoque (Pythagoras) talibus ora Docta quidem solvit, sed non et credita verbis," which also seems to show that 'fatis' is the abl. 'Those lips, which were doomed never to be believed.'

248.] 'Quibus,' &c., not connected with 'miseri,' 'wretched, inasmuch as that day was our last,' but 'though that day was our last:' "a relative proposition, containing an antithesis to the leading proposition," Madvig, § 366. 3.

249.] 'Velamus' for "coronamus," 3. 405, 545., 5. 72, &c., the festoons being thick and long, so as to cover the altar. So *κατασκίους* Aesch. Supp. 345 (*κλάδοις κατάσκιον νεὸονθ'*, v. 335) answers to *ἐστεμμένην* in the line before. Henry compares 3. 25, "ramis tegerem ut frondentibus aras." 'Festa fronde,' 4. 459, where it is joined with "velleribus niveis," also of the decorations of a temple. It seems equivalent to "sertis" (Dict. A. 'serta'). See 1. 417. Il. 1.

Vertitur interea caelum et ruit oceano Nox,
Involvens umbra magna terramque polumque
Myrmidonumque dolos; fusi per moenia Teucri
Conticuere; sopor fessos complectitur artus.
Et iam Argiva phalanx instructis navibus ibat
A Tenedo, tacitae per amica silentia lunae
Litora nota petens, flammas cum regia puppis
Extulerat, fatisque deum defensus iniquis

39, *εἴ ποτέ τοι χαρίεντ' ἐπὶ νηὸν ἔρεψα.* The leaves seem to have been of various kinds, such as laurel, olive, ivy, myrtle (the last of which is named 3. 23), varying according to the god whose temple was decorated.

250—267.] 'At night, while we were asleep, the enemy's fleet returns from Tenedos. Sinon opens the horse, and a junction is effected.'

250.] 'Vertitur interea caelum:' from Enn. A. 218. 'Ruit,' comes up, 6. 539., 8. 369., 10. 256. The conception of night rising from the ocean seems to be due partly to the sun's setting in the ocean (Il. 8. 485, which Macrob. 5. 5 considers the original of the present line, *ἐν δ' ἔπεσ' ὠκεανῷ λαμπρὸν φάος ἠελίοιο Ἕλκον νύκτα μέλαιναν ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν*), partly to the dews of night (11. 201, "nox umida donec Invertit caelum"). The rhythm is from Od. 5. 294, *ὀρώρει δ' οὐρανόθεν νύξ.*

251.] The spondees express solemnity, and so the terminations 'umbra,' 'magna.' ['Magnam' Pal. and originally Gud.—H. N.]

252.] 'Myrmidonumque dolos,' because the same night which hid earth and sky was favourable to stratagem. 'Fusi,' 1. 214, note.

255.] ['Conplectitur' Pal.—H. N.]

254.] The fleet was on its way when the royal ship hoisted the signal to Sinon. 'Phalanx' seems to mean the army, which 'ibat instructis navibus,' sailed in order. So Wund. But there may also be a comparison implied between the naval array and the array of a phalanx. "Argivae phalanges," 12. 544. "Ter denis navibus ibant," 10. 213.

255.] 'Silentia lunae' has been understood in two opposite ways—the moon quietly shining, or there being no moon as yet; for that the moon did rise appears from v. 340—in the one case the silence, in the other the darkness, being assumed as favourable to the undertaking. The latter view, which seems to have originated with Politian, Miscell. 100, is apparently supported by the phrase "luna silens" (explained by Milton, Samson Agonistes, "dark And silent as the moon, When she deserts the night, Hid in her vacant interlunar cave"), for instances of which see Forc.; the words however must then be understood improperly, to signify the temporary absence of the moon, unless we suppose that Virg. forgot himself in v. 340, and argue from vv. 335, 360, that the night was meant to be a dark one. On the other hand the former view is supported by all the traditions of the taking of Troy, which is expressly stated to have happened on the full moon of the seventh month, and the expression may well be a variety, as Heyne says, for "silentia noctis" (as Hor. Ep. 5. 51, quoted by Cerda, has "Nox et Diana quae silentium regis"), even if we do not go farther, and suppose Virg. to have intended the cloudless tranquillity of the moonlight, "silente caelo sereniisque noctibus" (Pliny, 18. 29), to be the circumstance which befriended the Greeks. The old punctuation, which Wagn. altered, placed a comma after 'lunae.'

257.] 'Extulerat' is rightly understood by Forb. of instantaneous action, being in fact the past tense of the quasi-present "extulit." See on E. 1. 24, and comp. A. 10. 262, an exact parallel, where "iamque habet . . . cum extulit," answers to 'et iam ibat . . . cum extulerat' here. To understand the words to mean 'after the signal for moving had been given to the fleet,' which is the view of most other commentators, would require, I think, according to the usage of Virg., "postquam" or "ut extulerat." 'Regia:' Agamemnon's ship. The legends spoke of a signal-torch held up within the city, by Sinon, or by Antenor, who thereupon opened the horse. In 6. 517 this signal is said to have been given by Helen.

Inclusos utero Danaos et pinea furtim
Laxat claustra Sinon. Illos patefactus ad auras
Reddit equus, laetique cavo se robore promunt
Thessandrus Sthenelusque duces et dirus Ulixes,
Demissum lapsi per funem, Acamasque, Theasque,
Pelidesque Neoptolemus, primusque Machaon,
Et Menelaus, et ipse doli fabricator Epeus.
Invadunt urbem somno vinoque sepultam;
Caeduntur vigiles, portisque patentibus omnis

'Fatis deum' 6. 376, note. 'Defensus:' from the Trojans, who might otherwise have surprised him in his act of treachery.

258.] 'Danaos et claustra laxat:' a zeugma; sets free the Greeks from their confinement (like "quies laxaverat artus," 5. 857), and opens the closed doors of the horse (like "laxant arva sinus" G. 2. 331, and the use of χαλᾶν in Greek, γυναικείους πύλας Μοχλοῖς χαλᾶτε, Aesch. Cho. 878). 'Pinea,' v. 16.

259.] 'Auras,' open daylight, as in 4. 388, note.

260.] Od. 8. 515, ἱππόθεν ἐκχύμενοι, κοῖλον λόχον ἐκπρολιπόντες.

261.] 'Thessandrus:' 'Tisandrus' was the old reading, supported by some inferior MSS. The Greek form is Θέρσανδρος. Most of the less known names here and elsewhere are greatly varied in the different MSS. Thessander, unknown to Homer, is supposed to be identical with a son of Polynices of that name, whom other legends represented as slain by Telephus at the beginning of the war. 'Sthenelus,' Il. 2. 564, &c. 'Duces,' as coming out first. For 'dirus' Macrob. read 'dius,' which he quotes Sat. 5. 17 as a proof of Virg.'s addiction to Greek words; and so fragm. Vat. originally 'divus.' [Serv. and Ti. Donatus are silent.—H. N.] Others give 'durus,' as in v. 7 above. But it is evident that in a context like this 'dirus' (with which comp. "dira Celaeno" 3. 211) is far superior.

262.] 'Demissum lapsi per funem' refers of course to all mentioned, like "oblati per lunam," v. 340, which, as Forb. remarks, is similarly introduced. 'Acamas,' also unknown to Homer, son of Theseus, and brother of Demophoon. The early edd. and Charisius p. 351 have 'Athamas.' 'Achamas' Med. 'Thoas' Il. 2. 638, &c. ['Labsi' Med.—H. N.]

263.] 'Primus' has not yet been satisfactorily explained, as it is weak to take it "inter primos" with Heyne; and to suppose that the man who was actually meant to come out first would be named seventh in a company of nine, is to suppose an abuse of language, though Val. Fl. 4. 224 is quoted as applying the epithet "prior" to the person mentioned last in order. If it be thought that 'primus' in the present connexion (which Henry compares with v. 32) can bear no other meaning than first in order, it might perhaps be better to place a colon after 'Neoptolemus,' and connect 'primusque Machaon,' &c. with 'invadunt,' at the risk of seeming to make a distinction without a difference between those who come out of the horse and those who rush on the city. On the other hand, it can hardly be an epithet proper to Machaon independently of the present passage, unless it be conceivable that Virg. misunderstood something in his authorities, e. g. Il. 11. 505, παῦσεν ἀριστεύοντα Μαχάονα, ποιμένα λαῶν. Possibly the word may be corrupt, though the MSS. do not appear to vary. [Henry now takes 'primus' as = foremost, most prominent; comparing Sil. 7. 86, "nec non et proprio venerantur Pallada dono, Phoebumque, armigerumque deum, *primamque* Dionen."—H. N.]

264.] 'Doli,' note on v. 36. 'Epeus' or 'Epius' seems the natural Latin form of 'Επειός (comp. "Epeum fumificum," Plaut. quoted by Varro L. L. 7, p. 324, "Epiust Pistoclerus," Id. Bacch. 4. 9, 13, cited by Lachm. on Lucr. 3. 374), though the first-class MSS. and grammarians seem to be divided between 'Epeos,' 'Epios,' and 'Epaeos.' He is mentioned Il. 23. 608, in the boxing-match, and Od. 8. 493, as maker of the horse.

265.] "Vino domiti somnoque sepulti" occurs in Enn. A. 8, "morbo adfectis somnoque sepultis" Lucr. 1. 133. Comp. A. 3. 630., 6. 424., 9. 189.

Accipiunt socios atque agmina conscia iungunt.
Tempus erat, quo prima quies mortalibus aegris
Incipit et dono divum gratissima serpit:
In somnis, ecce, ante oculos maestissimus Hector
Visus adesse mihi, largosque effundere fletus,
Raptatus bigis, ut quondam, aterque cruento
Pulvere, perque pedes traiectus lora tumentis.
Ei mihi, qualis erat! quantum mutatus ab illo
Hectore, qui redit exuvias indutus Achilli,
Vel Danaum Phrygios iaculatus puppibus ignis!
Squalentem barbam et concretos sanguine crinis

267.] 'Iungunt (sibi):' 4. 142, "Infert se socium Aeneas, atque agmina iungit."

268—297.] 'Hector appears to me in a vision, tells me all is over, and bids me fly with the national gods of Troy, which he places in my hands.'

268.] 'Prima quies,' 1. 474. 'Mortalibus aegris,' G. 1. 237 (note), where "munere divum" answers to 'dono divum' here, mortals being characterized in their relation to the gods. The epithet here is general, but it is meant to excite sympathy for the Trojans, betrayed while enjoying the relief which kind nature gives to over-toiled mortality. So v. 253, and 6. 520. Contrast Aesch. Ag. 336, *ὡς δ' εὐδαίμονες 'Αφύλακτον εὐδήσουσι πᾶσαν εὐφρόνην*, of the first tranquil sleep enjoyed by the victors after a ten years' siege, unbroken by watchings, and unmolested by the cold airs of heaven.

269.] 'Dono:' probably abl., not, as in E. 2. 37, dative. 'Gratissima' answers to 'prima' in the former clause: "prima eademque gratissima." Forb. rightly places a colon rather than a full stop after 'serpit,' to show that the next verse is closely connected with v. 268. 'It was the time of first sleep, when I saw,' &c. See notes on vv. 134, 172. ['Divom' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

270.] Cerda is no doubt right in suggesting that Virg. thought of the apparition of Homer to Ennius, which we know to have been recorded at the beginning of that poet's Annals. 'Visus adesse' comes from Enn. A. 6, "visus Homerus adesse poeta," and "Ei mihi, qualis erat!" v. 274, doubtless is to be referred with Vahlen and Ilberg to the same passage, as Serv. says of it, "Ennii versus." It appears too from Lucr. 1. 125 that the apparition of Homer shed tears, "lacrimas effundere salsas Coepisse." In Il. 23. 105, the spectre of Patroclus stands all night by the couch of Achilles, *γοόωσά τε μυρομένη τε.*

272.] Henry seems right in restoring the old punctuation, so as to make 'ut quondam' parenthetical, instead of connecting it with 'raptatus bigis.' Hector appears 'raptatus,' having been dragged, i. e. torn by dragging, disfigured with dust, and with his feet bored. So in 1. 483 the body, when ransomed by Priam, is represented as in a mangled state, as the difference between the tenses shows. 'Ater' may refer to the blood as well as to the dust, 3. 33. The dust is from Il. 22. 401 foll. *τοῦ δ' ἦν ἑλκομένοιο κονίσσαλος, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται Κυάνεαι πίλναντο, κάρη δ' ἅπαν ἐν κονίῃσι Κεῖτο, πάρος χαρίεν.*

273.] 'Tumentis,' as Henry remarks, proves that Virg. like Sophocles (Aj. 1031, *ἐκνάπτετ' αἰὲν ἔς τ' ἀπέψυξεν βίον*) followed a story representing the 'raptatio' (for his view of which see 1. 483, note) to have taken place in life, as dead limbs do not swell from violence. For the boring of the feet comp. Il. 22. 396: for the swelling, the story of Oedipus. 'Traiectus lora:' see note on G. 4. 337.

274.] See on v. 270.

275.] 'Redit,' contrasted with his present return. The present makes the remembrance more vivid. Il. 17. 207, *ὅ τοι οὔτι μάχης ἐκ νοστήσαντι, Δέξεται 'Ανδρομάχη κλυτὰ τεύχεα Πηλείωνος.* Hector never returned to the city after taking the arms of Achilles, though he wore them in the battle.

276.] 'Iaculatus' coupled with 'redit,' like 'indutus.' The contrast is taken from the taunts of the Greeks, Il. 22. 373, *Ὢ πόποι, ἦ μάλα δὴ μαλακώτερος ἀμφαφάασθαι Ἕκτωρ, ἢ ὅτε νῆας ἐνέπρησεν πυρὶ κηλέῳ.*

277.] See the quotation from Hom. on v. 272.

Vulneraque illa gerens, quae circum plurima muros
Accepit patrios. Ultro flens ipse videbar
Compellare virum et maestas expromere voces:
O lux Dardaniae, spes o fidissima Teucrum,
Quae tantae tenuere morae? quibus Hector ab oris
Expectate venis? ut te post multa tuorum
Funera, post varios hominumque urbisque labores
Defessi aspicimus! quae causa indigna serenos
Foedavit vultus? aut cur haec volnera cerno?

278.] 'Gerens' is appropriate, signifying that Hector assumed the same appearance which he exhibited at the time of his death. Comp. 1. 315, note. In construction it seems to be in apposition with 'qualis' and 'mutatus,' v. 274. 'Vulnera' are probably the wounds which he received while being dragged round the walls, which is the natural sense of 'circum muros accepit patrios.' In Hom. the body is dragged not round the walls but through the plain to the ships (Il. 22. 392 foll.), and afterwards round the tomb of Patroclus (ib. 24. 14 foll.). We hear of no wounds during the former process, and we are expressly told that they are averted during the latter by Aphrodite (ib. 23. 187) and Apollo. On the other hand we do hear of wounds inflicted by the Greeks on the body before it is tied to the chariot (ib. 22. 371: comp. ib. 24. 420, ἕλκεα . . . Ὅσσ' ἐτύπη· πολέες γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ χαλκὸν ἔλασσαν), though these are said to have been closed by divine agency (l. c.). Virg., treating the subject in a different way from Hom., has availed himself of his predecessor where he could: 'circum muros patrios' here is from Il. 22. 403, τότε δὲ Ζεὺς δυσμενέεσσι Δῶκεν ἀεικίσσασθαι ἑῇ ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ, while 'plurima' is from ib. 24. 420 just quoted. Wounds inflicted in battle are not to be thought of (Symmons e. g. translates "And red the wounds his patriot bosom bore"), as in Hom. Hector receives scarcely any.

279.] 'Ultro,' v. 145, note. 'Compellare ultro' 4. 304., 6. 499. 'Flens ipse' go together. 'I wept like him.' W. Ribbeck comp. Ov. 1 Ex Pont. 4. 53, "Et narrare meos flenti flens ipse labores."

280.] ['Et promere,' i. e., 'ecpromere,' the MSS. of Nonius, p. 350.—H. N.]

281.] Imitated again from Ennius (Alex. fr. 8), "O lux Troiae, germane Hector! quid te ita contuo lacerato corpore miser, aut qui te sic tractavere nobis respectantibus?" which is apparently a speech of Paris at the actual sight of Hector's body. Virg. makes Aeneas forget not only the circumstances, but the fact of Hector's death. 'Lux:' the Homeric φάος, safety. Heyne. [The Pseudo-Acron. and Comm. Cruq. on Horace 4 Od. 5. 5 quote "spes o sanctissima Teucrum." —H. N.]

283.] ['Exspectate' Med. and Gud.—H. N.] 'Expectate,' the vocative by attraction for the nom. So "indute," 12. 947; γενοῦ πολυμνῆστορ ἔφαπτορ Ἰοῦς, Aesch. Supp. 535. 'Ut' goes with 'aspicimus' (comp. 8. 154), not with 'defessi,' the addition of which, however, together with the other intervening words, explains it to mean 'ut libenter,' as 8. 154. 'O the eyes with which after long months of death among your people, months of manifold suffering.' [It is used similarly, but to express a different emotion, by Sallust Hist. 1. 48. 15 "Ut te neque hominum neque deorum pudet quos per fidem aut periurio violasti."—H. N.] Virg. probably had Hom. in his mind, Il. 7. 4, ὡς δὲ θεὸς ναύτῃσιν ἐελδομένοισιν ἔδωκεν Οὖρον, ἐπὴν κεκάμωσιν ἐϋξέστῃς ἐλάτῃσιν Πόντον ἐλαύνοντες, καμάτῳ δ' ὑπὸ γυῖα λέλυνται· Ὣς ἄρα τὼ (Hector and Paris) Τρώεσσιν ἐελδομένοισι φανήτην.

284.] "Hominumque boumque labores," G. 1. 118. 'Hominum labores,' in fight. Il. 1. 162, ᾧ ἔπι πόλλα μόγησα, v. 108, ἐπὴν κεκάμω πολεμίζων. 'Urbis labores,' v. 11, note.

285.] 'What has marred the clear beauty of thy face?' So "foeda tempestas" of the sky disfigured by storms, G. 1. 323, note. 'Indigna,' ἀεικής, Il. 22. 395. On the other hand 'foedavit' directly contradicts Il. 24. 418, οὐδέ μιν αἰσχύνει.

286.] ["Bene permansit in translatione, quia supra dixerat 'o lux:' ideo et 'serenos,' ideo et 'foedavit;' nam Sallustius de nubibus 'foedavere lumen.'" Serv. 'Vulnera' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

Ille nihil, nec me quaerentem vana moratur,
Sed graviter gemitus imo de pectore ducens,
Heu fuge, nate dea, teque his, ait, eripe flammis.
Hostis habet muros; ruit alto a culmine Troia.
Sat patriae Priamoque datum: si Pergama dextra
Defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent:
Sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia Penates:
Hos cape fatorum comites, his moenia quaere
Magna, pererrato statues quae denique ponto.
Sic ait, et manibus vittas Vestamque potentem

287.] 'Moratur,' as in 5. 400. 'He does not regard my vain inquiries.'

290.] 'Muros' emphatic. 'The ramparts are in the enemy's hand.' 'Ruit alto a culmine Troia:' Il. 13. 772, ὤλετο πᾶσα κατ' ἄκρης Ἴλιος αἰπεινή, which however is no reason for reading 'alta' from Dorville's conj., found also in MS. Coll. Jes., with Wakef., Forb., Ladewig, and now Wagn., as 'alto' conveys the same notion, while κατ' ἄκρης could scarcely have had an epithet. See v. 603.

291.] 'Sat datum,' 9. 135. "Satisdare" is a legal phrase for giving security for payment (Cic. 2. Verr. 1. 56., 2. 24). Here it stands for the payment itself, more commonly expressed "satisfacere." 'The claims of your country and your king are discharged:' "Nil debes patriae Priamoque." 'Dextra,' by strength of hand: "audendum dextra" 9. 320, like "manu" v. 645. 'If strength of hand could save Troy now, mine too would have saved it in my day.' Serv. mentions another interpretation of 'etiam,' "ut sit *adhuc*, ut 'etiam currus, etiam arma tenentem' (6. 485; comp. 7. 778)." This is very plausible, though perhaps we should rather have expected "defenderentur." Serv.'s own judgment is "sed melius est *etiam hac*, ut et particeps gloriae sit Aeneas et Hector arrogantiam vitet."

292.] Nägelsbach (ap. Forb.) seems right in removing the period after 'fuissent,' the general sense being 'You have no duties to the city; that no fighting can or could save; but the care of the Penates devolves on you; take them.'

293.] What the Penates were was an unsolved problem among the ancients themselves: nor is it it easy to say what Virg. supposed them to be. He classes them here and 9. 258 foll. with Vesta (comp. 5. 744), and elsewhere (3. 12., 8 679) with the "magni Di;" but it is not clear in either case whether the association implies distinction or identification. All that can be said is that they were supposed to be in a peculiar sense the national gods of Troy (comp. 5. 63, where Acestes has other Penates of his own), and that, as their name imports, they were connected with the home and the hearth. Their images were easily carried, as appears from v. 717 below. On the whole subject see Dict. B. s. v., Heyne's Excursus on this Book, and Lersch § 57. 13.

294.] 'Fatorum comites,' to share your destiny. 'His,' for these; 3. 159, "Tu moenia magnis Magna para," and note. Serv. makes the reference (though he seems not to have understood that 'quaere' is synonymous with "para"), and Ti. Donatus says "'magna;' quia magni sunt Dii." 'Magna' then must be taken with 'quaere,' which happens to be the punctuation of Med., not with 'quae statues.'

295.] 'Quae statues,' a distinct proposition containing a prophecy, 'a mighty city, which thou shalt build at last, after having wandered the whole sea over.' There is nothing weak in this explanation and punctuation, as Wagn. supposes, for the whole Aeneid turns on the founding of a city by Aeneas, and this is the first prediction of it.

296.] 'Vittas Vestamque;' equivalent to "Vestam vittatam" (note on v. 168). Vesta is mentioned along with the Penates again 5. 744., 9. 258. The Penates had already been put into his hands, vv. 293, 294, 'hos cape.' It is evident that Virg. means to represent the apparition of Hector as actually bringing out the gods, not merely as appearing to do so. It is therefore neither a vision nor a

Aeternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem.
 Diverso interea miscentur moenia luctu,
Et magis atque magis, quamquam secreta parentis
Anchisae domus arboribusque obtecta recessit,
Clarescunt sonitus, armorumque ingruit horror.
Excutior somno, et summi fastigia tecti
Ascensu supero, atque arrectis auribus adsto:
In segetem veluti cum flamma furentibus austris
Incidit, aut rapidus montano flumine torrens
Sternit agros, sternit sata laeta boumque labores,
Praecipitisque trahit silvas, stupet inscius altò
Accipiens sonitum saxi de vertice pastor.
Tum vero manifesta fides, Danaumque patescunt

dream strictly speaking, though in particulars it may be compared with both. See note on 1. 355.

298—317.] 'My first impulse is to make for the citadel.'

298.] "Ei mihi! quid tanto turbantur moenia luctu?" 12. 620. 'Luctus' seems peculiarly used of the agony during a battle, vv. 26, 369, Sall. Jug. 97. "luctu atque caede omnia complentur," as well as of the grief afterwards for the lost, 11. 350, but the distinction is not always easy to draw. 'Diverso,' as the disaster spread through the town.

299.] 'Secreta' and 'obtecta' both go with 'recessit,' as predicates. In Hom., as Mr. Gladstone remarks (Studies, vol. iii. p. 120), Anchises is an independent prince of Dardania, not a resident in Troy.

301.] 'Armorum horror,' the alarm of battle: 12. 405, "saevus campis magis et magis horror Crebrescit, propiusque malum est."

302.] 'Excutior,' middle. 'Fastigia tecti' is rightly explained by Henry as "tectum fastigatum," a sloping or ridged roof, comparing Livy's description of the "testudo," 44. 9, "scutis super capita densatis, stantibus primis, secundis submissioribus, tertiis magis et quartis, postremis etiam genu nixis, fastigatum, sicut tecta aedificiorum sunt, testudinem faciebant."

303.] 'Ascensu supero:' equivalent to "ascendo," as "partu creare" to parere," &c.; see on v. 226. 'Supero' is used alone in this sense, 6. 676. 'Adsto:' see on 1. 152. ['Asto' Pal. and fragm. Vat. —H. N.]

304.] The comparison is between Aeneas listening to the sound of battle from the roof of his house, and a shepherd hearing the roaring of a conflagration or a torrent from the top of a crag, so that it seems best to make 'stupet' the apodosis to 'veluti cum,' though in Il. 4. 455, which suggested the simile of the torrent, the shepherd is introduced merely as an accessory to the picture. Comp. 1. 148, note. Of course, however, the protasis of the simile is so worded as to give some notion of the whole scene as it lay before Aeneas. For 'furentibus' we might have expected "ferentibus," as in G. 2. 311, but the MSS. have no variation. 'Incidit flamma,' perhaps of a casual spark, like "excidit ignis" G. 2. 303.

305.) 'Montano flumine' is apparently to be taken with 'torrens,' not with 'sternit.' The details of the simile seem to be taken from Il. 11. 492 foll., and perhaps Lucr. 1. 281 foll.

306.] 'Sternit—sternit,' note on E. 4. 6. ['Bovum' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

307.] 'Stupet inscius' occurs again 7. 381., 10. 249: not knowing what to make of it. [Quint. 8. 6. 10 quotes the passage with "sedet."—H. N.]

309.] 'Manifesta fides' is used by Livy 6. 13 for a palpable demonstration. Forc. compares the Aristotelian use of πίστις, which Cic. Top. 12 renders 'fides.' ["Manifesta veritas patuit." Ti. Donatus.—H. N.] The thing demonstrated is the truth of the vision and its revelations. It matters little whether 'manifesta' be taken as a predicate, or 'fides' constructed with 'patescunt.'

Insidiae. Iam Deiphobi dedit ampla ruinam
Volcano superante domus, iam proximus ardet
Ucalegon; Sigea igni freta lata relucent.
Exoritur clamorque virum clangorque tubarum.
Arma amens capio; nec sat rationis in armis;
Sed glomerare manum bello et concurrere in arcem
Cum sociis ardent animi; furor iraque mentem
Praecipitant, pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis.
  Ecce autem telis Panthus elapsus Achivom,
Panthus Othryades, arcis Phoebique sacerdos,
Sacra manu victosque deos parvumque nepotem
Ipse trahit, cursuque amens ad limina tendit.

310.] 'Ampla' connected with 'dedit' as a predicate. 'Dedit ruinam,' Lucr. 2. 1145. That the house of Deiphobus was one of the first attacked appears from Od. 8. 517. See also 6. 494, note.

311.] There is the same doubt here as in 1. 537 about the meaning of 'superante.' 'Overtopping' would perhaps give the more poetical and picturesque sense, but 'overpowering' would be supported by "expugnata" in the passage referred to above from Lucr. (comp. also "evicta traxit ruinam," vv. 630, 631, below), and by "ignis—victor—regnat," G. 2. 307.

312.] 'Ucalegon:' one of the ancient counsellors who sat with Priam on the wall, Il. 3. 148. The man is put for his house, as Apollo for his temple, 3. 275. "Iam frivola transfert Ucalegon" Juv. 3. 288, alluding to this passage. So "ad nos" for "ad nostram domum." 'Lata' has the force of "late." Forb. comp. 12. 785, "ter caelo clarus ab alto Intonuit."

313.] Comp. 1. 87. 'Tubarum:' the mention of trumpets is said by Heyne to be an anachronism; Hom. speaks of their use, and that during a siege, Il. 18. 219, only however in a simile. Serv. speaks of overthrowing cities to the sound of a trumpet as an ancient custom, and instances the taking of Alba by Tullus Hostilius.

314.] 'In armis,' sc. "capiendis." Aeneas was rushing into battle without a sufficiently distinct notion what object to aim at. "Non te rationis egentem Lernaeus turba capitum circumstetit anguis," 8. 299.

315.] This and the two following lines explain Aeneas' feelings in arming himself,—anxiety to effect a junction with his friends and occupy a position, rage and desperation, and the hope of a glorious death. 'Glomerare manum,' to gather a troop, occurs 9. 792. 'Bello' apparently the dative, "ad bellum," as in G. 2. 279, 447, &c. The citadel as a rallying-point in his first thought: see on v. 322.

317.] ['Praecipitat' Pal. and originally Gud.—H. N.] "Succurrit, pulchrum esse mori in armis."

318—369.] 'I am met by Panthus, the priest of Apollo, coming from the citadel, and he tells me all is lost. A few friends join me, and we resolve to sell our lives as dearly as we can.'

318.] 'Pantheus' and 'Otriades' are read in some MSS.; but Πάνθοος or Πάνθους and Ὀθρυάδης are the Greek forms. Panthus appears Il. 3. 145 with Priam on the wall: he is mentioned also as the father of Polydamas and Euphorbus, the former of whom is saved from Meges by Apollo, Il. 15. 521. ['Elabsus' Pal.—H. N.]

319.] 'Arcis Phoebique:' of Apollo in the citadel, where there seems to have been cells or chapels for several of the gods, like those of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva in the Capitol at Rome, to which Serv. refers. So 7. 419, "Iunonis templique sacerdos."

320.] 'Sacra deosque;' apparently a hendiadys, as in v. 293. 'Victos,' 1. 68, "victosque Penatis." [Comp. 12. 286 "pulsatos referens infecto foedere divos." —H. N.]

132.] The words 'ipse manu,' which are frequently found together in Virg. (G. 3. 395., 4. 329 &c.), seem always intended to call attention to the agent, sometimes with direct reference to others, some-

Quo res summa loco, Panthu? quam prendimus arcem?
Vix ea fatus eram, gemitu cum talia reddit:
Venit summa dies et ineluctabile tempus
Dardaniae. Fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium et ingens
Gloria Teucrorum; ferus omnia Iuppiter Argos
Transtulit: incensa Danai dominantur in urbe.
Arduus armatos mediis in moenibus adstans

times merely as coming forward prominently, e. g. where the act is one requiring exertion. 'Limina:' the door of Aeneas, who is just rushing out when he is met by Panthus on the threshold, and sallies forth accordingly, v. 336, after their conversation. 'Litora,' the old reading in the time of Pierius, supported also by Burmann, is perhaps found only in one MS., the first Hamburg. Serv. and Ti. Donatus have 'limina.' 'Cursu tendit,' equivalent to "currit:" see on vv. 226, 303. "Legitur et 'cursum'" Serv., and so one MS. Panthus evidently flies to Aeneas as the bravest surviving warrior in Troy, supposing too that he may not be aware of the capture of the city.

322.] ["Res summa, res publica." Serv. This is in fact the ancient use of the phrase: Plaut. Merc. 986 quoted by Henry, "ubi locist res summa"? Ennius A. 102 "astu . . . summam servare decet rem:" 411 "noenum sperando cupide rem prodere summam." Attius Atreus (v. 206 Ribbeck) "quod re in summa summum esse arbitror Periclum . . . Contaminari stirpem." Aeneadae 14 "quibus rem summam et patriam nostram quondam adauctavit pater." It is simpler to explain the words thus than to take them in the sense common in Livy (e. g. 23. 49) 'the point on which all depends.' So in Aen. 11. 302 "summa de re" would in Ciceronian prose have been "de re publica." And here the prose expression would have been "quo loco est res publica," as Horace says 1 Epist. 12. 25, "quo sit Romana loco res," and Virg. A. 9. 723, "quo sit fortuna loco." Ti. Donatus, with less probability, explains the words as = "rerum summa," the crisis of fortune.—H. N.] "Arx" is used in its proper sense, a citadel, or point of defence, though 'quam' seems to show that the word is not meant to be restricted to the citadel κατ' ἐξοχήν, Pergamus, as Wagn.'s interpretation of 'quam' for "quomodo" would not yield an appropriate sense. Aeneas sees Panthus hurrying away from the citadel with his gods and his grandson, and so naturally asks, 'What citadel are we occupying?' or 'have we occupied?' suspecting already that Pergamus is no longer tenable. Henry well remarks that Panthus answers in effect, 'We have no citadel anywhere to defend,' and that Aeneas, hearing this, rushes out with no definite object in the direction of the shouting. 'Prendimus,' 6. 61.

324.] 'Ineluctabile,' 8. 334.

325.] 'Dardaniae:' the dative, as 1. 22. 'Fuimus:' "sed Fortuna fuit," 7. 413, "altaque Troia fuit," Prop. 2. 8. 10. So the common use of 'vixi,' e. g. Prop. 5. 11. 59. Mr. Keightley has communicated to me an attestation of the Roman character of the phrase from Appian Syr. 37, ἦν πολύ τε σφίσι (the Romans) τὸ ἔπος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις· Ἦν βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος ὁ μέγας. 'Ilium et ingens gloria,' 6. 64.

326.] 'Omnia Argos transtulit' is commonly understood as if the metaphor were from removing the seat of government from one place to another. So Heyne, "Argivis victoriam et rerum summam permisit." It appears however to refer to the story which seems to have formed the subject of the Ξοανηφόροι of Sophocles (Schol. on Aesch. Theb. 310), that the gods departed in a body from Troy on the night of its capture, bearing their images with them, at which Virg. himself glances in v. 351. 'Jupiter has gone over to the Argives and carried everything with him.' So Macrob. Sat. 3. 9. Viewed in this light, 'omina,' which is found in one MS. (the codex Bigotianus, of the twelfth century), becomes extremely probable, as the words have already been confounded twice in this book, vv. 178. 182. The departure of the gods and the burning of the city follow in precisely the same connexion vv. 351 foll.

327.] I. q. "incenderunt Danai urbem et dominantur in ea."

328.] 'Adstans,' standing erect. G. 3,

Fundit ecus, victorque Sinon incendia miscet
Insultans. Portis alii bipatentibus adsunt,
Milia quot magnis umquam venere Mycenis;
Obsedere alii telis angusta viarum
Oppositi; stat ferri acies mucrone corusco
Stricta, parata neci; vix primi proelia temptant
Portarum vigiles, et caeco Marte resistunt.
Talibus Othryadae dictis et numine divom
In flammas et in arma feror, quo tristis Erinys,
Quo fremitus vocat et sublatus ad aethera clamor.
Addunt se socios Ripeus et maximus armis

545. 'Mediis in moenibus:' in the heart of the city, as the horse had been lodged in the citadel.

329.] ['Equus' Med. and Gud.—H. N.] 'Incendia miscet,' like "dispersa immittit incendia," 10. 406.

330.] There seems no occasion to assert with Wagn. that 'alii—alii' are not used in their ordinary sense. 'Some are crowding into the gates, others are guarding the ways.' The expression in the next verse is not much more hyperbolical if used of a part than if extended to the whole. The great mass was thronging the gateway, and Panthus describes them with the natural exaggeration of terror. ['Bipatentibus' is taken by Ti. Donatus to mean open at both sides of the city. "Ostendit unam portam quae ingredientibus atque regredientibus muris incolumibus praeparata (erat). Alteram dicit quae diruta murorum parte fuerat patefacta, ut equi moles immensa posset induci." So Serv., "'bipatentibus' quia geminae sunt portae." This is in accordance with analogy, for in 10. 3 (note) "tectis bipatentibus" means halls open at both ends. Conington however took the words as referring to folding doors.—H. N.]

331.] 'Nunquam' is the reading of some inferior MSS. The line then would convey not a hyperbole, but a suspicion of treachery.

332.] 'Angusta viarum:' 1. 422 note.

333.] 'Oppositis' Med., Gud. originally, and many others (Pal. is illegible and Rom. deficient): but 'oppositi' seems slightly preferable, as the former would introduce a sort of tautology with what follows, as Wagner remarks, and the variation is accounted for by the first letter of the next word. For 'ferri acies' some MSS. examined by Pierius read "pernicies,' an expression not at all in Virg.'s manner, and refuted by 'neci,' which would then be tautological. Virg. may have thought of Soph. Aj. 815, ὁ μὲν σφαγεὺς ἕστηκεν ᾗ τομώτατος γένοιτ' ἄν, though 'stat' of course refers to the sword firmly grasped in the hand, so as to present the point to the enemy.

334.] 'Primi,' at the entrance, Wagn., who comp. v. 613., 1. 541.

335.] There is no difficulty about 'caeco Marte,' which might be said of a night encounter, though it happened to be moonlight.

336.] It would seem from such passages as v. 195., 3. 172, that 'numine divom' is meant to be connected with, not distinct from, 'talibus dictis,' Panthus' words declaring the will of Heaven, so that we may suppose Aeneas to mean that having heard from Panthus that the gods had declared against Troy, and that all hope of rallying his countrymen was over, he rushed desperately forth. This would accord with the view taken in v. 322. "Dictis ac numine Phoebi" occurs 9. 661, where "Phoebi" seems to belong to both. 'Talibus dictis,' a sort of circumstantial abl., as in 7. 249, though it may be instrumental. ['Divum' Med.—H. N.]

337.] 'Erinys:' the single 'n' is the orthography of the best MSS. here and elsewhere, though Med. here has another 'n' added afterwards, and, like Pal., has the two last vowels interchanged; it is also supported by the best editions of Greek authors. The reference here is not to the Fury within, as Heyne thinks, but to the Fury without, as Wund. explains it, the demon of battle. So "civilis Erinys" Lucan. 4. 187.

339.] 'Maximus annis' is the reading

Epytus, oblati per lunam, Hypanisque Dymasque,
Et lateri adglomerant nostro, iuvenisque Coroebus,
Mygdonides. Illis ad Troiam forte diebus
Venerat, insano Cassandrae incensus amore,
Et gener auxilium Priamo Phrygibusque ferebat,
Infelix, qui non sponsae praecepta furentis
Audierit.

of some inferior MSS., introduced, as Heyne observes, from v. 435 (where the mention of age is appropriate) by those who supposed Epytus to be the same as Iphitus. Weidner comp. "nec bello maior et armis" 1. 545.

340.] 'Epytus' ('Aepytus' Med.) is found in the best MSS., and is supported by "Epytides" 5. 547, where see note. Others have 'Iphitus' or 'Iphytus,' who is mentioned v. 435 in connexion with the rest of those who are named here; so that there is some reason for identifying the two. On the other hand, in v. 435 Iphitus is named along with Pelias, who does not appear here. In both places the names have been indefinitely corrupted in the inferior MSS. Heyne first suggested the removal of the semicolon after 'Epytus,' so as to refer 'oblati per lunam' to all alike. See v. 262. These names are unknown except in the sequel.

341.] It is best to supply 'se' from 'addunt' to 'adglomerant.' See 1. 440 note. Coroebus, son of Mygdon (Il. 3. 184), king of Phrygia, and Anaximene, is a post-Homeric personage. The legend seems to have agreed about his history, but not about his death, which was generally ascribed to Neoptolemus, by Lesches to Diomed, and by Virg., or the authority whom he followed (v. 425), to Peneleus. He is mentioned by Euripides (?), Rhes. 539. Euphorion represented him as a fool, probably to give individuality to the character, as later writers perverted the Homeric conceptions of Menelaus, Ulysses, &c.; and this view became traditional, Zenobius making him a sort of gigantic idiot who would stand counting the waves of the sea, Aristides (Platon. 2) contrasting him and Palamedes as the two extremes, and Aelian (Var. Hist. 13. 15) enumerating him among extraordinary fools. Cerda, who has collected these authorities, also mentions a proverb, ἠλιθιώτερος Κοροίβου. In Virg.'s conception there is merely impetuosity and light-heartedness. The story of his love for Cassandra [may have come from Lesches: see Pausanias 10. 27. 1. —H. N.].

342.] The MSS. of Macrob. Sat. 5. 5 and some inferior MSS. of Virg. insert 'qui' after 'illis,' and this was the reading before Heins.; but the omission of the relative is distinctly recognized by Serv., and suits the less strict style of poetical narrative. One MS., the Parrhasian, substitutes 'qui' for 'ad,' which would be plausible if better supported, as the corruption could be accounted for on critical grounds: but the MS. itself has been much interpolated, and the variety need only prove that the copyists were anxious to introduce the relative somewhere: thus in the Balliol MS. it is introduced after 'Troiam' in spite of the metre. Comp. 1. 12, 530, though here the sentence is not strictly speaking parenthetical, as it interrupts the narrative, but not the construction. The late arrival of Coroebus is borrowed from Hom. l. c., ὅς ῥα νέον πολέμοιο μετὰ κλέος εἰληλούθει. ['At' Pal. for 'ad.'—H. N.]

343.] 'Insano,' because it hurried him to his ruin. The word is a general epithet of love, as in E. 10. 44, but its applicability is of course fixed by the particular case, so that Forb. is wrong in explaining it simply as 'excessive' or 'overpowering.'

344.] 'Gener' is to be taken with 'auxilium ferebat,' 'he brought a son-in-law's succour;' an expression like that with which Aristotle (Rhet. 3) illustrates the difference between a metaphor and a simile, λέων ἀνόρουσε. See on E. 8. 1, 18. 'Phrygibus' is not easily reconcilable with Coroebus' own Phrygian parentage mentioned on v. 341, so that we must suppose Virg. to have committed an oversight. Othryoneus offers to take Cassandra without a dowry, and promises to expel the Greeks from Troy.

346.] 'Audierat' some MSS., including two of Ribbeck's cursives. 'Audierit' Med., restored by Heins. The subjunctive is obviously preferable, and the tense too appears more suitable, as the sense is

Quos ubi confertos audere in proelia vidi,
Incipio super his: Iuvenes, fortissima frustra
Pectora, si vobis audentem extrema cupido
Certa sequi, quae sit rebus fortuna videtis:
Excessere omnes, adytis arisque relictis,
Di, quibus imperium hoc steterat; succurritis urbi
Incensae; moriamur, et in media arma ruamus.
Una salus victis, nullam sperare salutem.
Sic animis iuvenum furor additus. Inde, lupi ceu
Raptores atra in nebula, quos inproba ventris

not that he had not heard, but that he did not heed. 'O wretch, not to listen to' &c.

347.] Gronov. on Sen. Herc. F. 779, Burm., and Hand (Tursell. 3. 268), conjecture 'ardere,' which is supported by "ardere in arma" 12. 71, "ardere in bellum" Manil. 4. 220, at the same time that it might easily be confounded with 'audere' by the copyists, as has been the case in 11. 895. But Ladewig well comp. Stat. Theb. 1. 439, "neque enim meus audeat istas Civis in usque manus," Grat. Cyn. 498, "non omne meas genus audet in artis;" from which it appears that the meaning of 'audere in' is to have courage sufficient for. 'Audere' is used absolutely 9. 320., 12. 159. 'Confertos:' formed into a band, as Aeneas wished "glomerare manum bello," v. 315. Some MSS. have 'consertos,' which is the corrected reading of Canon.

348.] 'Super his' could hardly have the sense of "post haec," as Heyne thinks, but would rather mean "de his;" nor is Weichert's explanation more likely, that 'his' stands for "ad hos," like Homer's τοῖσι δ' ἦρχ' ἀγορεύειν, as 'quos' precedes so immediately. It remains then with Serv. to understand 'his' as "his dictis," taking 'super' adverbially, "quia iam audebant, unde paullo post, 'furor additus.'" 'Fortissima pectora' like "fortissima corda" 5. 729.

349.] 'Audendi' is a reading mentioned by Serv., perhaps adopted by Ti. Donatus, and found in Med. and a few other MSS., but no construction would be possible with it, though Ladewig attempts to give 'sequi' an imperative sense: see on 3. 405.

350.] 'Sequi' may go either with 'certa' or with 'cupido,' as in v. 10. The words from 'quae sit' to 'incensae,' v. 353, were taken by Heyne as parenthetical, but Wagn. rightly objects to this as too complicated. A succession of short sentences, without connecting particles, is precisely what we should expect in an address like this.

351.] See note on v. 326, and comp. Aesch. Theb. 310, Eur. Tro. 25. The custom of "evocatio," which arose from this belief, seems to have been peculiar to the Romans. "Excedere" or "cedere" is used elsewhere in speaking of the subject, e. g. Hor. 2 Od. 1. 25. Tac. H. 5. 13, "Apertae repente delubri fores, et audita maior humana vox, Excedere deos: simul ingens motus excedentium," the μεταβαίνωμεν ἐντεῦθεν of the siege of Jerusalem. ['Discessere' is read in the line as quoted by Augustine De Civ. Dei 3. 15.—H. N.]

352.] v. 163 above, note.

353.] 'Incensae' is the emphatic word, as in v. 327, βοηθεῖτε φλεγομένῃ τῇ πόλει. 'The city you succour is a blazing ruin.' 'Moriamur et ruamus' is not exactly a case of ὕστερον πρότερον. The first thing which Aeneas had to do was to persuade his comrades to die; the next to tell them how to do it. "In arma feror," v. 337.

354.] Wagn. well comp. Justin 20. 3, "Locrenses paucitatem suam circumspicientes omissa spe victoriae in destinatam mortem conspirant; tantusque ardor ex desperatione singulos cepit ut victores se putarent si non inulti morerentur. Sed dum mori honeste quaerunt feliciter vicerunt, nec alia causa victoriae fuit quam quod desperaverunt."

355.] There are several comparisons of men to wolves in Hom., in two of which (Il. 11. 72., 16. 156) the words λύκοι ὣς occur at the end of a line; but the circumstances of the simile are rather from the comparison of Ulysses and Diomed to lions sallying out διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν Ἂμ φόνον, ἂν νέκυας, διά τ' ἔντεα καὶ μέλαν αἷμα (Il. 10. 297).

356.] With 'raptores' comp. G. 1. 130, "Praedarique lupos iussit," with 'atra

Exegit caecos rabies, catulique relicti
Faucibus expectant siccis, per tela, per hostis
Vadimus haud dubiam in mortem, mediaeque tenemus
Urbis iter; nox atra cava circumvolat umbra.
Quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando
Explicet, aut possit lacrimis aequare labores?
Urbs antiqua ruit, multos dominata per annos;
Plurima perque vias sternuntur inertia passim
Corpora perque domos et religiosa deorum
Limina. Nec soli poenas dant sanguine Teucri;
Quondam etiam victis redit in praecordia virtus
Victoresque cadunt Danai. Crudelis ubique

in nebula' 9. 61 (of a wolf), "nocte super media," and with 'inproba ventris rabies' ib. 62, 63, "inprobus ira . . . collecta fatigat edendi Ex longo rabies," Homer's *περιστένεται δέ τε γαστήρ* (Il. 16. 163), Aeschylus' *κοιλογάστορες λύκοι.* (Theb. 1035), and Shakspeare's 'belly-pinched wolf.' 'Inproba,' note on v. 80 above, G. 1. 119. Comp. Od. 17. 473. ['Improba' Med.—H. N.]

357.] 'Exegit caecos:' has driven them out blindly to prowl.

358.] "Siccae sanguine fauces," 9. 62. So Shelley's Hellas (of an eagle): "And her brood expect the clanging Of her wings through the wild air, Sick with famine." ['Exspectant' Med.—H. N.]

359.] They apparently make for the arx as the seat of danger: comp. v 240.

360.] 'Cava umbra:' "quatenus ipsi ea circumdantur," Heyne. See 1. 516. ["Bonum epitheton; naturale enim est ut obscurum sit omne concavum." Serv.—H. N.] There does not seem any real inconsistency between this line and vv. 255, 340, as we are not meant to think of a moonlight as distinguished from a moonless night, but of night as distinguished from day. See further on v. 369. [Henry would understand 'nox' of death, which is hardly probable where there is no epithet, and nothing in the context to indicate clearly that this is the meaning.—H. N.]

361.] "Fando enumerare" 4. 333. The line is apparently imitated from Od. 3. 113 (of the sufferings of the Greeks at Troy) *τίς κεν ἐκεῖνα Πάντα γε μυθήσαιτο καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.*

362.] 'Aequare,' to keep pace with, 'lacrimis' being the abl., as in 3. 671., 6. 263. This seems better than to make 'lacrimis' dat., as in 4. 89 &c., and regard the words as a poetical variety for "lacrimas aequare laboribus," with Serv.

363.] See on v. 557.

364.] 'Inertia,' i. q. "inbellia," the bodies of the weak and helpless, 4. 158., 9. 150. ["Which had offered no resistance, died inertly." Henry.—H. N.] 'Passim' has here its etymological sense of 'dispersedly.' Hand, Tursell. 4. 405 foll.

365.] 'Religiosus' is a common epithet of holy places: see Forc. [Serv. would write 'relligiosa.'—H. N.]

367.] 'Quondam' in its strict sense, at a certain time, or sometimes, as in 7. 378. Comp. the use of 'sometime' for 'formerly." So "olim" is 'at that time,' which may refer either to the past, as we say 'once on a time,' or to the future, like our 'one day.' The thought, as Heyne remarks, is from Il. 14. 480 foll., where the Trojan Acamas says to the Greeks, *οὐ θην οἴοισίν γε πόνος τ' ἔσεται καὶ ὀϊζὺς Ἡμῖν, ἀλλά ποθ' ὧδε κατακτανέεσθε καὶ ὔμμες.* Comp. also Il. 17. 363 *καὶ Δαναῶν· οὐδ' οἳ γὰρ ἀναιμωτί γε μάχοντο.*

368.] 'Crudelis' answers to *ὠμός*, and its contrary is expressed by "mitis." Here accordingly it may be rendered 'ruthless' or 'relentless agony' (see on v. 298). Weidner cites Sall. Cat. 51 (Cæsar's speech), where an enumeration of the horrors of a sack concludes with the words "postremo armis, cadaveribus, cruore atque luctu omnia compleri." The predicate appears to be 'ubique,' which is accordingly repeated with 'pavor,' and, in the form of 'plurima,' with 'mortis imago.'

Luctus, ubique pavor, et plurima mortis imago.
  Primus se, Danaum magna comitante caterva,
Androgeos offert nobis, socia agmina credens
Inscius, atque ultro verbis compellat amicis:
Festinate, viri. Nam quae tam sera moratur
Segnities? alii rapiunt incensa feruntque
Pergama; vos celsis nunc primum a navibus itis.
Dixit, et extemplo, neque enim responsa dabantur

369.] 'Imago,' simply 'the sight,' as in 6. 405: so that it is not quite the same as Shaksp. Macbeth, 1. 3, "Nothing afraid of what thyself didst make, Strange images of death," which Henry comp. ['Plurima,' present everywhere, haunting us on all sides. "Aut definitio timoris est, aut varietas mortis ostenditur." Serv.—H. N.] Some MSS. have 'noctis,' which may lend a slight support to an ingenious suggestion of Peerlkamp's that 'nox' v. 360 may be an error for 'mors,' on a comparison of Hor. 2 S. 1. 58, "mors atris circumvolat alis." [For the lengthening of the final syllable of 'pavor' see Excursus at the end of the third vol.—H. N.]

370—401.] 'A meeting with a party of Greeks, who mistake us for their own countrymen, and fall a prey to us in consequence, revives our hopes. We assume their armour, and in this disguise make much havoc among the enemy.'

370.] It would seem from v. 385 that 'primus' is meant to be taken more or less strictly, the encounter with Androgeos having been the first of any importance engaged in by Aeneas and his friends. We must suppose then that Aeneas is speaking specifically here, having spoken generally v. 367. A former pointing, now supported by Henry, was 'Primus se Danaum,' which is supported by the fact that in other passages of the kind where 'caterva' is constructed with a gen., the gen. comes after 'magna' (comp. 1. 497., 11. 478): but 'primus' with the gen. elsewhere in Virg. appears to mean 'first in rank.'

371.] 'Androgeus' was restored by Heins. from Med.; Pal., Gud. originally, &c., however give 'Androgeos,' which has also the authority of Serv. The difficulty is that the same spelling is not preserved throughout, as almost all the MSS. read 'Androgei' v. 392, and Charisius (1. 15, p. 92 Keil) agrees with them, though in 6. 20 he declares that Virg. wrote 'Androgeo,' which seems now to be found only in some cursive MSS. In v. 425 the great majority and Charisius have "Penelei," not "Peneleo." In 5. 265 Med. has "Demoleus;" Rom. and Pal. "Demoleos," which is recognized by Quintilian 8. 4. 24. The MSS. are constantly varying in the spelling of proper names, and it does not seem probable that Virg. would designedly have alternated between two forms of the same word within a few lines of each other, nor yet that a bonâ fide tradition of his variety of practice in this respect can have come down to the grammarians. Reason would seem in favour of 'Androgeos,' 'Androgeo,' as the Greek form would be 'Ἀνδρογέως or 'Ἀνδρόγαιος, like Μενελέως or Μενέλαος, and the Romans do not turn ω into 'u,' while if they had preferred the latter form they would have had to lengthen the penultimate by adopting the diphthong. If 'Androgeus' is to be defended, we must suppose that Virg. wishing to avoid the Greek form, especially in an oblique case, chose to Latinize an imaginary third form, 'Ἀνδρόγεος. Meanwhile it seems safest to decide for 'Androgeos' here on the analogy of 'Demoleos,' which will also avoid the necessity of supposing a lengthening of the short vowel in caesura, and in vv. 392, 425 to follow the great multitude of MSS. "Socium agmen" v. 613 below.

373.] 'Nam,' as in G. 4. 445, note. 'Quae tam sera,' G. 2. 315, though here 'sera' seems to form part of the predicate with 'moratur.'

374.] 'Rapiunt feruntque:' ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν. Livy 49. 49, "cum ferret passim cuncta atque ageret."

375.] It seems better to read this line without the interrogation, added by Heyne and late editors. 'Others are plundering Troy, which is on fire every where; and here are you, only just now on your way from the ships.'

376.] The words apparently mean the answer returned was not such as to assure

Fida satis, sensit medios delapsus in hostis.
Obstipuit, retroque pedem cum voce repressit.
Inprovisum aspris veluti qui sentibus anguem
Pressit humi nitens, trepidusque repente refugit
Attollentem iras et caerula colla tumentem;
Haut secus Androgeos visu tremefactus abibat.
Inruimus, densis et circumfundimur armis,
Ignarosque loci passim et formidine captos
Sternimus. Adspirat primo fortuna labori.
Atque hic successu exsultans animisque Coroebus,
O socii, qua prima, inquit, fortuna salutis
Monstrat iter, quaque ostendit se dextra, sequamur:
Mutemus clipeos, Danaumque insignia nobis

him. Serv. may be right in referring it to the watchword, or again we might suppose from v. 423 that there was a difference in dialect. In any case the tense of 'dabantur' is to be observed; no satisfactory answer was being given, such as Androgeos expected to receive at once.

377.] 'Sensit delapsus' is a familiar Grecism, probably to be explained not by attraction, but by the help of the fuller expression, "delapsus sensit se delapsum ease," though in sense of course the participle stands instead of the object of the verb. The principle is the same as that of prolepsis, and is exemplified also in such expressions as "ostendit se dextra," v. 388. Or we may say that the participle qualifies the verb, "he perceived as a man perceives who has fallen," &c. In some cases the difference between the nom. and the acc. with 'esse' scarcely affects the sense at all, e. g. "gaudent perfusi sanguine fratrum," G. 2. 510, where the use of the nom. appears quite natural, and the object of the verb is supplied without any difficulty. The use of the nom. with "esse," as in Hor. 3. Od. 27. 73, "Uxor invicti Iovis esse nescis," is not to be confounded with it, as there an attraction does take place, or rather perhaps a confusion between the two modes of expression. It is right also to remember that "sentio" is sometimes used absolutely (see on 7. 434), which may have been an additional reason for Virg. to employ the expression here. ['Delabsus' Pal.—H. N.]

378.] 'Pedem cum voce repressit,' like "palmas cum voce tetendit," v. 688, &c., is a piece of rather artificial quaintness, resembling Horace's "finis chartaeque viaeque," 1 S. 5. 104. 'Retro repressit,' as in G. 1. 200, "retro referri."

379.] Imitated from Il. 3. 33. 'Aspris:' the syncopated form has been supposed to exist in Ennius, Hedyphagetica 2, "Mures sunt Aeni, aspra ostrea plurima Abydi;" but the MSS. of Apuleius, who preserves the fragment, have "aspera," and the metre makes the change very uncertain. Vahlen corrects "spissa."

380.] 'Nitens,' advancing with effort, because of the briars. 'Refugit' may either be aoristic or the perf. of instantaneous action (v. 12).

381.] G. 3. 421.

382.] It is indifferent whether 'visu' be connected with 'tremefactus' or no. Comp. v. 212. 'Abibat,' was beginning to retreat.

383.] 'Circumfundimur' middle, like "induitur," v. 393; "conduntur," v. 401. Gud. originally and Pal. have "circumfudimus," others "circumfundimus." Comp. 3. 635.

384.] 'Passim sternimus,' v. 364.

385.] 'Adspirat labori,' as in 9. 525. The whole passage may remind us of Aesch. Pers. 97, *φιλόφρων γὰρ σαίνουσα τὸ πρῶτον παράγει βροτὸν εἰς ἀρκύστατα.*

386.] 'Successu exsultans' was restored by Heins., apparently from all the best MSS., for 'exsultans successu.' Wund. referred 'exsultans animis' to Coroebus' joy in the prowess of his companions; but Wagn. rightly questions the Latinity of this.

387.] ['Quae prima' Med.—H. N.] 'Prima' seems to be explained by "primo labori," v. 385, though it might refer to 'monstrat iter.'

388.] Comp. 1. 314., 12. 625.

389.] 'Insignia' is a common word for

Aptemus. Dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?
Arma dabunt ipsi. Sic fatus, deinde comantem
Androgei galeam clipeique insigne decorum
Induitur, laterique Argivum accommodat ensem.
Hoc Ripheus, hoc ipse Dymas omnisque iuventus
Laeta facit; spoliis se quisque recentibus armat.
Vadimus inmixti Danais haud numine nostro,
Multaque per caecam congressi proelia noctem
Conserimus, multos Danaum demittimus Orco.
Diffugiunt alii ad navis, et litora cursu
Fida petunt: pars ingentem formidine turpi
Scandunt rursus ecum et nota conduntur in alvo.

the conspicuous accoutrements of a soldier, such as shields and helmets. Comp. Tac. H. 1. 38, "rapta statim arma, sine more et ordine militiae, ut praetorianus aut legionarius insignibus suis distingueretur: miscentur auxiliaribus galeis scutisque."

390.] 'Who, having to deal with an enemy, would draw distinctions between stratagem and hard fighting?' 'In hoste,' v. 541. 'Requirit,' i. q. "rogat," as in v. 506 below. The sentiment may be taken, as Cerda thinks, from Pind. Isthm. 4, χρὴ δὲ πᾶν ἔρδοντ' ἀμαυρῶσαι τὸν ἐχθρόν.

391.] 'They shall themselves supply us with the arms we are to use against them,' 'ipsi' referring to the enemy generally, as Henry takes it. Serv. wishes to put a question after 'arma,' a very unseasonable attempt at rhetorical interrogation. 'Deinde' after a participle, like "tum," 5. 382. Comp. 5. 14, note.

392.] See above on v. 371. The 'insigne' is the shield itself, as in v. 389.

394.] No reason can be assigned for distinguishing Dymas from the rest; so that 'ipse' must be understood as equivalent to 'etiam,' with which it is not unfrequently joined. In this sense it would naturally be used with the last-mentioned person, the distinction being simply that he has not been named before, 'Dymas as well as others.' Serv. says many punctuated after 'ipse,' referring it to Aeneas himself. ['Ripeus' Pal.—H. N.]

395.] 'Recentibus:' fresh gained, the feeling being not unlike that expressed in "primo labori," v. 385.

396.] Med. has 'immixtis.' 'Haud numine nostro' is commonly explained, 'with no god to aid us,' or 'with the gods against us.' The context however seems decidedly to recommend a different sense, as the narrative down to v. 401 is evidently meant to describe the apparent success of the stratagem, and any words suggesting the real truth would not only interfere with the feeling of triumph, but spoil the effect of the next paragraph, which is ushered in by a sudden change of tone, "Heu, nihil invitis fas quemquam fidere divis!" The words must then refer to the Trojans as marching under a protection not their own, whether we suppose with Serv. that the Grecian arms actually carried with them the favour of the Grecian deities, or understand Virg. simply to express in theological language the advantage derived from the disguise, as Aeneas in v. 735 ascribes to some deity the confusion of mind which led him to lose Creusa. In prose we might have had "favente Fortuna haud nostra." Comp. v. 387, where Coroebus suggests that they should treat the opportunity as an interposition of fortune in their favour. [Henry explains the words "not according to our own will and pleasure, but according to the will and pleasure of the Danai;" but he does not succeed in showing that 'numen' is used of *men* in this sense.—H. N.]

397.] 'Per caecam noctem.' See on v. 360.

398.] Most of the MSS., including Med., have 'dimittimus,' a common error. See G. 2. 8, 354.

399.] 'Cursu petunt,' v. 321.

400.] 'Fida,' because their fleet was there. [For 'formidine turpi' Serv. quotes a parallel from Sallust (Hist. 1. 28 Dietsch): "Carbo turpi formidine Italiam atque exercitum deseruit."—H. N.]

401.] "Nec equi caeca condemur in alvo," 9. 152. See on vv. 19, 20. The argument there drawn from this place rests on the assumption that the cowardice described here is not likely to have been

Heu nihil invitis fas quemquam fidere divis!
Ecce trahebatur passis Priameia virgo
Crinibus a templo Cassandra adytisque Minervae,
Ad caelum tendens ardentia lumina frustra,
Lumina, nam teneras arcebant vincula palmas.

shown by any of the leaders of the Greeks: Virg. however may have chosen to disparage them here as he has done 6. 489 foll. ['Equum' Med.—H. N.]

402—437.] 'Fortune turns against us. We are mistaken by the Trojans, discovered by the Greeks, and slaughtered by both. I make for the palace.'

402.] 'Invitis divis,' the dat., not the abl. The sense is not 'men can have no confidence when the gods are averse,' but 'a man may not safely trust the gods against their will,' may not rely on Fortune when she has really declared against him. 'Invitis' seems to express that the gods are not willing to be trusted, as if by taking advantage of a turn of fortune and improving it by a stratagem Aeneas and his companions were exhibiting a trust in Heaven which they are not entitled to feel. This agrees with 'haud numine nostro,' as explained above, and gives a force to the whole context which it would not otherwise possess, the fate of the disguised Trojans being treated as a visitation from the gods for presuming on their aid, or attempting to gain it when it was not to be given. If Serv.'s explanation of v. 396 could be substantiated, the meaning would be more definite; but the passage does not require such a hypothesis. We should bear in mind the prominence given throughout this book to the agency of the gods; the Trojans are blinded by the gods so as to take in the horse: Aeneas rushes out in desperation on hearing that the gods have declared against Troy, v. 336; his very words to his companions, vv. 350 foll., contrast ominously with those of Coroebus, v. 387, the one bidding them accept the doom of the vanquished, "Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem," the other urging them to avail themselves of the first omen of safety and convert it into a certainty. They are punished; and Aeneas, after witnessing the fate of Priam, is caused by Venus to see the gods visibly arrayed against his country. With the language of this line comp. 5. 800, "Fas omne est, Cytherea, meis te fidere regnis," which might perhaps be quoted to show that 'nihil' here agrees with 'fas' like "nihil opus."

403.] The Cyclic poets, as appears from the argument of the Ἰλίου πέρσις of Arctinus, preserved by Proclus, described Cassandra as dragged from the temple of Pallas by Ajax, the son of Oileus, who dragged away also the statue of the goddess to which she was clinging; for this the Greeks would have stoned him had not he himself taken sanctuary, and his trial before the kings for the crime was the subject of paintings in the Poecile at Athens and at Delphi. The story is also referred to by Eur. Tro. 69 foll., where it is said that the Greeks took no notice of the crime. His death on the voyage home was represented as Pallas' revenge for the sacrilege, as mentioned on 1. 39. The ἑλκηθμός, or dragging away of prisoners into captivity, is mentioned by Hom. (Il. 6. 465, &c.) The suppliant Danaides in Aeschylus (Supp. 428 foll., 909) are in danger of being dragged by the hair from the statues to which they are clinging; and so Eur. Iph. A. 1366, Tro. 881, &c.

404.] 'Templo,' the temple of Minerva in the citadel; Aeneas and his comrades had made their way to the heart of the city, v. 359. Heyne.

405.] 'Tendens,' as Wagn. well remarks, is used by anticipation with reference to 'palmas.' Virg. however may have thought of 'tendere oculos,' to direct the eye in observing an object (5. 508), as he thought of 'tendere vocem,' to strain or exert the voice, when he wrote "tendo ad caelum cum voce manus," 3. 176, &c.

406.] ["'Arcebant,' continebant vel prohibebant." Serv. The former may be right, as Paul. p. 15 (Müller) says "*arcere* est continere:" and Serv. on A. 1. 31 "significat autem (*arcet*) et *continet*. Ennius: 'qui fulmine claro Omnia per sonitus arcet,' id est continet." Placidus p. 11 (Deuerling) "*arcent*, tenent, custodiunt."—H. N.] With the structure of this and the foregoing verse comp. Catull. 64. 260, "Pars obscura cavis celebrabant orgia cistis, Orgia, quae frustra cupiunt audire profani." With the sentiment Henry comp. Eur. Andr. 573.

Non tulit hanc speciem furiata mente Coroebus,
Et sese medium iniecit periturus in agmen.
Consequimur cuncti et densis incurrimus armis.
Hic primum ex alto delubri culmine telis
Nostrorum obruimur, oriturque miserrima caedes
Armorum facie et Graiarum errore iubarum.
Tum Danai gemitu atque ereptae virginis ira
Undique collecti invadunt, acerrimus Aiax,
Et gemini Atridae, Dolopumque exercitus omnis;
Adversi rupto ceu quondam turbine venti
Confligunt, Zephyrusque Notusque et laetus Eois
Eurus equis; stridunt silvae, saevitque tridenti
Spumeus atque imo Nereus ciet aequora fundo.

407.] 'Speciem,' the sight, as in Cic. Ph. 11. 3, quoted by Serv., "Ponite itaque ante oculos, P. C., miseram quidem illam et flebilem speciem, sed ad incitandos nostros animos necessariam." So "imago" above, v. 369, note. 'Furiata:' the verb occurs Hor. 1 Od. 25. 14.

408.] [Conington took 'periturus' as standing for 'deriturum,' comparing "obvia" 1. 314. But Serv. may be right when he says "melior sensus est si ad dimicantis referatur affectum, sicut de Tarchonte, de quo dixit (11. 741) 'et medios fertur moriturus in hostes,' cum vicerit."—H. N.] 'Periturus' was restored by Heins. from the best MSS. in place of 'moriturus,' which is found in two of Ribbeck's cursives.

409.] 'Densis armis,' abl., as in v. 383 above, 'closing our ranks,' so that 'densis' virtually = "densatis." 'Incurrimus armis,' like "inruimus ferro," 3. 222.

410.] 'Hic primum,' 1. 450, 451. 'This was the beginning of our reverses.' 'Primum' answers to "tum," v. 413, and to "etiam," v. 420.

411.] 'Oriturque miserrima caedes' occurs again 11. 885. 'Miserrima,' 'most piteous,' here, because men are slain by their friends in ignorance; there, because their friends are compelled in self-defence to abandon them to their fate.

412.] 'Facie—errore,' Madvig, § 255. 'Error iubarum,' arising from the crests. 'Facie' and 'errore' are not strictly parallel; in prose 'errore' would probably have been connected with both substantives, "errore e facie armorum et Grais iubis orto."

413.] 'Gemitu,' with a groan of indignation. "Dentibus infrendens gemitu," 3. 664. 'Ereptae virginis ira,' like "ira provinciae ereptae," Livy 37. 51. Forb. Weidner comp. 7. 15, "gemitus iraeque leonum."

414.] 'Undique' with 'collecti,' not, as Heyne, with 'invadunt.' "Undique collecti coeunt," 7. 582. 'They rally from all sides and fall on us.' 'Collecti' alone, 'formed into a mass,' would not imply that the attack was made from all quarters at once. 'Acerrimus,' with all the fury of revenge for the loss of his prize.

415.] δισσοὶ Ἀτρεῖδαι. 'Dolopum,' v. 7 above.

416.] 'Adversi,' predicate. 'Rupto turbine,' like "vocem rumpere," v. 129, note. The resemblance between this simile and Il. 9. 4 foll., noticed by Heyne, is very faint. For the physical fact see on 1. 85.

417.] 'Laetus equis,' ἱππιοχάρμης, of which it may be a translation. The attributing of horses to the winds, like the converse belief that certain horses were the offspring of the winds (G. 3. 275, note), is sufficiently common. Whether Virg. conceived of the winds as driving or as riding horses is not clear; the former would be the more Homeric conception, but the latter is supported by Hor. 4 Od. 4. 44, "Eurus per Siculas equitavit undas" (Ζεφύρου ἱππεύσαντος, Eur. Phoen. 219), and a fragment quoted by Orelli, on Hor. l. c., "Eure, beato lumine volitans, Qui per caelum candidus equitas." The plural 'equis' proves nothing, as Virg. evidently intends 'laetus equis' to be a perpetual epithet.

418.] 'Saevitque tridenti:' comp. "saevumque tridentem," 1. 142.

419.] 'Spumeus' is separated from 'Nereus' for the sake of poetical variety,

Illi etiam, si quos obscura nocte per umbram
Fudimus insidiis totaque agitavimus urbe,
Apparent; primi clipeos mentitaque tela
Adgnoscunt, atque ora sono discordia signant.
Ilicet obruimur numero; primusque Coroebus
Penelei dextra divae armipotentis ad aram

so that it adheres as a predicate to 'saevit,' though in point of sense it might equally go with 'ciet.' For a similar position of the epithet comp. (with Henry) 11. 626, and 7. 464, "furit intus aquai Fumidus atque alte spumis exuberat amnis."

420.] 'Obscura nocte,' note on v. 360. The night seems to be mentioned here both as favouring the stratagem, and as rendering the rout more complete.

421.] 'Insidiis,' not to be taken strictly, by ambush, but by the stratagem described v. 387 foll. 'Totaque agitavimus urbe,' v. 399.

422.] 'Primi,' seemingly implying that Ajax and the Greeks with him had not detected the fraud, their one feeling being revenge for the rescue of Cassandra. Ribbeck, following an indication in Pal., where there is a gap after the first three letters of 'primi,' reads 'Priami,' supposing the sense to be that the Greeks discover that the arms of Aeneas and his friends are really not Greek, but Trojan. But the Trojans are not commonly spoken of as Priam's men; and it is a considerable step even from this to speak of the assumed arms as Priam's arms. 'Mentita,' to be understood in its usual sense with Serv. 'our lying, counterfeiting weapons,' not with Heyne and others as if it were passive. The weapons were actually Greek, and so were not counterfeited, but counterfeiting.

423.] 'Signant' = "pro signo habent," as Jahn explains it, a person who is concerned with a thing when done being said poetically to do it, as in E. 9. 20, and elsewhere. [" 'Signant' designant aut per vocem, aut per symbolum quo utebatur exercitus." Serv.—H. N.] 'Sono discordia,' to be taken closely with 'signant,' the discordance being the 'signum.' Wund. remarks that Hom. assumes that the Greeks and Trojans spoke the same language, but Virg., following the later Greek poets, makes them differ. Forb. says that the difference must be understood to be confined to dialect, as they are always represented in the Aeneid as intelligible to each other. The probability seems to be that Virg. followed Hom. without thought, or from the necessity of the case, in other passages, and that he is here inconsistent with himself. In Aesch. Choeph. 563, Orestes says that Pylades and he will speak in a peculiar dialect; when however they appear again they talk Attic like the rest, the poet not scrupling to be inconsistent where consistency would have produced awkwardness.

424.] 'Ilicet' ("ire licet") is properly a verbal clause, constructed with a dative in Plaut. Capt. 3. 1. 9, "Ilicet parasiticae arti maxumam in malam crucem," but more generally used parenthetically, as in Ter. Eun. 2. 3. 56, "ilicet, desine, iam conclamatum est," whence it comes to be a mere adverb, as here. Serv. says it was the word of the crier in dismissing the court, and so Donat. on Ter. Phorm. 1. 4. 31; but Martius Salutaris, quoted by Charisius, p. 202 (Keil), calls it "interiectio graviter ingemiscentis," as if it were = "hem." It has also been confounded with "illico," as by Serv. on 11. 468. Ti. Donat. says on the present passage, "ubicumque ponitur *ilicet*, extrema omnia occidere vel occidisse significatur," which is so far true that in the comic writers it appears generally to have the force of "actum est." 'Numero,' as we should say, by numbers, as in E. 7. 52, "aut numerum lupus."

425.] Heyne thinks this cannot be the Homeric Peneleus, leader of the Boeotians (Il. 2. 494., 14. 490, &c.), as Pausanias (9. 5) says that he had been killed by Eurypylus, son of Telephus; but Virg. may very well have followed a different story about Peneleus, as we know him to have done about the death of Coroebus (note on v. 341). On 'Penelei' or 'Peneleo,' see v. 371, note. 'Armipotentis;' "Armipotens praeses belli, Tritonia virgo," 11. 483. [Attius 127 Ribbeck, "Minervae armipotenti."—H. N.]

Procumbit; cadit et Ripheus, iustissimus unus
Qui fuit in Teucris et servantissimus aequi;
Dis aliter visum; pereunt Hypanisque Dymasque
Confixi a sociis; nec te tua plurima, Panthu,
Labentem pietas nec Apollinis infula texit.
Iliaci cineres et flamma extrema meorum,
Testor, in occasu vestro nec tela nec ullas
Vitavisse vices Danaum, et, si fata fuissent,

426.] 'Unus' strengthens 'iustissimus,' 'the one justest,' or 'the very justest,' as if he had said "iustissimus omnium Teucrorum." So Plaut. Asin. 3. 1. 18, "Quid ais tu, quam ego unam vidi mulierem audacissumam?" Comp. 7. 536, and also 1. 15., 5. 704., 12. 143.

428.] 'Visum,' of the decrees of the gods, 3. 2. The meaning of course is not the gods did not think him just, but that they did not deal with him as they might have been expected to deal with a just man. The expression is one of piety, as we might say 'Heaven's ways are not as ours' not unmixed with reproach, the latter feeling appearing more strongly in the parallel passage in Od. 1. 234, νῦν δ' ἑτέρως ἐβόλοντο θεοὶ κακὰ μητιόωντες, which will illustrate the peculiar use of ἄλλος ἕτερος in the sense of evil or inauspicious. Sen. Ep. 98 recommends his friend on the occasion of any loss, to say constantly without complaining, "Dis aliter visum est," or rather, as a nobler and wiser ejaculation, "Di melius."

430.] Imitated from Il. 1. 28, μή νύ τοι οὐ χραίσμῃ σκῆπτρον καὶ στέμμα θεοῖο, which shows the unsafeness of Gossrau's inference from 'infula,' that Panthus was slain by a wound in the head.

431.] 'Flamma extrema meorum' is parallel to 'Iliaci cineres,' as the flames of Troy were the funeral flames of Aeneas' countrymen and friends. Comp. Catull. 68. 90, "Troia virum et virtutum omnium acerba cinis." He not only addresses the ashes of Troy and of the Trojans about his own conduct towards them, but calls them solemnly to witness, the common method of attestation being by the ashes of parents or relatives, as in Prop. 3. 11. (2. 20). 15 foll., "Ossa tibi iuro per matris et ossa parentis; Si fallor, cinis heu sit mihi uterque gravis," and in other passages collected by Cerda.

432.] 'Occasu,' 1. 238. The subject of 'vitavisse' is left to be supplied from the context, as in 4. 493, &c.

433.] It is not altogether easy to fix the sense of 'vices.' That Serv. is right generally in explaining it of battle is clear, so that Forb. has good reason to compare "belli vices" in Stat. Theb. 10. 754, and elsewhere. 'Vices' however in this connexion may refer either to the casualties of war (that which happens to each in turn), or to actual encounters between two persons, the 'give and take' of combat. The former is evidently the prominent notion in Sil. 3. 13, Claudian 6 Cons. Honor. 282, where fortune is spoken of in the context; the latter is perhaps what is intended in Stat. l. c., where the words are "non quisquam obsistere contra, Non belli temptare vices." On the whole, I can scarcely doubt that Thiel is right in distinguishing 'vices' from 'tela,' as hand-to-hand encounters, "comminus," σχέδια, from missiles; comp. below, v. 726, where the expression is very parallel, "quem dudum non ulla iniecta movebant Tela neque adverso glomerati ex agmine Grai," and above v. 358, "per tela, per hostis." 'Nec tela, nec ullas vices' will then = "nulla tela, nullas vices." In any case the expression 'vices Danaum' is perhaps a little harsh: but there can be no doubt that the punctuation is right, as against an attempt, mentioned by Heyne, and revived by Peerlkamp, Ladewig, Haupt, and Ribbeck, to connect 'Danaum' with 'manu,' which they join with 'ut caderem.' Scaliger seems to have had some notion of the true reference of 'vices,' his words being "*vices* volnera significat et caedes, ut quemadmodum vel percusserat vel interfecerat idem pateretur; ubi igitur ab Argivis tantundem fiebat operis ad pugnandum, eo Aeneas sese induebat." 'Tela' apparently goes with 'Danaum,' as well as 'vices.' "Si fata fuissent," v. 54. One MS. gives 'dedissent,' one or two others 'tulissent,' which Burm. groundlessly prefers.

Ut caderem, meruisse manu. Divellimur inde,
Iphitus et Pelias mecum, quorum Iphitus aevo
Iam gravior, Pelias et volnere tardus Ulixi,
Protinus ad sedes Priami clamore vocati.
Hic vero ingentem pugnam, ceu cetera nusquam
Bella forent, nulli tota morerentur in urbe,
Sic Martem indomitum, Danaosque ad tecta ruentis
Cernimus obsessumque acta testudine limen.

434.] Whether 'ut caderem' depends on 'si fata fuissent,' or on 'meruisse,' is hard to say, as either construction would be admissible in itself, and either would suit the passage. 'Meruisse manu' is aptly explained by Serv., "id est fortiter dimicasse; hi enim merentur occidi." Gossrau comp. "mereri volnera," Tac. Germ. 14, and a similar passage in Val. F. 1. 196, "scio me cunctis e gentibus unum Inlicitas temptare vices hiememque mereri." 'Manu' = "pugnando," as in G. 3. 32, and elsewhere. 'Inde,' probably of time, though it might denote place, "we are forced away from the scene of action." The subject of 'divellimur' is doubtless "ego, Iphitus, et Pelias," or as it is less regularly expressed, "Iphitus et Pelias mecum."

435.] Iphitus and Pelias are unknown to Hom., and do not appear elsewhere in Virg., unless 'Iphitus' is rightly read in v. 340, note. Here, as there, the name is variously spelt, though the form 'Epytus' does not seem to occur. Virg. would naturally coin such names as he required to make his epic narrative circumstantial. The age of one of Aeneas' comrades, and the disabled state of the other, show how desperate the fortunes of Troy had become, and so contrast with the description vv. 339 foll. 'Aevo gravior,' like "annis gravis," 2. 246.

436.] 'Volnere Ulixi,' a wound received from Ulysses, as Gell. 9. 12 observes. So "volnere meo" 11. 792, "venantum" 12. 5, "nostro" ib. 51. ['Vulnere' Med.—H. N.]

437.] 'Vocati' is not a finite verb, but a participle, agreeing with the subject of 'divellimur.' The battle-cry at Priam's palace was what forced Aeneas and his comrades away from the scene where the others met their death.

438—452.] 'At the palace the struggle was most deadly, the Greeks attempting to scale the walls, the Trojans to prevent them by throwing down fragments of masonry, as well as by defending the entrances. The new emergency bred in me new resolve.'

438.] 'Ingentem pugnam' with 'cernimus.' Aeneas says the struggle was so extensive and deadly, that you would think there were none left to fight in the rest of Troy, none to be killed. This accounts for 'cetera,'—'all the other conflicts that were going on in the town,' 'all the rest of the war then waging.' Virg. has evidently imitated Od. 8. 519, where in the minstrel's song about the capture of Troy it is said that the fiercest struggle went on at the house of Deiphobus *κεῖθι δὴ αἰνότατον πόλεμον φάτο τολμήσαντα.* Burm. comp. Stat Theb. 3. 122, "ceu nulla prius lamenta nec atri Manassent imbres, sic ore miserrimus uno Exoritur fragor," which shows that 'sic,' v. 440, is meant to answer to 'ceu' here. Virg. in fact writes loosely, at first apparently intending to confine the comparison indicated by 'ceu' to 'ingentem pugnam,' and then going on to draw it out in the lines that follow as if 'ingentem pugnam' had not preceded.

441.] Wund. remarks that two struggles were going on between the assailants and defenders, one about scaling the walls of the palace, the other about forcing an entrance through the doors (vv. 449, 450). The progress of the one is described vv. 452—468, that of the other vv. 469 foll. The 'testudo' here intended is probably not the machine so called, but the *συνασπισμός.* Quinct. Smyrnaeus, following, it is supposed, the early Cyclic writers, represents the Greeks as attacking Troy in this manner, in a passage, part of which may be worth quoting (11. 358 foll.):

Καὶ τότ' ἄρ' ἀμφ' Ὀδυσῆα δαΐφρονα κύδιμοι ἄνδρες
κείνου τεχνήεντι νόῳ ποτὶ μῶλον Ἄρηος
ἀσπίδας ἐντύναντο, βάλον δ' ἐφύπερθε καρήνων,
θέντες ἐπ' ἀλλήλῃσι· μίῃ δ' ἅπαν ἤρμοσεν ἅρμῃ.

[redacted]

Haerent parietibus scalae, postisque sub ipsos
Nituntur gradibus, clipeosque ad tela sinistris
Protecti obiciunt, prensant fastigia dextris.
Dardanidae contra turris ac tecta domorum
Culmina convellunt; his se, quando ultima cernunt,
Extrema iam in morte parant defendere telis;
Auratasque trabes, veterum decora alta parentum,
Devolvunt; alii strictis mucronibus imas

φαίης κεν μεγάροιο κατηρεφὲς ἔμμεναι ἕρκος
πυκνόν, ὃ οὔτ' ἀνέμοιο διέρχεται ὑγρὸν ἀέντος
ῥιπὴ ἀπειρεσίη, οὔτ' ἐκ Διὸς ἄσπετος ὄμβρος.
τοῖαι 'Αργείων πεπυκασμέναι ἀμφὶ βοείαις
καρτύναντο φάλαγγες· ἔχον δ' ἕνα θυμὸν ἐς ἀλκήν,
εἰς ἓν ἀρηράμεναι· καθύπερθε δὲ Τρώϊοι υἷες
βάλλον χερμαδίοισι· τὰ δ' ὡς στυφελῆς ἀπὸ πέτρης
γαῖαν ἐπὶ τραφερὴν ἐκυλίνδετο.

Comp. also Virg.'s own description 9. 505 foll., which in some respects is fuller than the present, and Livy 34, 39, cited by Weidner. 'Acta testudine' is repeated 9. 505. "Agere," like "ducere," is used of drawing a line, as in G. 3. 87, A. 10. 514 comp. ἐλαύνειν in ἐλαύνειν τεῖχος); and this seems to be the notion here, the formation of a column of shields, which is driven up to the wall.

442.] 'Haerent,' in prose "admotae sunt," Heyne. Scaling ladders are part of the Roman (as of the later Greek) apparatus for an assault, which Virg. has transferred to epic times. 'Postisque sub ipsos,' the ladders are planted at the very posts of the doors, 'ipsos' perhaps pointing to the daring which approaches where the defence would naturally be strongest.

443.] 'Gradibus' of the ladders, not, as Cerda thought, and Henry now thinks, of the doors. 'Clipeos—obiciunt' describes the 'testudo.' For 'ad tela' Med., Gud., and others give 'ac tela,' a reading mentioned by Serv., but rightly rejected by him, and evidently due to 'ac tecta' v. 445. A different error, 'ad tecta,' has crept into some copies.

444.] Wund. remarks that 'protecti' is added ex abundanti, as participles are sometimes added by the Greek poets, e. g. Soph. Ant. 23. Whether 'fastigia' means the actual roof, or is used loosely for the projecting battlements, is not easy to say, and perhaps does not much signify.

445.] Serv. mentions a reading 'tota domorum,' which is found also in some MSS. 'Tecta culmina' may serve to illustrate the use of 'tectum' as a substantive. Some have suggested 'culmine' for 'culmina,' so as to leave 'tecta domorum' by itself, as in 8. 98., 12. 132 (see on G. 4. 159).

446.] 'His telis,' with these javelins, with these as javelins. 'Quando,' 'since,' as in 1. 261, &c. 'Ultima' as in such phrases as "ultima pati," "experiri," so that it is virtually equivalent to 'extrema iam in morte.'

448.] The commentators remark on the pathetic situation, the Trojans being forced to destroy their most precious things in self-defence. Cerda quotes on the preceding line a passage from Quint. Declam. 368: "Ipsorum sepulchrorum ruina, si possem, hostem repellerem: tecta in subeuntis, et sacra, quin etiam templorum fastigia, desperantium tela sunt: certum est omnia licere pro patria," apparently an allusion to Virg., and on the present line one from Tac. H. 3. 71, "Ambustasque Capitolii fores penetrassent, ni Sabinus revulsas undique statuas, decora maiorum, in ipso aditu vice muri obiecisset." 'Decora alta' as in 1. 429. Here 'alta' is omitted or erased in two or three MSS., while others, including fragm. Vat., have a various reading 'illa,' which is the text of Pal., and adopted by Ribbeck. It has very considerable probability, as 'alta' may very well have arisen from a recollection of the passage in A. 1. (see on 1. 668., 4. 564., 6. 808, where as here Med. supports the reading which is apparently due to recollection): but the words of Stat. Theb. 5. 424, cited by Forb., "Magnorum decora alta patrum," look as if he had read 'alta:' and so it is quoted by Priscian, p. 772 P.

449.] Heyne remarks that the defenders of the doors seem to have stood

Obsedere fores; has servant agmine denso.
Instaurati animi, regis succurrere tectis,
Auxilioque levare viros, vimque addere victis.
  Limen erat caecaeque fores et pervius usus
Tectorum inter se Priami, postesque relicti
A tergo, infelix qua se, dum regna manebant,
Saepius Andromache ferre incomitata solebat
Ad soceros, et avo puerum Astyanacta trahebat.
Evado ad summi fastigia culminis, unde
Tela manu miseri iactabant inrita Teucri.

within, comp. v. 485. 'Imas,' opposed to what was going on upon the roof.

451.] Aeneas' first thought had been to make for the citadel (v. 315); he had afterwards become more desperate (vv. 336 foll.); now he seems to return to the hope of making a regular defence. 'Succurrere' = "ad succurrendum." See on G. 1. 213.

452.] 'Auxilio levare' 4. 538. 'Vim' seems to keep its ordinary sense of 'violence,' 'power of offence,' so that the expression is not quite = "vires addere." Dryden has imitated it happily in his modernization of Chaucer's Knight's Tale, "And force is added to the fainting crew."

453—468.] 'I resolve to join the defenders on the roof, which I accomplish by means of a secret door. We hurl down a turret on the enemy; but the assault is not abated.'

453.] ["Haec descriptio ostendit duas domos fuisse coniunctas, unam in qua Priamus, alteram vero in qua Hector commanebat; ut transiretur ex una ad alteram, fores dabant occasionem, quae ob hanc causam fuerant factae, ut essent notae commanentibus, extraneis vero incognitae." Ti. Donatus.—H. N.]

454.] 'Tectorum inter se' seems to mean merely that by entering this door you might pass from palace to palace, as you might by entering the front door, only from a different direction. ["'Postesque relicti' aut relictum spatium cum domus aedificaretur, ubi ostium fieret, aut relicti ab hostibus, id est, quos hostes non obsederant," Serv. Ti. Donatus explains it as = "deserti," quoting G. 4. 127 "cui pauca relicti Iugera ruris erant." "Hunc locum," he says, "cum pronuntiamus, sic debemus ordinare, ut a tergo sint limen et postes, non relicti a tergo." Henry now explains the whole passage exactly as Donatus does. "The structure," he says, "is 'a tergo erat limen caecaeque fores, et pervius usus . . . postesque relicti' . . . 'postes relicti,' an abandoned door." This is simple, and in all probability right. Conington following Heyne took 'postes relicti a tergo' together as = "postica."—H. N.]

455.] 'Infelix' is perhaps better referred to Andromache's widowhood than understood of her wretchedness now, when Troy is in the hands of the Greeks. 'Dum regna manebant' v. 22. [Serv. mentions a variant "cum" for 'dum,' but rightly objects that the indicative would be ungrammatical.—H. N.]

456.] 'Incomitata,' and 'trahebat' are noted by Wund. as contrary to the representation of Homer, who describes Andromache not as carrying Astyanax herself, but as attended by her nurse. Virg. of course may be wrong; but he evidently means the privacy of the postern to account for Andromache's being able to visit the king and queen without pomp or attendance of any sort. 'Saepius solebat' E. 1. 21.

457.] 'Soceros' Priam and Hecuba, both of whom are included under the masculine denomination, as 'patres' v. 579 stands for 'parentes.' 'Socrus' seems originally to have been masculine as well as feminine: see Forcell. 'Trahebat,' as in v. 321, as the child would not be able to keep pace with her. As Gossrau remarks, the contrast of the former security of Andromache and her child with the agony of the present struggle is pathetic.

458.] 'Evado' of mounting a height, 4. 685: see Forcell. Henry rightly observes, that it means strictly to pass through the intermediate space and come out on the other side. Aeneas means that he enters the palace through this postern, and scales the roof.

459.] 'Iactabant inrita,' "spargebant

Turrim in praecipiti stantem summisque sub astra
Eductam tectis, unde omnis Troia videri
Et Danaum solitae naves et Achaica castra,
Adgressi ferro circum, qua summa labantis
Iuncturas tabulata dabant, convellimus altis
Sedibus, impulimusque; ea lapsa repente ruinam
Cum sonitu trahit et Danaum super agmina late

quasi nil profutura," Serv. The meaning may be not merely that their darts were unavailing, but that they felt them to be so, and accordingly launched them weakly; but this would perhaps be a refinement.

460.] In Il. 21. 526 foll. Priam mounts a tower, and sees the havoc made by Achilles. Seneca (Troad. 1072 foll.) combines Virg. and Hom., speaking of a tower where Priam was wont to stand and marshal the battle. 'Turrim' is the reading of most MSS., supported, so Gell. 13. 19 tells us, by Valerius Probus. Charisius however (p. 25 P) quotes the line with 'turrem,' as an instance of Virg.'s usage [and so apparently fragm. Vat.—H.N.] 'In praecipiti stare' is a phrase found in Juv. 1. 147. Here it might mean 'so high as almost to topple over,' which is the ordinary interpretation; but as this would create a tautology with what follows, Gossrau and Henry seem right in supposing it to signify that the tower stood not in the middle of the palace, but at the extreme edge of one of one of its sides, so that it would fall not on but over the roof, as is the case v. 465. "Summis tectis," not the roof of the palace, but the roof of the tower, 'tectis' being a model ablative, like "arcem attollere tectis" 3. 134 note.

462.] For 'Achaia' I have restored 'Achaica,' which is the reading of Med. and Pal., while fragm., Vat. has 'Achaia.' The κακέμφατον of which the commentators complain (after Serv. on v. 27) can hardly have been felt by Virg., or he would not have written 'Dorica castra' in the passage just referred to; while the form 'Achaica' is supported by 5. 623, where there is scarcely any difference of reading.

463.] 'Adgressi ferro' appears to mean that they employed iron implements of one kind or another as levers.

464.] 'Tabulata' is doubtless the flooring of the 'turris,' as in 12. 672, "flammis inter tabulata volutus Ad caelum undabat vertex turrimque tenebat." Caesar B. G. 6. 29 speaks of "turris tabulatorum quattuor," of four stories. ["'Summa' extrema," Serv., who also offers another explanation, that 'summa tabulata' means the highest story. "Hanc turrim," says Ti. Donatus, "petimus ferro, et abscissis iuncturis omnibus quae magnitudinem tantae altitudinis retinebant . . . impulimus." Adopting the first explanation offered by Serv., we may suppose the meaning to be 'we attacked the tower where the ends of the flooring (projected and) made the structure weaker,' 'dabant,' as Serv. suggests, being "faciebant." The points where the flooring projected would be naturally chosen for the insertion of crowbars and the like. 'Iuncturae' are the joinings of the blocks of wood and the flooring, standing for the structure itself, as the joinings would naturally offer points of attack. Conington took 'summa' to mean "above or on the roof of the palace." Henry now supposes the 'tabulata' to be the flat or terrace forming the roof of the palace: "being on the top of the palace they are called 'summa.'" The whole he paraphrases "where the turret was connected with, and easily separable from, the terrace on the top of the palace." This explanation of 'iuncturae' coincides with that of Ti. Donatus.—H. N.] 'Altis' is generally taken 'high;' but it may equally well mean 'deep,' the tower being overthrown from the bottom. 'Sedibus' then will be the foundation.

465.] The change of tense in 'impulimus' of course shows the rapidity of the action. With this use of 'impellere' Wund. comp. 4. 22, "animumque labantem Impulit," Forb. Lucan 6. 35, "Exstruitur quod non aries impellere saevus, Quod non ulla queat violenti machina belli." 'Ruinam trahit' v. 631 and elsewhere. So perhaps "ducet ruinam" Hor. 2 Od. 17. 9, "trahere" and "ducere" giving the notion of height, as elsewhere of length. The early commentators remark on the acceleration of the movement of the verse.

Incidit. Ast alii subeunt, nec saxa, nec ullum
Telorum interea cessat genus.
  Vestibulum ante ipsum primoque in limine Pyrrhus
Exsultat, telis et luce coruscus aëna;
Qualis ubi in lucem coluber mala gramina pastus,
Frigida sub terra tumidum quem bruma tegebat,
Nunc, positis novus exuviis nitidusque iuventa,

467.] 'And the shower of missiles from besiegers and besieged is as heavy as ever.'

469—485.] 'Pyrrhus stands at the gate, like a snake that has renewed its youth, surrounded by his comrades. He makes a breach in the door, and the interior of the palace is disclosed.'

469.] [The 'vestibulum' was properly a covered space, sometimes of considerable size, projecting in front of the "ianua," and was used by persons waiting for admittance into the house. It was as a rule attached only to temples, tombs, and large houses, hence in the time of Gellius (see Noctes Atticae 16. 5) the meaning of the word was imperfectly understood. The derivation seems to be from 've' and 'stabulum,' a place for standing outside. Comp. "pro-stibulum." See Marquardt, Alterthümer, vol. 7. p. 221 foll. who derives the word, in some way which requires further explanation, from ἱστάναι. 'Limine' may be the threshold of the 'vestibulum,' unless Virg. is speaking vaguely.—H. N.] "Vestibulum ante ipsum primisque in faucibus Orci" 6. 273.

470.] Heyne removed the comma which used to be placed after 'telis.' 'Telis et luce aëna' is evidently a hendiadys. 'Luce aëna' is from Il. 13. 340, αὐγὴ χαλκείῃ. 'Exsultat' may either indicate motion of the body, or that Pyrrhus, as we should say, is in his glory, or both. Gellius (2. 3) says he once saw a most ancient copy of the second book, supposed to have been Virg.'s own, in which the spelling 'aëna' was corrected into 'ahena.'

471.] The following simile is modelled, in parts almost verbally, on one in Il. 22. 93 foll., where Hector is compared to a deadly serpent stirring itself up for battle. The point however is not the same: Hector is waiting for an attack, while Pyrrhus is himself the assailant, and the bodily motion of the serpent, which in the Homeric image merely implies readiness for conflict, is combined by Virg. with its having renewed its youth, so as to make it a fit symbol of the 'new warrior' (νεοπτόλεμος), who, as Henry remarks, appears on the scene at the end of the siege and fleshes his maiden sword during the last days of Troy. Henry refers to a similar comparison in Sil. 12. 6 foll. of Hannibal breaking his winter quarters to a serpent emerging from its winter sleep. 'In lucem' has rather perplexed the commentators, some of whom wish to alter it, while others, rightly, constructing it with 'convolvit,' complain of the awkwardness of the separation of the words and of the tautology with 'ad solem.' Virg. however is fond of throwing in a word at the beginning of a simile to indicate as it were the main point and apply generally to what follows (comp. 1. 148 "Ac veluti magno in populo," 6. 707 "Ac velut in pratis," 12. 908 "Ac velut in somnis"), and we may say here that 'in lucem' does the duty of a verb, which is consequently not needed till v. 474. On the alleged tautology Forb. well remarks that 'in lucem' includes the light as opposed to underground darkness as well as the actual sunshine. 'Mala gramina pastus' is Homer's βεβρωκὼς κακὰ φάρμακα. 'Mala' as in "malus anguis" G. 3. 425. Henry quotes Pliny 8. 139 to show that the ancients thought the serpent was poisonless during the winter (contrast however Seneca, Epist. 42), and acquired its venom from the food it ate on reviving in spring. Statius, Theb. 4. 95 (also quoted by Henry), seems to speak as if there were something peculiarly deadly in its first venom.

472.] 'Tumidus' is not uncommonly applied to serpents (Forb. refers to Ov. M. 1. 460., 10. 313), but it seems scarcely to agree with the state of torpor here mentioned, so that if we do not suppose Virg. to have written loosely, we must assume either that he wishes us to think of the natural violence of the serpent as scarcely subdued by its winter seclusion, or that, unlike Pliny, he holds that the poison is brewing during the winter.

473—475.] Comp. G. 3. 437 foll. (notes)

Lubrica convolvit sublato pectore terga
Arduus ad solem, et linguis micat ore trisulcis.
Una ingens Periphas et equorum agitator Achillis,
Armiger Automedon, una omnis Scyria pubes
Succedunt tecto, et flammas ad culmina iactant.
Ipse inter primos correpta dura bipenni
Limina perrumpit, postisque a cardine vellit
Aeratos; iamque excisa trabe firma cavavit
Robora, et ingentem lato dedit ore fenestram.
Apparet domus intus, et atria longa patescunt;

where part of this passage is anticipated. 'Arduus ad solem' = "erectus ad solem." ['Convolvens' Verona fragm.—H. N.]

476.] Periphas is a Greek warrior, the bravest of the Aetolians, in Hom. (Il. 5. 842), where however he is killed by Ares. He is called πελώριος, which answers to 'ingens' here. Automedon is mentioned repeatedly in the Iliad as Achilles' charioteer. 'Equorum agitator,' ἱππηλάτης. 'Agitator' alone is a common word for a charioteer: see Forcell. 'Achillis,' note on G. 3. 91.

477.] Serv. thinks that Automedon had changed his function, and become Pyrrhus' armour-bearer; but he may have been both: see on 6. 485. Elsewhere (9. 648., 11. 32) the armour-bearer of one generation becomes the companion, "comes," of another. 'Scyria:' Pyrrhus had come from Scyros, the kingdom of his maternal grandfather Lycomedes.

478.] "'Succedunt tecto:' h. e. 'fores adoriuntur'" Heyne. It would seem rather as if 'tecto' were to be taken strictly of the roof, Pyrrhus' comrades attempting to scale the walls while Pyrrhus himself is making an impression on the door. In other passages, such as 1. 627, 'succedere tecto' or 'tectis' is used of entering the house. ['At' Pal. for 'ad.'—H. N.]

479.] 'Ipse' of Pyrrhus as distinguished from his comrades. 'Limina' are the doors, as 'dura' shows. Pyrrhus is battering and hewing the doors with his axe, bursting them through and making them start from their hinges, till at last he cuts out a plank or panel. The presents, 'perrumpit' and 'vellit,' describing the general effect of the blows, a process still going on, contrast with 'cavavit' and 'dedit,' which express a single completed act. This seems a truer view of the passage than to say with Henry that the successful forcing of the door is first mentioned all at once, and then its various stages (vv. 480, 481, 491—493) and its consequences (vv. 483—490) enumerated more at leisure. We must remember that Aeneas describes what he saw, and that Pyrrhus would appear to him from the first to be breaking the door through, even before any actual impression had been made.

481.] "'Aeratos'—'robora.' Observe the effect of these words, placed each in the emphatic position at the commencement of the verse, and separated from the sequel by a pause. 'Vellit aeratos,' tears them down although plated with bronze: 'cavavit robora,' scooped out an opening in the door although made of the hardest wood." Henry. The 'postes,' as he observes, are here the door itself, though he can scarcely be right in supposing that to be the natural and ordinary meaning of the word: see Dict. A. 'Cardo.'

482.] 'Fenestra' of any window-like opening, as 'os' is used of any mouth-like opening. Juvenal says "molles in aure fenestrae" (1. 104) of holes for earrings. 'Dedit fenestram' like "dedit ruinam" v. 310.

483.] Through the aperture thus made they see into the "atrium," the arrangement of a Roman house being still followed. Henry however seems to aim at too much exactness when he attempts to distinguish the scene in the 'domus intus' or 'atrium' from the scene in the 'domus interior' or 'cavaedium,' as even if the 'atrium' and 'cavaedium' are to be considered as different (on which see Dict. A. 'Ianua'), the word 'penetralia' seems to refer to the innermost chambers, and the language seems to show that the distinction intended is rather between two aspects of the same thing, the house within regarded

Apparent Priami et veterum penetralia regum,
Armatosque vident stantis in limine primo.
At domus interior gemitu miseroque tumultu
Miscetur, penitusque cavae plangoribus aedes
Femineis ululant; ferit aurea sidera clamor.
Tum pavidae tectis matres ingentibus errant,
Amplexaeque tenent postis atque oscula figunt.
Instat vi patria Pyrrhus; nec claustra, neque ipsi
Custodes sufferre valent; labat ariete crebro
Ianua, et emoti procumbunt cardine postes.
Fit via vi; rumpunt aditus, primosque trucidant

as a royal privacy unveiled, and the house within regarded with reference to the terror of its inmates.

484.] 'Penetralia' seems used vaguely, not with the same definite reference as μύχος, though in general the words corresponds well enough. 'Veterum regum' of course adds to the pathos. The august privacy which had been preserved inviolate for generations is broken all at once.

485.] The 'armati' are those already mentioned vv. 449, 450. These defenders of the door would naturally be the first objects seen, but not the first thought of.

486—505.] 'Then followed a scene of wailing and confusion. It was soon over: the door finally gives way; the Greeks rush in like a torrent; I saw their chiefs triumphant, and mine murdered, and the whole splendid palace destroyed.' [Henry, with much poetical feeling, would connect this passage closely with the preceding lines, making it a second part of the same picture.—H. N.]

486.] "De Albano excidio translatus est hic locus" (Serv.), i. e., as it is supposed, from the description of the sack of Alba in Ennius' Annals. Livy's account (1. 29) has something that may remind us of Virg., but not more than might he expected in any similar narrative. 'At domus interior,' 1. 637, where, as here, the "atrium" or "cavaedium" is intended.

487.] 'Cavae' is doubtless used with reference to sound (comp. v. 53), as Forb. remarks; but this does not exclude a reference to the "cavaedium."

488.] 'Ululant' is transferred from the women to the walls which echo their shrieks, as Lucr. 1. 256 talks of the woods as singing with birds. "'Aurea sidera' multi ad laquearia referunt, quod stultum est." Serv. It must be admitted perhaps that the epithet (which recurs 11. 832) comes in poorly here.

490.] The kisses are farewell kisses, like Dido's to the nuptial couch, 4. 659. Serv. comp. Apoll. R. 4. 26 (of Medea's departure), κύσσε δ' ἑόν τε λέχος καὶ δικλίδας ἀμφοτέρωθε Σταθμούς, καὶ τοίχων ἐπαφήσατο. Virg. probably thought of Lucr. 4. 1178, "postisque superbos Unguit amaracino et foribus miser oscula figit."

491.] Heyne comp. Quinct. Smyrn. 13. 219, πατρὸς ἑοῦ καταειμένος ἀλκήν (also of Pyrrhus). Forb. cites a characteristic passage from Sen. Tro. 259, "Aetatis alios fervor hic primae rapit, Pyrrhum paternus."

492.] The 'custodes' are the 'armati' just mentioned. The object of 'sufferre' appears to be 'vim.' It is questioned whether 'ariete' means a battering ram proper, or merely the battering of Pyrrhus' axe. The former seems more natural, and the anachronism is quite in Virg.'s manner. 'Crebro,' as Forb. remarks, implies not that there were more than one 'aries,' but that its strokes were many.

493.] Non. p. 202 quotes this line to show that 'cardo' is masc., so that he must have read 'emoto:' [his manuscripts however give 'emoti.'—H. N.]

494.] The repetition of sound in 'via vi' adds energy to the line. Such jingles are common in early Roman poetry, both tragic and comic, being apparently regarded in the case of the former as pieces of artistic symmetry, in the case of the latter as jokes. The present passage seems to be imitated by Livy 4. 38 (comp. by Taubm.), "quacunque incedunt vi viam faciunt." 'Rumpunt aditus:' a sufficiently common use of "rumpere," the accusative expressing not what is burst, but what is produced by bursting—having

Inmissi Dànai, et late loca milite complent.
Non sic, aggeribus ruptis cum spumeus amnis
Exiit oppositasque evicit gurgite moles,
Fertur in arva furens cumulo, camposque per omnis
Cum stabulis armenta trahit. Vidi ipse furentem
Caede Neoptolemum geminosque in limine Atridas;
Vidi Hecubam centumque nurus, Priamumque per aras
Sanguine foedantem, quos ipse sacraverat, ignis.
Quinquaginta illi thalami, spes tanta nepotum,

in short a kind of cognate force. So "rumpere vocem," "questus," &c.

495.] 'Milite complent,' v. 20.

496.] Another simile from a torrent, which however is compared to the rush of men, not, as in vv. 305 foll., to the spread of a blaze. Comp. the description Lucr. 1. 281 foll., which Virg. seems to have had in his mind. 'Non sic' indicates that the illustration is an inadequate one. Comp 5. 144 foll. G. 4. 81.

497.] 'Exiit,' G. 1. 116. For the quantity of the final vowel see Excursus on G. 2. 81 (2nd and subsequent edns.). 'Oppositas evicit moles' seems to be a repetition of 'aggeribus ruptis exiit.'

498.] 'Fertur' and 'trahit' are the principal verbs. 'Cumulo,' 1. 105. 'Campos—trahit,' G. 1. 482.

499.] 'Vidi ipse:' the following passage, to the end of the paragraph, is evidently modelled on a celebrated fragment of Ennius (Andr. fr. 9), which has already been partially imitated v. 241:

"O pater! O patria! O Priami domus!
* * * * * * *
Vidi ego te, adstante ope barbarica,
Tectis caelatis, lacuatis,
Auro, ebore instructum regifice.
Haec omnia vidi inflammari,
Priamo vi vitam evitari,
Iovis aram sanguine turpari."

Wagn. questions whether Virg. ought to have represented Aeneas as an eye-witness of all this. The words are doubtless more natural in the mouth of one who, like, Andromache, could only look on without any power of resisting; but Aeneas has told us that he bore his part in all the struggles during the last act of the tragedy (vv. 6, 431 foll.), and so he may fairly speak of what he was compelled to witness in spite of himself, as in fact he has already done v. 5. For 'furentem' one copy has 'frementem,' which Heyne prefers, on account of 'furens' so closely preceding; but 'furentem' is the better word here, and if the repetition is not intentional, as Jahn thinks, at any rate it may be excused in a passage where the feeling is so highly wrought, as showing a 'brave neglect.'

500.] 'In limine' goes with 'Neoptolemum,' as well as with 'Atridas,' but 'furentem caede' had perhaps better be confined to the former, just as 'foedantem,' v. 502, is not to be extended to 'Hecubam centumque nurus.'

501.] 'Centumque nurus' perplexes Serv., who proposes five solutions—that a definite number is used hyperbolically for an indefinite—that Priam's fifty sons, being barbarians, would have more than one wife each—that 'nurus' merely means women—that it means brides, the daughter-in-law of some one, but not necessarily of Hecuba—and that 'centum' is to be taken with 'aras,' though he admits that a single person could hardly be slain over a hundred altars. Later commentators have seen that the number one hundred is made up by adding Priam's fifty daughters to his fifty daughters-in-law. 'Per aras,' 'among the altars,' referring probably to the manner in which he was put to death, being dragged to the altar, as it were from altar to altar, v. 550.

502.] 'Foedantem' is the 'turpari' of Ennius. ["'Foedantem' cruentantem. Sallustius in I. (Historiarum) 'cum arae et alia dis sacrata supplicum sanguine foedarentur.'" Serv.—H. N.]

503.] This does not quite agree with Hom., who (Il. 6. 243 foll.) speaks of fifty chambers for the sons, twelve for the daughters and their husbands. 'Spes tanta nepotum' is said with reference to Priam and Hecuba, on the dashing of whose hopes the poet now wishes us to dwell. Pal. and Gud. originally have 'spes ampla,' which Ladewig and Ribbeck adopt; but the word scarcely seems so good. Virg. doubtless thought of Il. 22.

Barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi,
Procubuere; tenent Danai, qua deficit ignis.
  Forsitan et, Priami fuerint quae fata, requiras.
Urbis uti captae casum convolsaque vidit
Limina tectorum et medium in penetralibus hostem,
Arma diu senior desueta trementibus aevo
Circumdat nequiquam umeris, et inutile ferrum
Cingitur, ac densos fertur moriturus in hostis.
Aedibus in mediis nudoque sub aetheris axe
Ingens ara fuit iuxtaque veterrima laurus,
Incumbens arae atque umbra complexa Penatis.
Hic Hecuba et natae nequiquam altaria circum,

63, where Priam looks forward to seeing θαλάμους κεραϊζομένους at the taking of the city.

504.] 'Postes' is put in a vague apposition to 'thalami,' the part to the whole, as in v. 348, E. 2. 3, note. 'Procubuere' properly applies only to 'postes.' 'Barbarico auro' is Phrygian gold, Aeneas forgetting himself, like Andromache in Ennius l. c., and speaking as the later Greek poets had taught the Romans to do, as Horace (1 Ep. 2. 7) talks of "Graecia Barbariae lento collisa duello." Peerlkamp's notion, which Forb. adopts, that Virg. means the gold which the Trojans had taken from other Asiatics, is less likely, though 'auro spoliisque' might very well be a hendiadys. For the fastening of spoils or door-posts or doors comp. 3. 287., 7. 183: for spoils in private houses, 5. 393. Weidner cites Livy 38. 43, "spolia eius urbis ante currum laturus et fixurus in postibus suis."

505.] 'Tenent' seems to refer to 'thalamos.' "Inruerant Danai, et tectum omne tenebant," v. 757.

506—525.] 'Priam, seeing all was lost, was arming in feeble desperation, when Hecuba, who with her daughters had taken refuge at the family altar, drew him to her, and made him rest there.'

506.] Virg. was thinking of his own line, "Forsitan et scrobibus quae sint fastigia, quaeras," G. 2. 288. "Priami fatorum" v. 554.

507.] 'Casum' may mean 'fall' (comp. 1. 623), though 'captae' here makes a difference, expressing as it may that in which the calamity consisted. 'Ubi,' the reading before Heins., seems to be found only in inferior MSS. 'Convolsa limina:' the breaking open of the palace doors and of the royal chambers would naturally seem to the old king the last outrage. Comp. Il. 22. 63, referred to on v. 503. ['Convulsa' Pal. Gud.—H. N.]

508.] For 'medium in' some MSS. (including Pal. and Gud., both originally) give 'mediis in' or 'mediis,' as in v. 665, just as in 1. 348 some give 'medios' for 'medius.' The variety is as old as Serv., who points out that 'mediis in' would be unmetrical.

510.] 'Arma circumdat umeris,' like "circumdat loricam umeris," 12. 88. It is probably the "lorica" that is meant here, as Forb. remarks.

511.] "'Fertur,' neque tamen iam inruit. Est ut dicunt de conatu," Gossrau. The enemy has broken into the palace, and Priam is advancing against them, when Hecuba draws him back.

512.] The altar intended is that of Ζεὺς Ἕρκειος (see on v. 550), at which Priam apparently makes libations, Il. 24. 306, στὰς μέσῳ ἕρκεϊ. Virg. however, following as usual the details of a Roman house, removes the altar to the interior of the building, under the "impluvium." Comp. the scene E. 8. 64 foll. 'Sub aetheris axe,' 8. 28.

513.] A bay-tree grows similarly in the middle of Latinus' palace, 7. 59. Priam's bay seems to have been a favourite object in exaggerating legends, which represented it as having a stem of gold, and blossoms, branches, and leaves partly of gold, partly of silver (Taubm.). Lersch (Antiqq. Verg. p. 159) cites a story from Suet. Aug. 92 to the effect that Augustus had a palm which grew before his house transplanted "in compluvium deorum Penatium."

514.] ['Conplexa' Pal.—H. N.]

515.] 'Nequiquam,' because the altar did not really protect them against the conquerors' violence.

Praecipites atra ceu tempestate columbae,
Condensae et divom amplexae simulacra sedebant.
Ipsum autem sumptis Priamum iuvenalibus armis
Ut vidit, Quae mens tam dira, miserrime coniunx,
Impulit his cingi telis? aut quo ruis? inquit.
Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis
Tempus eget; non, si ipse meus nunc adforet Hector.
Huc tandem concede; haec ara tuebitur omnis,
Aut moriere simul. Sic ore effata recepit
Ad sese et sacra longaevum in sede locavit.
  Ecce autem elapsus Pyrrhi de caede Polites,

516.] So the Danaides in Aesch. Supp. 223 are bidden *ἐν ἁγκῷ δ' ἑσμὸς ὡς πελειάδων Ἵζεσθε, κίρκων τῶν ὁμοπτέρων φόβῳ*, a passage of which Virg. may possibly have thought, though he has slightly varied the image. [Comp. also Euripides Herc. Fur. 97 *ἄλλος δὲ βωμὸν, ὄρνις ὥς, ἔπτηξ' ὕπο.*—H. N.] 'Praecipites,' driven headlong from the sky.

517.] 'Condensus' is a Lucretian word. It occurs again 8. 497. For 'sedebant' others give 'tenebant,' which is the first reading of Med.; but this would produce an awkward construction with 'altaria circum . . . condensae,' not to mention the tautology with 'amplexae.' ['Divum' Med.—H. N.]

518.] 'Ipsum:' that Priam himself should have put on armour would make Hecuba feel keenly the miserable reversal of all former relations which the sack of a city produces. For 'iuvenalibus,' which is apparently read by all Ribbeck's MSS., the reading before Heins. was 'iuvenilibus,' which seems the commoner word, though the MSS. appear to vary in other passages of other authors, no less than in this. In the three other passages where the word occurs in Virg. (5. 475., 8. 163., 12. 221), it is supported by Med., and in one of them, the first, it now appears to be in Ribbeck's MSS., and is acknowledged by Charisius.

519.] 'Mens dira' is used like "mens mala," of any monstrous or perverse thought or resolution, 'dira' having the force which it has in "dira cupido" G. 1. 37, &c. Serv. has a curious note, "'dira:' modo proprio: dira enim est deorum ira: ergo quae mens dira, id est, infusa ex deorum ira." [This etymology was supported by Verrius Flaccus; see Paulus p. 69 (Müller).—H. N.]

521.] This line is commonly taken 'the time requires far other defenders than you,' a sense in which it has become a stock quotation. Henry however is clearly right in supposing the meaning to be 'we have not now to look to arms, but to altars and prayers,' as the words which follow, 'non, si ipse meus nunc adforet Hector' (with which comp. vv. 291, 292, above), are sufficient to show. With this interpretation he well comp. Aesch. Supp. 188:

> *ἄμεινόν ἐστι παντὸς οὕνεκ', ὦ κόραι,*
> *πάγον προσίζειν τῶνδ' ἀγωνίων θεῶν·*
> *κρείσσων δὲ πύργου βωμός, ἄρρηκτον*
> *σάκος:*

and Shakspeare, Coriolanus, 1. 2:

> "For the dearth,
> The gods, not the patricians make it; and
> Your knees to them, not arms, must help."

For 'defensoribus,' applied to an inanimate object, he cites Caes. B. G. 4. 17, Claud. Ruf. 1. 79.

522.] "Egeret" must be supplied from 'eget' for 'adforet.' Those who support the ordinary interpretation of the preceding line suppose an ellipse of "posset defendere," with Serv.

523.] 'Tandem:' if you have taken the false step of arming yourself, be persuaded at last, while there is yet time.

525.] ['Longaevom' Pal.—H. N.]

526—558.] 'Polites, one of Priam's sons, enters, pursued by Pyrrhus, and falls dead at his father's feet. The old man, maddened, upbraids the slayer of his son, and feebly hurls a spear at him. Pyrrhus retorts, seizes him by the hair, and stabs him before the altar. The headless trunk lies on the shore.'

526.] Polites is mentioned several times in Hom. as one of Priam's sons, being

Unus natorum Priami, per tela, per hostis
Porticibus longis fugit, et vacua atria lustrat
Saucius: illum ardens infesto volnere Pyrrhus
Insequitur, iam iamque manu tenet et premit hasta:
Ut tandem ante oculos evasit et ora parentum,
Concidit, ac multo vitam cum sanguine fudit.
Hic Priamus, quamquam in media iam morte tenetur,
Non tamen abstinuit, nec voci iraeque pepercit:
At tibi pro scelere, exclamat, pro talibus ausis,
Di, si qua est caelo pietas, quae talia curet,
Persolvant grates dignas et praemia reddant
Debita, qui nati coram me cernere letum
Fecisti et patrios foedasti funere vultus.
At non ille, satum quo te mentiris, Achilles

celebrated Il. 2. 791 for his swiftness of foot. Dictys 2. 43 speaks of him as slain in battle during the siege; Q. Smyrnaeus 13. 214 agrees with Virg. We shall find a son of Polites introduced A. 5. 564. 'Elapsus Pyrrhi de caede:' he had escaped being killed on the spot, though he carried with him a mortal wound. 'Pyrrhi caede,' like "volnere Ulixi," v. 436.

527.] 'Per tela, per hostis' v. 358. Wagn. rightly connects these words with 'elapsus,' not with what follows.

528.] Polites runs through different parts of the house, now winding through the cloisters, now traversing the 'atrium,' round which the cloisters ran: comp. 12. 474 foll. 'Vacua' seems intended to indicate space rather than solitude, as, though the Trojans had probably fled, the Greeks from v. 495 &c. appear to have been there. 'Lustrare' of traversing, E. 10. 55.

529.] 'Infesto volnere,' with a blow aimed at him. Pyrrhus is always meaning to strike, but never has the opportunity. ['Vulnere' Med. and Gud.—H. N.]

530.] "Iam iamque tenet, similisque tenenti Increpuit malis" 12. 754. 'Premit' is rightly taken by Henry in its ordinary sense, "is close upon him with the spear," so that 'volnere insequitur' is parallel to 'premit hasta.' He also remarks that 'iam iamque' has nothing to do with 'premit,' but is confined to 'tenet.'

531.] 'Evasit' v. 458 note.

533.] 'Though death was all about him.'

534.] 'Voci iraeque pepercit:' see on G. 2. 339.

535.] 'At' is the regular particle in imprecations, ejaculations, &c. "At vobis male sit," Catull. 3. 13.

536.] "Si quis est qui curet deus" Cic. Att. 4. 10. 'Pietas,' commonly used in the dutiful feeling of men to the gods or others who have a claim on them, is here and 5. 688 used of the reciprocal feeling of the gods to men. So 4. 382, "si quid pia numina possunt."

537.] 'Grates' and 'praemia' are of course ironical.

538.] "'Facio' with an accusative with the infinitive in the signification 'to cause' is poetical." Madv. § 372. 6, obs. 5, quoting this passage. Forb. however cites from Varro R. R. 3. 5, "desiderium macrescere facit volucres;" and Taubm. from Cic. Lucull. 22, "Erant qui illum gloriae causa facerent sperare." [This is the MS. reading, but no modern editor accepts it.—H. N.]

539.] For 'fecisti' and 'foedasti' we should probably have had subjunctives in prose. 'Foedasti funere vultus' has nothing to do with sprinkling blood, but simply denotes the contamination which a father must necessarily receive from the very sight of his son's corpse. ["'Funere' cadavere; . . . 'funus' enim est iam ardens cadaver." Serv.—H. N.]

540.] The legitimacy of Neoptolemus seems never to have been questioned in any way, so that Priam means no more than that his nature belies his lineage, as Dido 4. 365 (comp. by Serv.) says, "Nec tibi diva parens, generis nec Dardanus auctor." So Pyrrhus under-

Talis in hoste fuit Priamo; sed iura fidemque
Supplicis erubuit, corpusque exsangue sepulchro
Reddidit Hectoreum, meque in mea regna remisit.
Sic fatus senior, telumque inbelle sine ictu
Coniecit, rauco quod protinus aere repulsum
Et summo clipei nequiquam umbone pependit.
Cui Pyrrhus: Referes ergo haec et nuntius ibis
Pelidae genitori; illi mea tristia facta
Degeneremque Neoptolemum narrare memento.
Nunc morere. Hoc dicens altaria ad ipsa trementem
Traxit et in multo lapsantem sanguine nati,
Inplicuitque comam laeva, dextraque coruscum

stands it, "degenerem Neoptolemum" v. 549.

541.] 'In hoste:' see note on E. 8. 83, Madv. § 230, obs. 1. Ovid talks of "lenis in hoste" (5 Trist. 2. 36), "saevus in hoste" (1 Amor. 7. 34), Propertius of "aequus in hoste" (4. 19. 28). 'Fidem supplicis' seems to include the confidence reposed by a suppliant and the return which it claims.

542.] 'Erubuit,' ᾐδεῖτο, ᾔσχυνετο.

543.] 'Corpus Hectoreum' like 'Εκτόρεια χεἰρ Eur. (?), Rhes. 762. So Hom.'s βίη 'Ηρακληείη. The addition of a second epithet to a substantive is not common in Virg., except where the two are co-ordinate, like "horrendum, informe:" [or where, as here, one of them can be represented by a gen., 'Hectoreum' being equivalent to "Hectoris."—H. N.] 'Reddidit' combines the notions of giving back to the father (11. 103), and giving the body to the grave that claimed it (comp. 6. 152). 'In mea regna,' to Troy, as if the territory which the Greeks occupied were no longer Priam's own. [Henry however thinks that 'in mea regna' is used in the secondary sense of the expression, as in E. 1. 67, G. 3. 476.—H. N.] 'Remisit:' Achilles did not actually convey Priam back, but allowed him to depart in safety.

544.] 'Sine ictu' with 'coniecit:' threw it so as not to wound. Ti. Donatus remarks on the situation, "ecce desiderium manifestum mortis, quod post contumeliam etiam armis iuvenem senex provocet."

545.] 'Rauco,' the ordinary adjunct (comp. "raucosque repulsus Umbonum" Claud. Bell. Gild. 433), expresses in this case rather the weakness than the strength of the stroke, as if Virg. had said, "made the shield ring, but was unable to penetrate." Henry. 'Repulsum:' for the use of participles for finite verbs even in relative sentences Wagn. comp. 3. 673, G. 1. 234, though with Heyne he would prefer 'e summo' in the next line, the reading of one MS.

546.] [For 'et' Ribbeck conjectures 'ec' (= "ex").—H. N.] 'Nequiquam,' because it did not pierce the brass, but only the leather which covered the shield.

547.] 'Referes' and 'ibis' seem to have a half-imperative sense. There is a similar sarcasm 9. 742 (quoted by Cerda), "Hic etiam inventum Priamo narrabis Achillem." For 'ergo' with fut. in this sense Weidner comp. Plaut. Mil. 477, "ergo, si sapis, Mussitabis: plus oportet scire servom quam loqui."

548.] 'Illi:' see on G. 1. 54.

549.] 'Degenerem Neoptolemum narrare' like "reduces socios nuntio" 1. 390, comp. by Gossrau. 'Memento' of course points the sarcasm.

550.] 'Nunc morere' 9. 743. For 'hoc' inferior MSS. give 'haec.' 'Altaria ad ipsa:' the common story made the death of Priam take place at the altar of Ζεὺς Ἑρκεῖος, in his own palace. So Eur. Tro. 481 foll., Hec. 23. Lesches represented him as torn from the altar and slain at the palace door (a story from which Virg. may have borrowed the fact of his being seized by the hair: see above on v. 403): others, alluded to by Serv., said that he was dragged to the tomb of Achilles and killed there. Dictys [illegible] 12 makes him slain at the altar, which he clings to with both hands.

551.] ['Labsantem' Pal.—H. N.]

552.] [Pal. reads 'coma laevam,' and so

Extulit ac lateri capulo tenus abdidit ensem.
Haec finis Priami fatorum; hic exitus illum
Sorte tulit, Troiam incensam et prolapsa videntem
Pergama, tot quondam populis terrisque superbum
Regnatorem Asiae. Iacet ingens litore truncus,
Avolsumque umeris caput, et sine nomine corpus.
  At me tum primum saevus circumstetit horror.
Obstipui; subiit cari genitoris imago,

Ribbeck.—H. N.] Henry's remark that 'coruscum' belongs to 'extulit' alone, not to 'abdidit,' seems true; but such discrimination is apt to run into mere refinement, as we might say 'abdidit coruscum,' meaning that it flashed till the very moment when it was actually plunged into the body. 'Extulit' apparently includes both unsheathing and brandishing in the air.

554.] 'Hic finis' is found in two or three MSS.: but 'haec' is supported by Gell. 13. 21, where Probus is quoted, as well as by the great majority of copies. 'The fates of Priam,' Πριαμικαὶ τύχαι, are mentioned by Aristot. Eth. N. 1, as if the expression was proverbial. Comp. also the well-known "Fortunam Priami cantabo et nobile bellum." Priam's fortune is dwelt on in Homer, by himself Il. 24. 255 foll., 493 foll., by Achilles ib. 543 foll., a passage which contrasts his prosperity and his adversity much as Virg. does here. This disproves Peerlkamp's pointing which connects 'fatorum' with what follows. "Priami fata" occurs in a more restricted sense v. 506 above.

555.] 'Sorte tulit,' ἔλαχε. 'Tulit' of fate E. 5. 34. 'Videntem:' the pres. part. has a force, as the destruction was still going on before Priam's eyes at the time of his death. The language is from Il. 22. 61, αἴσῃ ἐν ἀργαλέῃ φθίσει κακὰ πόλλ' ἐπιδόντα κ.τ.λ. ['Prolabsa' Pal.—H. N.]

556.] The choice lies between making 'populis' dat. with 'regnatorem,' i. q. "qui regnator fuerat populis" (comp. 1. 654, and see Madv. § 241, obs. 4), connecting it with the same word as abl., i. q. "qui regnaverat populis," and constructing it as abl. with 'superbum,' which view, originally proposed by Wakef., is accepted by the later editors. There is some harshness in all three: but perhaps the last is best.

557.] Here, as elsewhere (3. 1., 11. 268), the extent of Priam's dominion is exaggerated. Cic. Div. 1. 40 however calls him "rex Asiae." 'Iacet:' the body was exposed unburied, and so Aeneas speaks of it as if it were still lying there (comp. 6. 149 note). 'Litore:' from Serv.'s note here and on v. 506 it appears that according to one version of the story followed by Pacuvius in an unnamed tragedy, Priam was captured by Pyrrhus in his palace, but slain at the tomb of Achilles, having been dragged to the Sigean promontory, and that his head was carried about on a pole by Pyrrhus. Serv. remarks that Virg. alludes to ("praelibat") this version, while really adopting a different one. Aelius and Ti. Donatus wished to give "litus" the special sense of a place before the altar, vainly attempting to support his notion by supposed etymologies from "lito" or "lituus." 'Ingens' agrees with Hom.'s epithet Πρίαμος μέγας Il. 24. 477.

558.] The parts of the decapitated body are put in apposition, the severed head and the body, headless, and therefore nameless and unrecognized. It may be doubted however whether the head is actually lying on the shore, or whether the words mean no more than 'avolso umeris capite.' Some have imagined that in writing these lines Virg. may have been thinking of the fate of Pompey.

559—566.] 'Horror seized me to see the old king so foully murdered. I thought of my father, of my wife and son. I looked round to see if any one would rally about me, but all were dead or fled.'

559.] 'Tum primum.' His feeling before had been courage, more or less desperate, but he had never been cowed and horror-stricken. 'Circumstetit' may have been suggested by any such expressions as τὸν δ' ἄχεος νεφέλη ἐκάλυψε μέλαινα, Il. 18. 22.

560.] 'Subiit' is used with or without "animum" ("animo"), "mentem" &c. Comp. "succurrit" v. 317, and the parallel use of εἰσέρχεσθαι and similar words in Greek of things occurring to the mind. Aeneas thinks of his father, when he sees Priam murdered, as Priam Il. 24. 486

Ut regem aequaevum crudeli volnere vidi
Vitam exhalantem; subiit deserta Creusa,
Et direpta domus, et parvi casus Iuli.
Respicio, et, quae sit me circum copia, lustro.
Deseruere omnes defessi, et corpora saltu
Ad terram misere aut ignibus aegra dedere.
[Iamque adeo super unus eram, cum limina Vestae

bids Achilles see in him the image of Peleus, τηλίκου ὥσπερ ἐγών, ὀλοῷ ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῷ.

561.] [' Aequaevom' Pal.—H. N.]

562.] Creusa, the daughter of Priam and wife of Aeneas, is mentioned here for the first time.

563.] The destruction of his house rose before his mind, not as a fact, like the desolation of Creusa, but as a probability. "'Casus Iuli,' quid Iulo accidere possit." Heyne.

564.] 'Copia' in the singular for a number of men is found 11. 834, and is not unfrequent in prose authors: see Forcell. The common reading before Heins. was 'circum me.' "Iaciebant corpora saltu" Lucr. 5. 1318.

566.] 'Ignibus aegra dedere:' they had dropped in mere weariness into the flames from the palace roof, where they were standing with Aeneas.

567—588.] 'At that moment I spied Helen lurking in the temple of Vesta. I was doubting whether to kill her—it seemed monstrous that she should enjoy a safe and triumphant return, after all the misery she had brought on us and ours.' [Like the four lines prefixed to the Aeneid, and those in the third and sixth book quoted p. lxviii, this passage is said by Servius to have been written by Virgil, but omitted by Tucca and Varius. The external evidence against it is as strong as it can be. The MSS. which contain it are very few, and apparently none of them of great importance. Not a line of it is quoted by a single grammarian. The ancient commentators (Servius and Ti. Donatus) pass it over in their notes, and proceed as if v. 589 directly continued v. 566. To this we may add that Servius' story looks very suspicious. It is hardly conceivable that Varius and Plotius Tucca, both intimate friends of Virgil and men of the highest position in literature, should have been guilty of such a Vandalism as to remove twenty lines of Virgil from the text of the Aeneid. Yet it is not unlikely that Virgil intended to insert a passage containing some reference to Helen and left some indication of his intention in his manuscript. If so, nothing is more likely than that an interpolator should attempt to fill the gap, just as we know from Suetonius (Vita Verg. 41) that attempts were made to complete the unfinished hemistiches in Aeneid. Conington however thought that the verses might be genuine. "When," he says, "we come to internal considerations, the case is altered. The lines, though possibly disfigured by a few harshnesses, are vigorous and elaborate, and in general worthy of Virg. They are perhaps not required by the context, as v. 601 might be explained without them, and the appearance of Venus could be accounted for by supposing with Ti. Donatus that Aeneas was meditating suicide; but the context is improved by their presence, and v. 589, as Wagn. has pointed out, coheres rather awkwardly with v. 566. The aesthetical or ethical objection that has been taken to them, as if Virg. would not have made his hero think of killing a woman in a temple, seems to belong to a later age (see on v. 583), nor need the discrepancy between the present account of Helen and what we read 6. 510 foll. about her introducing the Greeks to the chamber of Deiphobus disturb us much, at the same time that one or both reasons may have led to their exclusion on critical grounds, whether by Tucca and Varius, or by some less authorized regulator of Virg.'s text." I have therefore followed Conington in printing the lines in brackets, though to my mind the external evidence against them is decisive. They are, it should be added, thought genuine by Ribbeck, Forbiger, Kvicala, Henry, Schaper, and Papillon.—H. N.]

567.] 'Iamque adeo' is Virgilian, 5. 268, 864., 8. 585., 11. 487, 'adeo' strengthening 'iam' (see note on E. 4. 11).

Servantem et tacitam secreta in sede latentem
Tyndarida aspicio: dant clara incendia lucem
Erranti passimque oculos per cuncta ferenti.
Illa sibi infestos eversa ob Pergama Teucros
Et poenas Danaum et deserti coniugis iras
Praemetuens, Troiae et patriae communis Erinys,
Abdiderat sese atque aris invisa sedebat.
Exarsere ignes animo; subit ira cadentem
Ulcisci patriam et sceleratas sumere poenas.
Scilicet haec Spartam incolumis patriasque Mycenas
Aspiciet? partoque ibit regina triumpho,
Coniugiumque, domumque, patres, natosque videbit,

'Super' separated from 'eram,' as in E. 6. 6. The same tmesis occurs even in prose, "vix decumae super portiones erant" Tac. H. 1. 20. comp. by Wund. The temple of Vesta, like that of Pallas, appears to have been in the "arx."

568.] 'Servantem' G. 4. 459.

569.] 'Dant' &c. shows how it was that Aeneas discovered her.

570.] 'Erranti:' Heyne supposes that Aeneas has let himself down to the ground and is ranging over the palace; but it may be questioned whether he really descends till v. 632. To suppose that his descent is presumed in a context like this is to put a weapon into the hands of the oppugners of the genuineness of the passage.

463.] Heins. from a few MSS. restored 'praemetuens,' which seems a better word than 'permetuens,' the reading before his time; but it is hard to judge of external authority where so many MSS. fail us. Accepting 'praemetuens,' we shall do right to understand it with Henry of fear anticipating the consequences, like "praemetuens dolum" Phaedrus 1. 16. 4. [Lucr. 3. 1018 "at mens sibi conscia factis Praemetuens adhibet stimulos."—H. N.] Helen is called νυμφόκλαυτος Ἐρινύς Aesch. Ag. 749.

574.] 'Invisa' seems better taken with Wagn. and Henry as 'hated' (comp. v. 601) than with Heyne and others as 'unseen.' It however qualifies 'sedebat:' 'sat crouching, like a hated thing,' 'sat in hateful solitude.'

575.] 'Ulcisci .. sumere' may be taken in apposition with 'ira,' or they may be resolved into "ulciscendi . . sumendi:" see on G. 1. 213. Aeneas' resolution to kill Helen seems to be copied, as Emmenessius and Heyne remark, from a similar resolution of Pylades and Orestes Eur. Or. 1131 foll.

576.] 'Sceleratas sumere poenas' is a variety, perhaps a harsh one, for 'sceleris poenas sumere' or 'poenas ex scelerata sumere.' [Henry takes 'sceleratas' as = "accursed, wicked, shocking, damnable," epithets which he contends are applicable to "every extreme and capital punishment."—H. N.]

577.] Here as in 1. 650 Helen is spoken of in connexion with Mycenae, with which she had really nothing to do, according to Virg.'s usual habit of specifying where he merely means to generalize. 'Mycenae' with him is the poetical way of saying Greece, as "acernis" v. 112 is the poetical way of saying 'made of wood.' At the same time in the case of Helen there is doubtless a confusion between the royal cities of the two Atridae, Sparta and Mycenae being used convertibly. 'Patrias,' because Tyndareus was originally king of Sparta, though he afterwards resigned his throne to Menelaus.

578.] 'Regina,' as a queen, not like our Trojan ladies, as a captive. 'Parto triumpho:' "parere" is frequently used with such expressions as "honorem," "laudem," "decus," "victoriam:" see Forcell.

579.] This line has been condemned by those who, like Wagn., defend the rest of the passage; but there is no fresh external evidence against it, and the internal grounds for separating it from its fellows do not appear conclusive. 'Coniugium' for "coniugem" is in Virg.'s manner, and occurs again 11. 270 (comp. "remigium," 3. 471): it is not said that she will see Menelaus for the first time on her return, but merely that she will return and be re-united to her family,

Iliadum turba et Phrygiis comitata ministris?
Occiderit ferro Priamus? Troia arserit igni?
Dardanium totiens sudarit sanguine litus?
Non ita. Namque etsi nullum memorabile nomen
Feminea in poena est nec habet victoria laudem,
Exstinxisse nefas tamen et sumpsisse merentis

husband, children, and parents: 'patres' may very well stand for "parentes," like "soceros," v. 457, for father and mother-in-law, and is in fact so used in some inscriptions referred to by Forcell., if not in Ov. M. 4. 61: Tyndareus and Leda are represented by Eur. Or. 473 as alive even after the death of Clytaemnestra, though Hom. Od. 11. 298 introduces Leda in the shades: and the picture of Helen attended by a retinue of Trojan dames may refer at least as well to her daily life, which is the more Homeric conception, as to her procession in triumph, which would be a Roman image. 'Natos:' Hom. Od. 4. 12 foll., speaks of Hermione as Helen's only child; but other authorities (Hesiod, cited by the Schol. on Soph. El. 532) speak of a son, Nicostratus.

580.] 'Phrygiis ministris' refers doubtless to male attendants, like the Φρύξ introduced Eur. Or. 1369 foll.

581.] The so-called past futures 'occiderit,' 'arserit,' 'sudarit,' are meant to indicate those circumstances in the past which make it monstrous that the event spoken of as future, 'aspiciet,' 'ibit,' 'videbit,' should ever be realized. The sense is 'shall she return, *now that* Priam has been murdered, Troy burned, Dardania bathed in blood?' So in 4. 590, well comp. by Wund. "Pro Iuppiter! ibit Ille, ait, et nostris inluserit advena regnis?" is a vivid poetical equivalent for "ibit advena qui nostris inlusit regnis?"

582.] 'Sanguine sudare' is from Enn. Hect. Lustr. fr. 11 (Vahlen), "terra sudat sanguine." Lucr. 5. 1129 has "sanguine sudent," of aspirants to power. Thus 'undarit,' the conjecture of Heins., would be no improvement. 'Totiens' refers to the whole course of the war. 'Ῥέε δ' αἵματι γαῖα is a feature of an ordinary battle in Homer.

583.] 'Non ita' seems to answer to our 'not so,' rather than to the Greek οὐ δῆτα, 'no truly,' with which it is generally compared. Cicero more than once has "non est ita" (Pro Flacc. 22, Off. 1. 44). Henry remarks on the similarity of the sentiment which follows with that expressed by Arruns 11. 790 foll.

"Non exuvias pulsaeve tropaeum
Virginis, aut spolia ulla peto: mihi cetera laudem
Facta ferent: haec dira meo dum volnere pestis
Pulsa cadat, patrias remeabo inglorius urbes,"

observing at the same time that what in Aeneas, the hero, is a mere passing impulse, is deliberately resolved on by Arruns, the coward. Arruns' cowardice however is shown not by his wishing to kill Camilla, but by his not daring to confront her, his disclaimer of a desire for spoils meaning that his object is not to conquer her, but simply to take her life; and the feeling of Aeneas answers exactly to that of Pylades, Eur. Or. 1131 foll., who argues that it would be dishonourable to put a virtuous woman to death, but a worthy deed to execute vengeance on Helen. Both expression and thought are parallel to 4. 94, "magnum et memorabile nomen, Una dolo divum si femina victa duorum est."

584.] 'Feminea poena' for 'feminae poena' belongs to a class of expressions which are more common perhaps in Greek poetry than in Latin, more common in the case of proper names (comp. above v. 543, "corpus Hectoreum") than in that of ordinary nouns. Comp. however 11. 68, "virgineo pollice."

585.] 'Exstinxisse laudabor,' like "posuisse figuras Laudatur," Persius 1. 86. The more ordinary construction would be 'laudabor quod exstinxi,' or 'qui exstinxerim.' Virg. has another variety 10. 449, "spoliis ego iam raptis laudabor opimis." 'Nefas,' contemptuously of a person, as we might say, 'for having put out of the way so much crime.' So "scelus" is frequently used in the comic writers. 'Merentis' is probably the acc. pl., agreeing with 'poenas,' not, as Heyne and others have thought, the genitive singular, a construction which, though not prima facie opposed to the genius of the lan-

Laudabor poenas, animumque explesse iuvabit
* Ultricis famam, et cineres satiasse meorum.
Talia iactabam, et furiata mente ferebar,]
Cum mihi se, non ante oculis tam clara, videndam
Obtulit et pura per noctem in luce refulsit
Alma parens, confessa deam, qualisque videri
Caelicolis et quanta solet, dextraque prehensum

guage, would require to be supported by examples. 'Merentis poenas' will then be like "sceleratas poenas," v. 576, note. The repetition of a harsh or unusual expression within a few lines may be used as an argument against the whole passage; but similar instances might, I fancy, be accumulated, where it seems as if a novelty in language had exercised for the moment a fascination on the writer, compelling him to recur to it immediately after having used it first. The mere repetition of 'poena,' 'poenas,' may be paralleled more easily; comp. "pulsae," "pulsa," in the passage from A. 11, cited on v. 583.

586.] ['Ultricis famam' is the reading of all the best MSS. of Servius, the old reading 'flammae' being a late correction. The passage is evidently corrupt. It is very doubtful whether 'explere animum flammae' would be Latin, no instance being quoted of 'explere' with the gen. Schaper, seeing this difficulty, would join 'animus' with 'ultricis flammae'; the desire for vengeance. But this again can hardly be called Latin. In my edition of Servius' memoir (Ancient Lives of Vergil, p. 24), I have conjectured that 'ultricis' may perhaps be a corruption of "altricis," and that a line has dropped out between vv. 586 and 587. The sense of 587 would then be 'To have satisfied the glory of my country and the ashes of my loved ones.' "Altrix" is fairly common in poetry as an epithet of "patria." Conington, reading 'flammae,' was sensible of "the not very happy transition by which the poet passed from the flame of vengeance to the ashes of his kinsfolk, as both requiring to be satisfied."—H. N.] The thought of posthumous vengeance delighting the dead is common enough; comp. 4. 387., 12. 948. With 'cineres meorum' comp. "flammae extrema meorum," v. 431.

588.] 'Talia iactabam,' 1. 102. 'Furiata mente,' v. 407.

589—623.] 'That moment my mother appeared, calmed my rage, bade me look for my father, wife, and son, showed me that the overthrow of Troy was the work not of man but of Heaven, and revealed to me the bodily presence of Neptune, Juno, Pallas, and Jupiter himself, helping in the work of destruction.'

589.] For 'cum' several inferior MSS. give 'tum,' which would be neater if the preceding passage were regarded as an interpolation. 'Non ante oculis tam clara:' Aeneas had never before seen her so bright, so completely in her true goddess form. We need not ask on what former occasion she is likely to have appeared to him. 'Videndam' = "obtulit ut viderem," as "discere laudanda magistro," Pers. 3. 46, = "discere ut laudaret magister:" see Madv. § 422. Venus appears to check Aeneas from killing Helen, as Pallas, Il. 1. 193 foll., to check Achilles from killing Agamemnon.

590.] 'Pura in luce:' ["in nimbo, qui cum numinibus semper est." Serv.—H. N.] 'Per noctem,' it is needless to say, is not inconsistent with v. 569, as the blaze would still leave darkness enough to render Venus' appearance conspicuous. 'Refulsit,' 1. 402. ['Optulit' Gud.—H. N.]

591.] The expression 'confessa deam' (i. q. "confessa se deam esse") is apparently Virg.'s own; Ovid however imitates it M. 3. 2., 11. 264., 12. 601. Hence 'confessed' for 'revealed,' or 'manifested,' occurs frequently in English poetry of the school of Dryden and Pope. 'Qualis et quanta' seems to be a translation of such expressions as ὅσσος ἔην οἷός τε, Il. 24. 630. It is applied to the gods by Ov. M. 3. 284, Tibull. 3. 6. 23, quoted by Forb. In this case 'quantus' has a special force, as the stature of the gods was greater than that of men. 'Que' couples the clause to which it belongs with 'confessa deam.' 'Videri caelicolis:' see on E. 4. 16.

592.] Venus seizes the hand with which Aeneas was laying hold of his sword. The circumstance may also have some significance as denoting the fulness of the revelation, unlike that in 1. 408, where

Continuit, roseoque haec insuper addidit ore:
Nate, quis indomitas tantus dolor excitat iras?
Quid furis? aut quonam nostri tibi cura recessit?
Non prius aspicies, ubi fessum aetate parentem
Liqueris Anchisen? superet coniunxne Creusa,
Ascaniusque puer? quos omnis undique Graiae
Circumerrant acies, et, ni mea cura resistat,
Iam flammae tulerint inimicus et hauserit ensis.
Non tibi Tyndaridis facies invisa Lacaenae

Aeneas complains "cur dextrae iungere dextram Non datur." Every one will remember Hom.'s ἔν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρί. ['Dextram' Med.—H. N.]

593.] 'Roseo ore,' from her rosy lips. "Rosea cervice" of Venus 1. 402. 'Insuper addidit,' and similar expressions, are common in Virg. where speech follows action of any kind.

594.] It is difficult to see how these words could apply to a purpose of self-destruction not mentioned, but left to be indirectly inferred, as we must suppose them to do if we regard the passage about Helen as interpolated. ["Hinc autem," says Servius, "versus fuisse sublatos Veneris verba demonstrant dicentis 'Non tibi Tyndaridis facies invisa Lacaenae.'" But see on v. 567.—H. N.]

595.] 'Quonam nostri tibi cura recessit' has been variously explained as if Aeneas owed to his mother to protect the family of which she formed a part (vv. 596 foll.), or as if Venus claimed an interest in Helen. Perhaps it is better to say that Aeneas by losing self-command showed that he had lost confidence in his mother and sense of his relation to her. 'Nostri cura' of course must mean 'care for me;' but the sense of another's care for oneself may be said to involve care for another. So far as this clause goes, it may balance that just commented on, as it would apply exceedingly well to the supposed intention of suicide. With the expression comp. G. 4. 324.

596.] 'Prius,' before doing anything else, οὐ φθάνοις ἂν σκοπῶν. 'Aspicere,' of paying attention to a thing, G. 4. 2. 'Fessum aetate' contains the same notion as "aevo gravior," v. 435. 'Ubi liqueris,' where you left him; the real meaning being, where he, whom you left at home, may be now.

597.] 'Superet,' E. 9. 27. We should rather have expected 'ne' to follow 'superet:' but 'coniunx Creusa' may be regarded as more emphatic than 'superet,' as the question of the safety of Aeneas' friends has already been put in the former clause, and now the point is whether this or that person is safe. Perhaps also we may say that it has the force of an additional 'que,' as if it had been written "superetne coniunxque Creusa Ascaniusque puer."

598.] It is not clear whether 'omnis' or 'omnes' should be read; in other words, whether 'omnes' goes with 'quos' or with 'acies.' The latter is supported by Med., the former by the editors generally. In the one case 'omnes' has to be applied to three people; in the other three people are said to be surrounded by the whole Grecian army, when the meaning merely is that enemies are swarming round them.

599.] 'Circumerrant' denotes that the enemy is constantly passing backwards and forwards, and suggests that they may at last by mere chance light upon their victims. 'Resistat' expresses that the danger and consequently the guardianship are not over. 'Tulerint' and 'hauserit,' on the other hand, for the sake of liveliness, speak of the destruction as already a thing of the past.

600.] 'Tulerint,' nearly as in v. 555 above. 'Haurire,' of a weapon or other offensive agent, probably as devouring flesh or drinking blood, a Lucretian expression, repeated 10. 314, and not uncommon in Ovid. Comp. also note on G. 3. 105. The original is probably Homer's διὰ δ' ἔντερα χαλκὸς ἄφυσσεν Δῃώσας. (Il. 14. 517).

601.] 'Tibi' refers to the whole sentence, as in 1. 261. 'It is not, as you think,' or 'this overthrow that you mourn is not caused by,' &c. 'Facies invisa,' the hated beauty. 'Lacaenae:' Menelaus in Eur. Tro. 869 says, Ἥκω δὲ τὴν Λάκαιναν, οὐ γὰρ ἡδέως Ὄνομα δάμαρτος ἥ ποτ' ἦν ἐμὴ λέγω, Ἄξων. The source of the sentiment is Il. 3. 164 foll., where Priam

Culpatusve Paris, divom inclementia, divom,
Has evertit opes sternitque a culmine Troiam.
Aspice—namque omnem, quae nunc obducta tuenti
Mortalis hebetat visus tibi et umida circum
Caligat, nubem eripiam; tu ne qua parentis
Iussa time, neu praeceptis parere recusa—
Hic, ubi disiectas moles avolsaque saxis
Saxa vides mixtoque undantem pulvere fumum,

says to Helen, *Οὔτι μοι αἰτίη ἐσσί, θεοί νύ μοι αἴτιοί εἰσιν, Οἵ μοι ἐφώρμησαν πόλεμον πολύδακρυν Ἀχαιῶν.* In Q. Smyrn. 13. 412, Menelaus is going to kill Helen, when Agamemnon stops him, saying, *οὐ γάρ τοι Ἑλένη πέλει αἰτίη, ὡς σύ γ' ἔολπας, Ἀλλὰ Πάρις.* Virg. does not say, as Mr. Gladstone (Hom. vol. iii. pp. 523 foll.) charges him with saying, that Helen and Paris are guiltless, but that Aeneas ought to think not of them but of the gods as the real overthrowers of Troy. ['Lacenae' Med. Pal.—H. N.]

602.] 'Culpatus,' whom you and others blame. The word is used as an adjective: see Forc. Aeneas had said nothing about Paris, so that the mention of him here neutralizes the mention of Helen in the previous line as an argument for the genuineness of the disputed passage. 'Divom inclementia, divom' is the reading of Med. and Ribbeck's other MSS., supported by Donatus on Ter. Andr. 5. 3. 12, and others of the old grammarians, and is now generally adopted. The old reading was 'verum inclementia,' a much weaker expression, and apparently not well supported, though Heyne's critical note is not explicit about the authorities for it. Other copies present other varieties, 'sed enim inclementia,' 'unquam inclementia,' 'divom inclementia summis,' which may perhaps show that some corruption has crept into the text. On intrinsic grounds nothing can be more satisfactory than the text as it now stands. ['Divum' Med.—H. N.]

603.] 'Has evertit opes' v. 4. We must remember that Aeneas had just witnessed the destruction of Priam's palace. 'A culmine,' v. 290 note.

604.] Aeneas knew that the tutelary gods of Troy had left their temples (v. 351): he now learns that there are heavenly powers actually arrayed against Troy. How far the two views of the relations of the gods to Troy harmonize it would be hard to say: in Homer certain gods are the avowed friends, certain other gods the avowed enemies of Troy, and though the Trojans try to propitiate the latter (comp. the procession to the temple of Pallas Il. 6. 269 foll.), their hostility seems to be unabated. The opening of Aeneas' eyes that he may see the gods is from Il. 5. 127, where Pallas performs the same office to Diomed, *ἀχλὺν δ' αὖ τοι ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἕλον, ἣ πρὶν ἐπῆεν, Ὄφρ' εὖ γιγνώσκῃς ἠμὲν θεὸν ἠδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα.*

606.] 'Tu ne qua—recusa' is a clause which has given some trouble to the commentators. Heyne thinks Virg. would have altered it had he lived to revise the poem: Wagn. vindicates it as giving the reason why the cloud is to be removed, that Aeneas, seeing the desperate state of Troy, may not hesitate to abandon it. Perhaps it would be better to say that Venus fears lest Aeneas, seeing the gods banded against Troy, should become desperate, or too timid to make an attempt to save his family,—a view which will agree with 'time' here, and with the language of v. 620.

608.] The picture of Neptune overthrowing the walls with his trident is taken from a curious passage, Il. 12. 27 foll., speaking of the destruction of the unblessed rampart of the Greeks by Poseidon, in connexion with Apollo and Zeus, after the fall of Troy. There however his functions as the earth-shaking god of the sea are more distinctly marked: the rampart had been made to protect the ships as they stood drawn up on the shore, and the foundation is accordingly undermined by the waves, and the beach restored as it was before. Here there may be a hint of Neptune's marine agency on a maritime town, but all that is expressed is the leverage of the trident in overturning the walls of the city. Comp. also the descent of the gods to battle Il. 20. 47 foll.

609.] "'Pulvis' est ex ruinis." Heyne.

Neptunus muros magnoque emota tridenti
Fundamenta quatit totamque a sedibus urbem
Eruit. Hic Iuno Scaeas saevissima portas
Prima tenet, sociumque furens a navibus agmen
Ferro accincta vocat.
Iam summas arces Tritonia, respice, Pallas
Insedit, nimbo effulgens et Gorgone saeva.

610.] Serv. reminds us that the walls of Troy were originally built by Neptune and Apollo, Cerda that θεμελιοῦχος was one of the names of Poseidon. If Virg. remembered the one fact and was aware of the other, he might naturally feel that there was a philosophical propriety in representing the same power as the maker and the destroyer. 'Magno emota tridenti' of course belongs really to 'muros' as well as to 'fundamenta,' though grammatically only to the latter.

611.] Heins. and Heyne read 'ab sedibus' from Pal., Gud., and another MS.: Wagn. restores 'a sedibus,' comparing 1. 84.

612.] The Scaean gate looked towards the shore, and the battle naturally thickened round it, as Heyne remarks in his note on Il. 6. 307.

613.] 'Prima' because at the entrance of the city (see on v. 334), Heyne: a better interpretation than Henry's, who thinks that Juno is meant to be the prime mover of the whole. 'Socium agmen' are the Greeks, to whom Juno calls, as in Il. 20. 48 foll. Athene calls to the Greeks, Ares to the Trojans.

614.] Stat. Theb. 5. 280, in an imitation of this passage quoted by Cerda, represents even Venus as armed: "illa, qua iam silentia, porta Stat funesta Venus, ferroque accincta furentis Adiuvat." Juno's arms have been already mentioned 1. 16. Cerda, in a note there, observes from Festus and Plutarch that Juno was sometimes represented with a spear under the title of "Curitis" ("curis," the Sabine word for spear). One inferior MS. fills up the hemistich with the words 'saevasque accendit ad iras.'

615.] Like Neptune (v. 610), Pallas presides over the destruction of that which she ordinarily (see note on E. 2. 61) protects. In Il. 5. 460 Apollo takes his seat on the height of Pergamos, to defend it.

616.] The 'nimbus' naturally goes with the 'Gorgon,' as the "aegis" is really the whirlwind that drives the storm-cloud, whence the double meaning of the word in Greek. Comp. 8. 353 foll., Sil. 12. 720 foll. So Apollo Il. 15. 308 appears εἱμένος ὤμοιϊν νεφέλην (Horace's "nube candentis umeros amictus"), ἔχε δ' αἰγίδα θοῦριν, a line which Virg. doubtless meant to translate. The brightness of the storm-cloud, to which Henry objects, may be accounted for, if not, with Wagn., by the lurid glare of the conflagration, at any rate by the lightning which it would naturally emit—a view agreeing well with the historical picture of a captured town quoted by Henry himself from Tac. A. 13. 41, "Adicitur miraculum, velut numine oblatum: nam cuncta extra, tectis tenus, sole inlustria fuere: quod moenibus cingebatur, ita repente atra nube coopertum fulguribusque discretum est, ut quasi infensantibus Deis exitio tradi crederetur." So Pallas, who carries the "aegis" of Zeus, wields also Zeus' lightning, as we have seen on 1. 42. Her descent here then will be parallel to Juno's 10. 634, "agens hiemem, nimbo succincta," though there we hear only of the darkness of the cloud, not of the lightning. So explained, 'nimbo' seems to give a finer because a more real and less conventional picture than Henry and Ladewig's substitute 'limbo' (recognized by Serv. as a various reading, and still found as an alternative in one MS.), though the robe reaching down to the feet was a characteristic of Pallas, and the border would naturally be of peculiar splendour, as it appears frequently to have been in more ordinary human costume.—'Saeva' might conceivably, as Serv. remarks, be taken with 'Pallas:' but it is apparently a translation of θοῦριν quoted above. Both Hesiod and Hom., as Henry observes, call the Gorgon δεινή. [Serv. explains 'nimbus' as the bright cloud surrounding the head of a divinity, and appeals to pictures as evidence of his interpretation: "Est fulgidum lumen, quo deorum capita cinguntur; sic etiam pingi solet." See on v. 590. 'Etfulgens,' i.e. 'ecfulgens,' Med.—H. N.]

Ipse Pater Danais animos viresque secundas
Sufficit, ipse deos in Dardana suscitat arma.
Eripe, nate, fugam, finemque inpone labori.
Nusquam abero, et tutum patrio te limine sistam.
Dixerat, et spissis noctis se condidit umbris.
Apparent dirae facies inimicaque Troiae
Numina magna deum.
  Tum vero omne mihi visum considere in ignis
Ilium et ex imo verti Neptunia Troia;
Ac veluti summis antiquam in montibus ornum
Cum ferro accisam crebrisque bipennibus instant
Eruere agricolae certatim; illa usque minatur

617.] 'Ipse pater' G. 1. 121 note. 'Secundas' seems to mean 'auspicious' or 'victorious.'

619.] 'Eripe fugam' is a variety for "eripe te fuga," with a glance, after Virg.'s manner, at other possible aspects of the word, the notion of rescuing flight from those who would rob one of it (Gossrau), and the use of "rapere fugam" (Ov. F. 3. 867) in the sense of flying hastily. See on 1. 381, G. 2. 364. 'Labor,' the struggle, as Homer's heroes talk of battle as μόγος: seen on v. 11. For 'finem inponere' in the sense of putting an end to, which Weidner seems to question, comp. 5. 463. ['Impone' Med.—H. N.]

620.] 'Venus engages to conduct him safely home.'

622.] 'Dirae facies' doubtless suggested the 'dreadful faces' that throng the gate of Milton's Paradise: but Virg. probably meant 'forms.' It has been asked why 'inimica' and 'magna' are not joined by a copula: the answer is that the two epithets are not co-ordinate, 'inimica Troiae' being in fact part of the predicate, 'are seen ranged against Troy.' [Lucr. 3. 18 "apparet divum numen."—H. N.]

623.] 'Numina,' as we might say 'the powers:' more emphatic here than 'di,' as it is the exertion of a superhuman power on which we are meant to dwell. The effect of the hemistich here is very grand, and it is not easy to see how Virg. could have improved the line by completing it. At any rate the effective brevity with which he dismisses in a line and a half what an inferior poet would have taken a paragraph to express is a memorable testimony to his judgment. Serv. has a curious note: "Secundum mathesin" (astrology), "post abscessum Veneris dicit apparuisse numina, cuius praesentes radii intervenientes anaereticos" (ἀναιρετικούς, seemingly an astrological term) "temperant."

624—633.] 'I saw at once that all was lost, and Troy nodding to its fall like a tree under the woodmen's axes.'

624.] 'Tum vero:' after his eyes have been opened to see Heaven fighting against Troy. 'Omne' is emphatic. 'Considere in ignis' occurs 9. 145, and Tac. H. 3. 33, "cum omnia sacra profanaque in ignis considerent," perhaps an imitation of Virg. Troy is undermined by the flame, and so cannot stand against it, but sinks down into it. The word is also applied to the collapse or subsidence of flame itself.

625.] 'Neptunia:' as if god-built towers might have been expected to resist.

626.] Hom. Il. 4. 482 foll. compares the death of Simoisius to the falling of a poplar which the woodman cuts down; but the circumstances of the felling are not dwelt on. Apoll. R. 4. 1182 foll. has a simile more like Virg.'s, comparing the overthrow of Talus under Medea's enchantments to a tree half cut down and left, which first moves gently to the wind and afterwards comes down with a crash. But Virg.'s simile is sufficiently original, as regards both the details and the thing to which the tree is compared. Heyne complains of its grammatical structure, from the omission of the apodosis: but 'ac veluti' means not 'and as,' but 'even as.'

627.] 'Accisam:' note on G. 2. 379. ['Bipinnibus' Med. and Verona fragm.—H. N.]

628.] 'Minatur' bears its ordinary

Et tremefacta comam concusso vertice nutat,
Volneribus donec paulatim evicta supremum
Congemuit traxitque iugis avolsa ruinam.
Descendo, ac ducente deo flammam inter et hostis
Expedior; dant tela locum, flammaeque recedunt.
  Atque ubi iam patriae perventum ad limina sedis
Antiquasque domos, genitor, quem tollere in altos
Optabam primum montis primumque petebam,
Abnegat excisa vitam producere Troia

sense of threatening to fall. Henry fancies the point of the comparison is between a tree dangerous in its fall and Troy threatening injury to its captors: but the only danger the tree can cause is by falling, and we hear nothing of injury when the fall actually takes place (v. 631.) It seems equally needless to suppose that in the next line there is any allusion to a warrior nodding his plumes threateningly. Aeneas has ceased to look upon Troy as having any power for offence or defence, and regards its destruction as simply a question of time. 'Usque:' it keeps threatening.

630.] 'Evicta' 4. 474, stronger than 'victa.' ['Vulneribus' Verona fragm. and Gud. 'Victa' Verona fragm.—H. N.]

631.] "'Congemuit:' not merely groaned, but groaned loudly, as it were with all its force collected into one last effort:" Henry; who seems also right in connecting 'iugis' with 'traxit ruinam,' and understanding 'avolsa' of tearing away the tree from the stump with ropes, like the description in Ov. M. 8. 776. 'Traxit ruinam iugis' will then mean that the tree fell heavily, and lay at length along the mountain, not, as has been supposed, that part of the mountain gave way with the tree.

632.] 'Descendo:' note on v. 570. 'Deus' is used when a goddess is meant, perhaps on the analogy of ὁ καὶ ἡ θεός, giving a more general, and therefore in a case like this more impressive notion. "Under the guidance of Heaven." There is an old reading 'dea,' which originally existed in Med. and the Verona palimpsest, and appears in Pal. from a correction, as well as in some inferior MSS.: but Macrob. Sat. 3. 8, and Serv. vindicate 'deo.' [Ti. Donatus read 'descendo abducente dea.'—H. N.]

633.] 'Expedior:' Emm. comp. Hor. 4 Od. 4. 76, "curae sagaces Expediunt per acuta belli." Ovid (ex Ponto 1. 1. 33), either mistaking Virg., or following another legend, supposes that Aeneas was protected from the flames afterwards when he was rescuing his father; but Virg. gives no hint of this, and Aeneas' own language, 6. 110, rather contradicts it.

634—654.] 'Arrived at home, I find my father will not be persuaded to fly with me. He tells me that flight is for the young; that the fall of the city is a signal that he has lived long enough; and that we must leave him to die, as indeed his life has long been useless and unblest. We, in an agony of tears, endeavour to move him, but in vain.'

634.] 'Atque ubi' was restored by Heins. for 'ast ubi,' which is the reading of inferior MSS.

635.] 'Antiquas' seems merely an epithet of affection. Serv. says "'antiquas:' caras: ambitiose dixit."

636.] 'Primum,' as Gossrau remarks, receives some light from a story told by Serv. from Varro's work "Rerum Humanarum," to the effect that the Greeks allowed Aeneas and others to take with them what they valued most: that while others chose their treasures, he chose his father: that his filial piety was rewarded by the permission to make a second choice, when he selected the Penates; and that after this second proof of unselfishness the conquerors left him free to take with him what he liked. This story was not likely to be adopted by Virg., who would feel that it in some sort compromised the prowess of his hero; but it may very well have influenced his language here. 'Primum' then will mean that Aeneas thought of saving his father before saving any other person or thing, so that it had best be made to agree with 'quem.' 'Montis:' Ida, vv. 801 foll. 'Primumque petebam,' whom I first addressed, or, to whom I first made my way.

637.] Guellius and Cerda are, I suspect,

Exiliumque pati. Vos o, quibus integer aevi
Sanguis, ait, solidaeque suo stant robore vires,
Vos agitate fugam.
Me si caelicolae voluissent ducere vitam,
Has mihi servassent sedes. Satis una superque
Vidimus excidia et captae superavimus urbi.
Sic, o sic positum adfati discedite corpus.
Ipse manu mortem inveniam; miserebitur hostis
Exuviasque petet; facilis iactura sepulchri.

right in conjecturing 'exscissa.' "Exscindere urbem," "gentem" &c. occur repeatedly in Virg., and "excidium" too is common; but "excidere" is never used by him in this sense except here and in 12. 762, where one MS., the Parrhasian, gives "exscissurum," unless we are to follow fragm. Vat. in reading "excidisse" 5. 785. It is at least singular that the only two instances in which this use of the word is supported by the weight of the MSS. should be instances of participles, where the difference amounts to little more than a difference of spelling. The spelling "excidium," which seems to have taken general possession of the MSS., may have arisen from a false etymology: see on 1. 22. Comp. also the fluctuations between "abscindo" and "abscido." ['Abnegat producere': so Plaut. Cas. 3. 5. 55 "negat ponere": Ter. And. 379 "sed si tu negaris ducere": Lucilius 29. 83 (Müller) "negat reddere": Piso ap. Gell. 7. 9. 3 "negat accipere."—H. N.]

638.] ['Exsilium' Verona fragm.—H. N.] 'Integer aevi' 9. 255. So "aevi maturus" 5. 73. ["Tum quom est sanguis integer," Plautus Merc. 550 (Ritschl).—H. N.]

639.] 'Suo' emphatic. Anchises says in fact that his very inability to fly without aid is a reason why he should not fly at all. "Mole sua stat" 10. 771. There seems to be an imitation of Il. 23. 629, εἴθ' ὣς ἡβώοιμι, βίη τέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἴη.

640.] 'Agitate fugam' seems nearly = "fugam moliri" v. 108 above. [Serv. quotes a fragment of Sallust, "fugam in Oceani longinqua agitavisse."—H. N.] One MS. fills up the line with the words 'et rebus servate secundis.'

642.] 'Satis' &c. In prose we might have had "satis superque est quod vidimus" &c. The allusion of course is to the destruction of Troy by Hercules and in the time of Laomedon.

643.] 'Superavimus' v. 597. "Uni," in the form of "semel," has to be supplied to 'captae urbi.'

644.] This line was omitted in Med. doubtless by accident, and had to be added in the margin. See on G. 2. 433, 'Sic' is probably to be taken with 'positum,' 'just as I am:' we may however comp. the emphatic 'sic, sic' with which Dido apparently stabs herself 4. 660, as well as "sic te ut posita crudelis abessem," ib. 681. Comp. also G. 4. 303, "Sic positum in clauso linquunt," of the slain calf. 'Positus' of the dead, like κεῖσθαι: see Forc.: and so 'corpus.' 'Adfati' seems to refer to the "conclamatio" rather than to the "acclamatio" (see on 1. 219); but it is difficult to say. They are to treat him as if he were already dead, and leave him.

645.] The words 'ipse manu' are so frequently connected by Virg. in the sense of doing a thing with one's own hand, that it seems impossible to give them any other sense here. 'Miserebitur hostis' on the other hand is more naturally understood of death from an enemy than of an enemy's abstaining from maltreating the dead; and the words of Aeneas v. 661 rather favour the same view. Forb. therefore seems right in supposing that Anchises means to follow Priam's example, mingling in the battle and provoking his death. Comp. "meruisse manu" above v. 434. Anchises is infirm, but we need not suppose that the blast of the thunder had actually incapacitated him from motion, as he is able to accompany Aeneas on his seven years' voyage. For 'miserebitur hostis' Serv. aptly comp. 9. 495., 10. 676.

646.] 'Exuviasque petet' indicates that the enemy might kill him for other reasons than pity. 'Sepulchri est' was the reading before Pierius. In calling the loss of a tomb a light one, Anchises is speaking as a world-wearied old man, not

Iam pridem invisus divis et inutilis annos
Demoror, ex quo me divom pater atque hominum rex
Fulminis adflavit ventis et contigit igni.
Talia perstabat memorans, fixusque manebat.
Nos contra effusi lacrimis coniunxque Creusa
Ascaniusque omnisque domus, ne vertere secum
Cuncta pater fatoque urguenti incumbere vellet.
Abnegat, inceptoque et sedibus haeret in isdem.

as one who consciously realized the belief of the heroic time. [Henry thinks the words have a special reference to the belief that persons struck by lightning were unworthy of burial. Festus p. 178 (Müller) "homo si fulmine occisus est, ei iusta nulla fieri oportet."—H. N.]

647.] The story was that Anchises was struck (some said killed) by lightning for divulging his intercourse with Venus. See Hom. Hymn to Aphrodite, vv. 287 foll. 'Inutilis,' as Achilles Il. 18. 104 calls himself in his inaction ἐτώσιον ἄχθος ἀρούρης. 'Annos demoror' seems rightly explained by Serv. "quasi festinantis diu vivendo detineo," though there is still room for question whether the notion is that of deferring the day of doom or of acting as it were as a clog upon time by passing a feeble spiritless dead-alive existence. Comp. 3. 481 "fando surgentis demoror austros," and Horace's "Impudens Orcum moror" 3 Od. 27. 50.

648.] 'Divom pater atque hominum rex' 1. 65.

649.] 'Ventis' seems to be an extension of the notion of 'adflavit,' which expresses the effect of the "vapor" or heat of the thunderbolt. So Lucr. 5. 567, "calidum membris adflare vaporem," of fire; and again 6. 221 he speaks of things struck by lightning as "gravis halantes sulpuris auras," though he immediately afterwards adds "ignis enim sunt haec, non venti signa neque imbris." Virg. too may have thought of the wind of the thunderbolt's motion: see on 1. 35. Any distinct doctrine, like that of the wind's being the cause of the thunder or lightning, on which Lucr. enlarges 6. 96 foll., is less likely to have been in his mind, though in A. 8. 430 he makes wind one of the component parts of lightning, that which gives it speed. 'Contigit' like "de caelo tactas" E. 1. 17 note.

650.] 'Memorans' here, as in other passages (v. 75, 1. 327 &c.) seems to be simply = "dicens," a use which may be accounted for perhaps by Virg.'s artificial style, which probably led him, as similar causes led our post-Restoration poets, to give a conventional and poetical sense to certain words. The Greek μεμνῆσθαι is used rather loosely, though not with the same latitude. 'Perstabat memorans' seems to be on the analogy of λέγων διετέλει. The more usual Latin construction is with an infinitive, or with "in" and an ablative. 'Fixus' seems better taken with Ti. Donatus "immobilis sententia" than with Heyne "affixus loco, non discedens domo."

651.] 'Effusi lacrimis:' 'poured out in respect of tears,' as we should say 'in tears,' like "studio effusae matres" 12. 130, though 'studio' there may be an instrum. abl. 'Effusi in lacrimas' would be a more common expression. 'Effusis lacrimis' is the reading of five inferior MSS., but is much less Virgilian. Comp. "caesariem effusae" G. 4. 337 note.

652.] 'Ne vellet' seems best taken as a sort of oratio obliqua, like 1. 645 (note), a verb of speaking being assumed from the context. 'Vertere,' 1. 20.

653.] 'To lend his weight to the destiny that was bearing us down.' Forb. comp. Livy 3. 16, "id prope unum maxime inclinatis rebus incubuit." Serv. says, "simile est, ut currentem incitare, praecipitantem inpellere," [and Henry, following this hint, would take 'urguenti' as intransitive, = hastening; as in G. 3. 200, "longique urguent ad litora fluctus." He would understand 'urguenti incumbere,' then, to mean 'to put pressure on it so as to make it go the faster,' comparing Sil. 1. 268 "ergo instat fatis," 7. 241 "Fortunae Libys incumbit."—H. N.]

654.] 'Inceptoque et sedibus haeret in isdem' is one of those plays on similar applications of different words of which Ovid is so fond (comp. M. 2. 146 "consiliis, non curribus utere nostris"), but in which Virg. does not often indulge so

Rursus in arma feror, mortemque miserrimus opto,
Nam quod consilium aut quae iam fortuna dabatur?
Mene efferre pedem, genitor, te posse relicto
Sperasti, tantumque nefas patrio excidit ore?
Si nihil ex tanta Superis placet urbe relinqui,
Et sedet hoc animo, perituraeque addere Troiae
Teque tuosque iuvat, patet isti ianua leto;
Iamque aderit multo Priami de sanguine Pyrrhus,
Gnatum ante ora patris, patrem qui obtruncat ad aras.

unmistakably as here, though on v. 378 above we have seen that he is not wholly free from them. Wund. comp. Cic. in Cat. 2. 5 "si et in urbe et in eadem mente permanent," which he calls "eadem compositionis suavitas." With the position of the preposition Weidner comp. 5. 512 "Illa notos atque atra volans in nubila fugit," 6. 416 "Informi limo glaucaque exponit in ulva."

655—670.] 'Maddened at his refusal, I resolve to plunge into the battle again. What else could I do? not leave him to die. No; if that must be, let Pyrrhus come and despatch us both. And was it for this that my mother brought me home? I will return whence she took me.'

656.] "Quasi vetuerit regina audito 'mortemque miserrimus opto,' sic respondet Aeneas, 'Nam quod consilium aut quae iam fortuna dabatur?'" Serv. Aeneas is talking partly to himself, partly to his father, and his thoughts in the next verse assume the form of a regular address. 'Fortuna' nearly as in G. 3. 452. Some MSS. leave out 'iam,' and Heins. thought the hiatus thus produced preferable to the present reading.

657.] 'Efferre pedem' like "gressum extuleram" v. 753. ['Mene' the uncials and Serv., but Ribbeck reads 'men.' 'Etferre,' *i.e.* 'ecferre,' Med.—H. N.]

658.] "Bene excusat patrem dicendo 'excidit,' et ipsam temperat obiurgationem." Serv. See on 6. 686. Virg. was probably thinking of the Homeric ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων;

660.] 'Sedet' of a fixed resolution 4. 15., 5. 418, &c., sometimes with 'animo,' sometimes with a dative of the person, sometimes without a case. With the thought, rather than the expression of 'periturae addere Troiae teque tuosque' comp. 4. 606 "memet super ipsa dedissem."

661.] For 'isti' many MSS. give 'istic.' Serv. takes 'isti' as an adv., and so Weidner, referring to Ritschl Opusc. 2. p. 453 foll. See on G. 1. 54. 'Isti' naturally refers to what immediately precedes, "that death you covet so." "Leti ianua" and similar expressions occur repeatedly in Lucr., e. g. 5. 373, "Haud igitur leti praeclusa est ianua caelo." Virg. has perhaps varied the image a little, though it is not clear whether he means the door that leads to death, or, as the dative would rather suggest, the door through which death may come. For a similar doubt about a similar expression comp. note on G. 3. 482. The latter interpretation is favoured by two passages which Henry quotes, "Illa ianuam famae patefecit," Pliny Ep. 1. 18, and "Quantam fenestram ad nequitiam patefeceris!" Ter. Haut. 3. 1. 72. [So Ti. Donatus, "non deest omnibus nobis occasio moriendi."—H. N.]

662.] 'Pyrrhus will be here in a moment, fresh from bathing in Priam's blood, Pyrrhus, who butchers the son before the father's face, who butchers the father at the altar.' Heyne well observes that Aeneas refers to the words "miserebitur hostis" v. 645, drawing the same picture of death by an enemy's hand in utterly different colours. He also remarks on the discriminating choice of the epithet 'multo.' Lady Macbeth's "Who would have thought the old man to have had so much blood in him?" may be compared, though not exactly similar in feeling.

663.] Serv. and Ti. Donatus seem right (in spite of Wagn.'s denial) in explaining 'obtruncat' "obtruncare consuevit." It was Pyrrhus' only act of the kind; but it agreed so thoroughly with his nature that it would stamp him ever afterwards. He is the butcher of son and father, says Aeneas: therefore doubt not that he will butcher us. 'Obtruncet,' the original reading of the Mentelian

Hoc erat, alma parens, quod me per tela, per ignis
Eripis, ut mediis hostem in penetralibus, utque
Ascanium patremque meum iuxtaque Creusam
Alterum in alterius mactatos sanguine cernam?
Arma, viri, ferte arma; vocat lux ultima victos.
Reddite me Danais; sinite instaurata revisam
Proelia. Numquam omnes hodie moriemur inulti.
  Hinc ferro accingor rursus clipeoque sinistram
Insertabam aptans meque extra tecta ferebam.
Ecce autem complexa pedes in limine coniunx
Haerebat, parvumque patri tendebat Iulum:

MS., which Heins. thinks more Virgilian, would give a different sense. 'Ad aras' is meant to deepen the horror as well as 'ante ora patris.' For 'patrem qui' Med. and others give 'patremque,' clearly a false reading, though supported by Jahn. Med. also gives the spelling 'gnatum,' which I have followed Wagn. in restoring, though with some hesitation, as I have no confidence in his notion that Virg. used the archaic form in grander and more solemn passages, the modern in an ordinary context. ['Natum' Pal. and Verona fragm.—H. N.]

664.] 'Hoc erat' &c., 'was this thy deliverance of me, that I might see,' &c. 'Quod eripis' is the subject, 'hoc' the predicate, and 'ut cernam' depends on 'hoc.' Taubmann comp. Prop. 3. 18. 1, "Hoc erat in primis quod me gaudere iubebas?" 'Quod' is an adverbial or cognate accusative: see on v. 141. The tenses are confused, 'ut cernam' depending on 'hoc erat,' a change doubtless favoured by the use of 'eripis' immediately preceding the dependent clause: or we may say with Jahn that there is a mixture of constructions, "hoc erat quod me eripuisti ut cernerem" and "hoc igitur consilio me eripis ut cernam." 'Hoc erat' may throw some light on such expressions as "tempus erat" Hor. 1 Od. 37. 4, "nunc non erat his locus" Id. A. P. 19.

665.] "Medium in penetralibus hostem" v. 508. ['Eripit' Med.—H. N.]

667.] A reference to the circumstances of Priam's death, v. 551. ['Mactato sanguine' Med. Pal. Verona fragm.—H. N.]

668.] We are meant to suppose, as Serv. remarks, that he had taken off his armour on returning home. 'Lux ultima' like "summa dies" v. 324. 'The call of the day of death rings in the ears of the conquered.'

669.] 'Instaurata' seems to be proleptic. The fight had not been, so far as the Trojans generally were concerned, renewed, as it had never been suspended: but it would be renewed in his case by his return to it.

670.] 'Numquam hodie' E. 3. 49 note. 'Omnes:' 'if my father dooms himself and the rest of the family to an unresisting death, I will not share it.' Heyne comp. Hector's words when he finds himself betrayed to death by Pallas Il. 22. 304, μὴ μὰν ἀσπουδί γε καὶ ἀκλειῶς ἀπολοίμην, Ἀλλὰ μέγα ῥέξας τι καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι.

671—678.] 'I was arming and sallying forth, when my wife fell at my feet with my child in her arms, begging me, if I merely rushed on death, to take them with me; if I thought of resistance, to stay and defend my home.'

671.] 'Ferrum' is the sword, as 'clipeo' shows. Heins. restored 'hinc' for 'hic' from Med. and others.

674.] 'Patri' is to be noted, as occurring in a context where we should be more likely to think of Anchises than of Ascanius' father, Aeneas. See on v. 138, though I do not think that Henry's interpretation there quoted receives any additional support from the present parallel. Aesch. (Cho. 909, 974) uses πατροκτονεῖν, πατροκτόνος, of those who kill, not their father, but the father of the person speaking; and so Chapman (Odyssey 3. 262) speaks of Aegisthus as a parricide in relation to Orestes. The scene is briefly and hastily sketched after the famous one of Hector and Andromache Il. 6. 399 foll.

Si periturus abis, et nos rape in omnia tecum;
Sin aliquam expertus sumptis spem ponis in armis,
Hanc primum tutare domum. Cui parvus Iulus,
Cui pater et coniunx quondam tua dicta relinquor?
  Talia vociferans gemitu tectum omne replebat,
Cum subitum dictuque oritur mirabile monstrum.
Namque manus inter maestorumque ora parentum
Ecce levis summo de vertice visus Iuli
Fundere lumen apex, tactuque innoxia mollis

675.] 'In omnia' here seems almost an euphemistic expression, being explained by 'periturus.' Forb. comp. Lucan 10. 460, "Non sine rege tamen, quem duxit in omnia secum."

676.] 'Expertus' as having been already in the battle.

677.] 'Cui . . . relinquor,' as we should say, "Consider to whom you are leaving us." Heyne comp. 4. 323, "Cui me moribundam deseris, hospes?"

678.] 'Coniunx quondam tua dicta' seems to be "I who once enjoyed all a wife's honours." So Hom.'s σὴν κεκλῆσθαι ἄκοιτιν, which Heyne comp. See on 1. 73. ['Relinquar' Med. originally.—H. N.]

679—704.] 'While she was weeping, Ascanius' hair suddenly burst out into a bright but harmless flame. We were terrified: but my father rejoiced, and begged the gods to confirm the omen. Instantly we heard thunder on the left, and saw a shooting star with a long trail of light. My father acknowledged the hand of heaven indicating that he was to go with me.'

680.] For 'subitum' Med., Pal., and others have 'subito,' as also in 5. 522. Here however 'subitum' is found in fragm. Vat. and recognized by Serv., and seems almost required by the grammar, as 'subito' could not in strictness be united by 'que' to 'dictu mirabile,' the latter constituting an ordinary epithet, not an adverbial part of the sentence; though such a coupling of two not strictly co-ordinate expressions might perhaps be paralleled on the one hand by passages like v. 86 (note), on the other by those of which 5. 447, G. 2. 428 may be taken as specimens. 'Subitum' too seems to be the universal reading of the MSS. in the two very similar passages 8. 81, G. 4. 554. ['Subito' is probably a gloss, as Serv. remarks, "'subitum' pro 'subito.'"—H. N.]

681.] So in 5. 525 the description of the prodigy is introduced by 'namque.' 'Manus inter' 9. 502. Creusa had Ascanius in her arms and was pressing him upon Aeneas. 'Inter ora' seems a kind of zeugma, as we should rather have expected "ante;" but the meaning may be 'while we were holding Ascanius in our arms and pressing his lips to ours.'

683.] It is not easy to say whether 'apex' is to be taken with Cerda and most of the later commentators of a pointed tongue of flame, or with Ti. Donatus, and in our time Henry, of the crown or topmost point (a tuft of hair, as he suggests with reference to 'levis') of Ascanius' head. The latter would be supported by 10. 270, "ardet apex capiti," the 'apex' there being the crest of the helmet which Aeneas happened to be wearing: the former has the authority of Ovid, who three times (F. 6. 636, M. 10. 279, Pont. 4. 9. 54) uses 'apex' of a point or spire of flame, and agrees with Val. Fl. 3. 188, where "frontis apex" seems to mean a luminous halo or star on the brow of Castor. This evidence in favour of a special use is to a certain extent confirmed by the language of the present passage, by the epithet 'levis' and the words 'summo de vertice,' which do not agree equally well with Henry's view, as in that case 'apex' and 'Iuli' could hardly be separated. The tautology between 'fundere lumen apex' (as explained of the flame) and 'lambere flamma comas,' of which he complains, is not un-Virgilian. It is singular that there should be two passages in later poets, one (Claud. 4 Cons. Hon. 192 foll.) alluding to, the other (Sil. 16. 119 foll.) modelled on, the present, in both of which the same doubt might be raised as here. A third interpretation, dating from Serv. and adopted by Burm., and more recently by Schirach, supposes the 'apex' to be the Phrygian cap or

Lambere flamma comas et circum tempora pasci.
Nos pavidi trepidare metu, crinemque flagrantem
Excutere et sanctos restinguere fontibus ignis.
At pater Anchises oculos ad sidera laetus
Extulit, et caelo palmas cum voce tetendit;
Iuppiter omnipotens, precibus si flecteris ullis,
Aspice nos; hoc tantum; et, si pietate meremur,

mitre which Ascanius may have worn, as it is specially used of the cap worn by the "flamines" and "salii" at Rome (see 8. 664, and Dict. A. 'Apex'), which Serv. says Ascanius himself was the first to introduce at Alba: but the whole description seems to show that at this time at least his head was bare. The parallel instance in Roman legend, which doubtless was in Virg.'s mind, is the blazing of the hair of Servius Tullius when a boy, for which see Livy 1. 39. The appearance, wherever it was seen, was supposed to be an omen of future greatness, perhaps of royal dignity, so that here it points out Ascanius as a future king, and shows that the house of Aeneas is destined to survive. Virg. also had in view Apoll. R. 3. 1017, τοῖος ἀπὸ ξανθοῖο καρήατος Αἰσονίδαο Στράπτεν Ἔρως ἡδεῖαν ἀπὸ φλόγα.—'Tactu innoxia' [Henry would now take as = "harmless to be touched, that would not harm you if you meddled with it:" but it] seems to be a variety for "tactu innoxio," a form of expression of which Persius is particularly fond. "Mala tactu," G. 3. 416, which Wund. and Jahn comp., is not parallel, as 'tactu' there is the passive supine. 'Tractu' was adopted by Burm. from a few MSS.; but Virg. is not now thinking of a trail of light. 'Mollis' is the reading of the great majority of MSS., and is doubtless right, though 'molli,' the reading before Heyne, has some plausibility. It has been questioned whether 'mollis' belongs to 'flamma' or to 'comas.' The imitation in Sil. l. c., where "mitis flamma" occurs, may seem to point to the former, and so perhaps ἡδεῖαν in Apoll. l. c.: but the concurrence of the two epithets 'innoxia' and 'mollis' is a decided objection to it. The wavy, curling appearance of Ascanius' locks forms a natural object in the picture, and is in keeping with the character of the flames which play among them.

684.] 'Pasci' must not be pressed, as the harmlessness of the flame would of course require that it should burn without nutriment.

685.] It matters little whether 'metu' be taken with 'trepidare,' or, as Wakefield on Lucr. 2. 44 and Wagn. wish, with 'pavidi.'

686.] ['Fraglantem' Pal.—H. N.] 'Crinem flagrantem excutere' is expressed more ordinarily by Ovid. (M. 12. 280), "avidum de crinibus ignem Excutit." "'Sanctos' . . . non quos tunc sacros sciebant, sed quos mox probaturi sunt." Serv. 'Fontibus,' spring-water, G. 4. 376 note.

687.] Anchises was supposed to have received the gift of divination from Venus, according to Enn. A. 1, fr. 17, "Doctusque Anchisa, Venus quem pulcherruma divom Fata docet fari, divinum ut pectus haberet" (as corrected by Fleckeisen and Bernays). So Naevius Bell. P. 1, fr. 2, "Postquam aves aspexit in templo Anchisa." He exercises it again 3. 539.

688.] See on vv. 378, 405. 'Caelo' E. 2. 30 note.

689.] For the use of 'si' in adjurations comp. G. 1. 7, 17, and for the form of the prayer generally A. 5. 687 foll.

690.] Wagn.'s 'aspice nos hoc tantum,' τοῦτο μόνον ἡμᾶς ἐπίβλεψον, is very tempting, as the cognate accusative would be sufficiently idiomatic: but "hoc primum" v. 79 is strongly in favour of taking 'hoc tantum' separately, whether we make it the accusative after some such verb as 'rogo,' or the nominative, supplying 'fiat.' Burm. comp. Statius Theb. 9. 192, "Hoc tantum, et natae melius conubia iungas," and Claudian, Rape of Proserpine 3. 298, "liceat cognoscere sortem: Hoc tantum: liceat certos habuisse dolores," which seems at any rate to show how they understood Virg. Comp. also Prop. 5. 6. 64, "Illa petit Nilum cumba male nixa fugaci, Hoc unum, iusso non moritura die." Gossrau's punctuation, connecting 'hoc tantum' with what follows, is less likely than either.

Da deinde auxilium, pater, atque haec omina firma.
Vix ea fatus erat senior, subitoque fragore
Intonuit laevum, et de caelo lapsa per umbras
Stella facem ducens multa cum luce cucurrit.
Illam, summa super labentem culmina tecti,
Cernimus Idaea claram se condere silva
Signantemque vias; tum longo limite sulcus

691.] 'Deinde' seems to be used after 'si,' like ἔπειτα after εἰ, to mark the consequence. See Hand Turs. 'Deinde' § 4, where however the instances given are of the use of 'deinde' in independent sentences. Probus p. 14. 10 Keil quotes the line with 'augurium,' [which seems also to have been read by Servius, who says "non enim unum *augurium* vidisse sufficit nisi confirmetur ex simili."—H. N.] 'Augurium' is adopted by Peerlkamp, Ladewig, and Ribbeck; but its origin is easily accounted for by 3. 89, "Da, pater, augurium." 'Auxilium' is found in all extant MSS., and is supported by Boethius de interpret. ed. sec. p. 291 (ed. Basil. 1546). With 'omina firma' comp. 8. 78, "Adsis o tantum et propius tua numina firmes." It is singular that both "omen" and "numen" are also used by Virg. as instrumental ablatives with "firmo," "omine quo firmans animum" G. 4. 386, "di numine firment" A. 12. 188.

692.] 'Vix ea fatus erat' and similar expressions are followed in Virg. by "cum," by 'que' or "et," as here, and by a clause without any connecting particle. The two latter modes of construction may be regarded as remnants of a less artificial style, a sort of εἰρομένη λέξις, preserved in poetry partly for variety's sake, partly as a relief from the more formal and logical structure of prose.

693.] Thunder on the left was a good omen in Roman augury, as lightning on the right was in Greek. See note on G. 4. 7, and comp. Cic. Div. 2. 39. The same sign occurs again A. 9. 630, with an additional circumstance. ['Labsa' Pal. and fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

694.] Shooting stars are mentioned 5. 527. In the present passage Virg. may have thought of Apoll. R. 4. 294, where a similar appearance is sent to sanction a journey. Henry extracts from Saunders' News-letter of July 25, 1844, an account of a meteor seen one evening at Constantinople: "An immense meteor, like a gigantic Congreve rocket, darted with a rushing noise from east to west. Its lightning course was marked by a streak of fire; and after a passage of some 40° or 50°, it burst like a bombshell, but without detonation, lighting up the hemisphere with the brilliancy of the noonday sun. On its disappearance, a white vapour remained in its track, and was visible for more than half an hour." Heyne seems right in connecting 'multa cum luce' with 'facem ducens' and explaining "habens speciem facis longae."

697.] It can hardly be doubted that, as Henry expresses it, 'signantem' is connected by 'que,' not with its unlike 'claram,' but with its like 'labentem,' though there is some slight awkwardness, scarcely removed by the parallels he cites, in the separation of the two participles. The sense of 'signantemque vias' seems to be fixed by the parallel 5. 526, "signavitque viam flammis," to the imprinting of the meteor's path along the sky, 'vias' being for obvious reasons substituted for "viam:" otherwise it might be proposed to understand the words of the meteor symbolizing the path which Aeneas was to take (comp. Claudian De Laud. Stil. 2. 291, "Signat prodigiis casus natura futuros"), an interpretation which would remove a certain appearance of tautology in what follows, and agree well with Apoll. R. 4. 296, στέλλεσθαι τήνδ' οἶμον· ἐπιπρὸ γὰρ ὁλκὸς ἐτύχθη Οὐρανίης ἀκτῖνος, ὅπη καὶ ἀμεύσιμον ἦε, 'signantemque vias' being in that case virtually equivalent to "et signare vias." 'Tum:' Wagn. remarks that after the disappearance of the meteor any trail that it left would be more perceptible. For 'limes' following 'via,' see on G. 2. 277. The early editions read 'lumine' or 'limine,' seemingly on very slender authority. Heins. comp. Ov. M. 15. 849, "Flammiferumque trahens spatioso limite crinem Stella micat," and Burm. Sen. Thy. 698, "E cavo aethere cucurrit limitem sidus trahens." 'Sulcus,' like its cognate, ὁλκός (ἕλκω) in Apoll. R. l. c., as if the trail of the star ploughed up

Dat lucem, et late circum loca sulpure fumant.
Hic vero victus genitor se tollit ad auras,
Adfaturque deos et sanctum sidus adorat.
Iam iam nulla mora est; sequor, et, qua ducitis, adsum,
Di patrii: servate domum, servate nepotem.
Vestrum hoc augurium, vestroque in numine Troia est.
Cedo equidem, nec, nate, tibi comes ire recuso.
  Dixerat ille; et iam per moenia clarior ignis
Auditur, propiusque aestus incendia volvunt.
Ergo age, care pater, cervici inponere nostrae;
Ipse subibo umeris, nec me labor iste gravabit;
Quo res cumque cadent, unum et commune periclum,
Una salus ambobus erit. Mihi parvus Iulus

the heaven. The word is similarly used Lucan 5. 562, Val. F. 1. 568. Serv. applies the different parts of the portent to the destiny of Aeneas, the direction of the meteor showing that the Trojans were to rally at Mount Ida, the light signifying that under Aeneas they would become illustrious, the trail of scattered sparks denoting that some would remain behind, the length of the path prefiguring the length of the journey, the furrow its maritime character, and the smoke either the death of Anchises or the war in Italy.

699.] 'Hic vero' seems = "tum vero." Comp. 5. 659, where "tum vero" expresses the effect of a portent exactly as here. But it is just conceivable, though scarcely likely, that 'vero victus' are to be constructed together, 'conquered by the truth,' by the will of heaven thus convincingly manifested. Comp. Hor. 2 S. 3. 305, "liceat concedere veris." 'Se tollit ad auras;' we may presume from v. 644 and the context generally that Anchises was stretched on his bed. ['Tollere' Pal.—H. N.]

701.] 'Iam,' as elsewhere, is 'already,' and the repetition strengthens it. We may render 'No more, no more delay from me.' 'Adsum' is stronger than 'ibo.' 'Lead me by what way you will, I am there already:' 'my feet are already in the path by which you are leading me.' [The punctuation adopted by Conington was 'qua ducitis, adsum. Di patrii,' &c. But Ti. Donatus rightly says "ordinato sensu corrigitur. ut sit 'qua me ducitis, sequor, di patrii.'" And so Henry in his 'Aeneidea.'—H. N.]

702.] ['Patrii' = πατρῷοι. Henry.—H. N.] 'Nepotem,' Ascanius, the hope of the family, as he had just been designated by the first prodigy.

703.] Wund. is clearly right in comparing 9. 246, "Di patrii, quorum semper sub numine Troia est," which shows the sense to be 'Troy is in your keeping.' or 'under your protection,' Troy standing, as he remarks, for the Trojans, with reference to the new city which it is hoped they may found elsewhere (comp. 3. 86 foll.). Serv.'s two interpretations, "in vobis habeo Troiam," "augurium numenque vestrum efficiat ne putem Troiam perisse," are far less likely.

704.] "Ne tamen illi Tu comes exterior, si postulet, ire recuses," Hor. 2 S. 5. 16.

705—729.] 'As he spoke the flames spread nearer. I bade him mount my shoulders, Ascanius holding my hand, and my wife following behind. I appointed a temple of Ceres in the suburb as a rendezvous for myself and my servants, and gave the household gods to my father to carry. As we moved along, a strange sense of fear thrilled through me, which I had never felt while I had only myself to think of.'

706.] 'Incendia' nom., 'aestus' acc. As Weidner remarks, not only is the fire seen and heard, but the heat is beginning to be felt.

707.] Aeneas' haste is expressed partly by the rapid movement of this and the next line, partly by the omission of any intimation that he has begun to speak. 'Inponere' is the imperative passive in a middle sense, like "velare" 3. 405.

708.] 'Subibo umeris' 4. 599.

710.] It has been supposed from Ti.

Sit comes, et longe servet vestigia coniunx.
Vos, famuli, quae dicam, animis advertite vestris.
Est urbe egressis tumulus templumque vetustum
Desertae Cereris, iuxtaque antiqua cupressus
Religione patrum multos servata per annos.
Hanc ex diverso sedem veniemus in unam.
Tu, genitor, cape sacra manu patriosque Penatis;
Me, bello e tanto digressum et caede recenti,
Attrectare nefas, donec me flumine vivo
Abluero.
Haec fatus, latos umeros subiectaque colla

Donatus' note that he read 'solus Iulus:' but the variety seems more naturally accounted for as an oversight. ['Parvos' Pal. Verona fragm.—H. N.]

711.] 'Longe' may be intended, as Serv. remarks, to prepare us for Creusa's loss, at the same time that it agrees with the directions to the servants immediately following, Aeneas' object doubtless being to facilitate the escape of the whole party by making the members of it travel separately.

712.] 'Dicam' future indicative. 'Animis advertite' a variety for "animos advertite ad ea."

713.] 'Egressis' dative: see on 1. 102. ['Etgressis,' i. e. 'ecgressis,' Med.—H. N.]

714.] 'Desertae' is rightly explained by Wagn. of Ceres' temple standing in an unfrequented spot, which appears to be the custom at Rome from Vitruvius 1. 7 (cited by Dorville and Henry), "Item Cereri extra urbem loco, quo non semper homines, nisi per sacrificium, necesse habeant adire." Henry comp. Tac. A. 15. 53, where the temple of Ceres is fixed on as a place for Piso to wait for the successful result of a conspiracy against Nero's life.

715.] Parallel expressions to parts of this line occur 7. 60, 172., 8. 598. ['Religione,' as Serv. says, here has the force of "metu," religious awe.—H. N.] The latter half of the line may have been taken, as Germ. suggests, from Lucr. 1. 1029, "et multos etiam magnos servata per annos."

716.] 'Ex diverso' in the sense of 'from different parts' occurs Sen. De Brevitate Vitae, c. 8 (quoted by Forc.), "vires ventorum ex diverso furentium." For 'hanc' Heins. wished to read 'hac:' we might also conjecture 'huc,' of which 'sedem in unam' would be epexegetical (see on v. 18, E. 1. 53). But the ordinary text is satisfactory, being, in fact, a sort of compound of the two expressions "hanc in sedem veniemus una," and "huc sedem veniemus in unam."

718.] We have seen v. 167 that part of the crime of Diomedes and Ulysses was that they touched the Palladium with their blood-stained hands. Wagn. inclines to read 'ex tanto' from some of Pierius' MSS., as Virg. generally uses 'ex' when the preposition has to be inserted between a substantive and an adjective.

719.] 'Attrectare' is used of handling sacred things Livy 5. 32. Some copies, both here and there, have 'attractare,' for which see on G. 3. 51. ['Adtrectare' Verona fragm.—H. N.] 'Flumine vivo' because it was an essential part of the purification that it should be made in running water.

720.] Donatus on Ter. Adelph. 1. 2. 47 says that 'abluero' is for "abluam," as "abiero" there for "abibo." He is so far right that there appears to be no notion of purpose conveyed by this use of the subj., which is really equivalent to what some grammarians suppose it to be, a future perf. indicative. See on G. 4. 282.

721.] 'Latos umeros,' at which some of the old critics appear to have cavilled as a piece of self-praise, is merely the εὐρέας ὤμους of Hom., though Serv. may be right in his last explanation, "sufficientes vecturae." 'Subiecta' is used as if he had already taken his father on his back, the object of his robing himself being that he might do so. Perhaps the use of "satis," G. 2. 141, is the nearest parallel we have had, though in neither case can it be said that the past part. passive is used in the sense of the gerundive.

Veste super fulvique insternor pelle leonis,
Succedoque oneri; dextrae se parvus Iulus
Inplicuit sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis;
Pone subit coniunx. Ferimur per opaca locorum;
Et me, quem dudum non ulla iniecta movebant
Tela neque adverso glomerati ex agmine Grai,
Nunc omnes terrent aurae, sonus excitat omnis
Suspensum et pariter comitique onerique timentem.
  Iamque propinquabam portis, omnemque videbar
Evasisse viam, subito cum creber ad auris
Visus adesse pedum sonitus, genitorque per umbram
Prospiciens, Nate, exclamat, fuge, nate; propinquant.
Ardentis clipeos atque aera micantia cerno.

722.] 'Veste fulvique pelle leonis' is rightly taken by Wagn. as a hendiadys. Agamemnon accoutres himself similarly Il. 10. 23, the lion's skin being thrown over the χιτών, which Aeneas would of course be wearing already. It matters little whether 'super' be taken adverbially or as separated by tmesis from 'insternor.'

723] ['Parvos,' Pal.—H. N.]

724.] "'Inplicuit:' puerilem expressit timorem ne manu excidat patris." Serv. 'Non passibus aequis' is doubtless rightly understood 'unable to keep pace with me' (comp. 6. 263): but it might also be explained of the uneven steps of hurry, 'steps not equal to each other,' like Aesch. Theb. 374, σπουδῇ δὲ καὶ τοῦδ' οὐκ ἀπαρτίζει πόδα, if the reading there is certain.

725.] "'Opaca;' not dark, but only shady: not so dark but that one could see the way. Comp. Pliny Ep. 7. 21, 'Cubicula obductis velis opaca, nec tamen obscura, facio.'" Henry. Aeneas of course means to say that he purposely kept out of the light. "Opaca domorum" Lucr. 2. 115. See on 1. 422.

726.] It seems too much to say with Wagn. that 'et' here introduces something unexpected and surprising. The mention of his walking in the shade is naturally followed by the mention of his alarm. 'Dudum' is contrasted with 'nunc,' and so has the sense of 'a short time back,' as in 5. 650, not, as Gossrau thinks, of 'long since,' implying that he had long lost all personal fear of the Greeks, an interpretation which would agree neither with the context nor with the tense of 'movebant.'

727.] Wund is right in interpreting 'adverso glomerati ex agmine' = "densi stantes in adverso agmine," and comparing the use of ἐξ in Greek. There is a slight opposition, as Forb. has seen, between darts and hand-to-hand fighting. Comp. note on v. 432. ['Graii' Pal.—H. N.]

728.] The commentators compare Apoll. R. 3. 954, ἦ θαμὰ δὴ στηθέων ἐάγη κέαρ, ὁππότε δοῦπον Ἢ ποδὸς ἢ ἀνέμοιο παραθρέξαντα δοάσσαι, where however the subject is Medea's expectation of Jason. A better parallel would be Juv. 10. 21, "Et motae ad lunam trepidabis harundinis umbram" (which I see Cerda cites). Forb. also comp. Sil. 6. 58.

729.] 'Comiti' of course is Ascanius, not, as Emm. explains it, Creusa.

730—751.] 'As we were approaching the gates, we heard a trampling of feet, and my father gave the alarm. About this time it was that my wife, by some fatal accident, was separated from me. I did not discover the loss till we met at our rendezvous; then I was plunged in the wildest grief, and resolved at once to return to the city, and brave every danger over again.'

731.] Markland conj. 'evasisse vicem,' which Heyne adopts; but the later editors rightly defend 'viam.' Aeneas seemed to himself to have got over the whole of the journey, as having accomplished the most dangerous part of it. Wagn. parallels 'evasisse viam' with "invade viam" 6. 260 (see also ib. 425), and comp. for the sense 3. 282, "iuvat evasisse tot urbes Argolicas mediosque fugam tenuisse per hostis." 'Ad auris' with 'adesse,' as in 5. 55 &c.

734.] Serv. has a curious note: "Non-

Hic mihi nescio quod trepido male numen amicum
Confusam eripuit mentem. Namque avia cursu
Dum sequor et nota excedo regione viarum,
Heu! misero coniunx fatone erepta Creusa
Substitit, erravitne via, seu lassa resedit,
Incertum; nec post oculis est reddita nostris.
Nec prius amissam respexi animumve reflexi,
Quam tumulum antiquae Cereris sedemque sacratam

nulli quaerunt ex cuius persona 'cerno' dictum sit: sed altius intuentes Aeneae dant, ut ipse hunc versum dixisse videatur."

735.] 'Male amicum,' like 'male fida' v. 23. [Ti. Donatus however objects to making 'male amicum' = "inimicum." "Amicum," he says, "dici non potuit, quia non servavit universos: inimicum dici non potuit, quia praestitit beneficium. Dictum ergo proprie 'male amicum' utpote quod in altero malum et bonum in altero comprobatum est."—H. N.]

736.] 'Confusam eripuit mentem' seems, as Heyne observes, to be a mixture of two Homeric expressions, φρένας ἐξελέσθαι and σὺν δὲ νόος χύτο (Il. 6. 234., 24. 358). Still, though the verb and the participle convey different notions, their combination is doubtless to be referred to the class of which we have had specimens 1. 29. 69.

737.] 'Sequor avia' is used like "sequi viam," "iter," &c., as Forb. remarks. "Regio viarum" or "viae" is found again 7. 215., 9. 385., 11. 530, and in Lucr. 1. 958., 2. 249, the primary sense of "regio" ("regere") apparently being a line. So Cic. 2 Verr. 5. 68, "Si quis tantulum de recta regione deflexerit." The word was an augurial one. See Forc.

738.] 'Misero' seems to refer to Aeneas, as it is commonly taken, not, as Henry thinks, to agree with 'fato.' There would be no point in saying that Creusa died a violent death, even if we could conclude that to have been the case, or if it could be established that "miserum fatum" was the regular expression for such an end. Heyne is right in following the obvious order of the words, "ereptane fato mihi misero substitit, erravitne," &c. 'Erepta fato' (which Henry illustrates from Livy 3. 50, "quod ad se attineat, uxorem sibi fato ereptam") applies really, as Serv. saw, to all three cases, 'substitit,' 'erravit,' and 'resedit,' the meaning being that she was separated finally from Aeneas, whatever was the cause: grammatically it belongs only to 'substitit.' Perhaps there may be something rhetorical in the confusion. At any rate Peerlkamp's 'fato est erepta,' which Ladewig adopts, would only render the passage more prosaic, and Ribbeck's 'fato mi' is sufficiently un-Virgilian. The indicatives are used instead of subjunctives, which we should naturally have expected after 'incertum,' on the principle illustrated on E. 4. 52, 'substitit' &c., being regarded as the principal verbs in the sentence, and 'incertum' merely as a sort of qualifying adverb, so that we need not follow Gossrau in putting a note of interrogation after 'resedit.'

739.] 'Seu' is used co-ordinately with 'ne,' as Tacitus uses "sive" co-ordinately with "an:" see Forc. We have already had "seu—sive" after "dubii" 1. 218. The three cases are put, that she stood still, that she lost her way, that she sat down, just as they may be conceived to have occurred to the mind of Aeneas, though strictly, of course, there is no great difference between the first and the third. For 'lassa' Med. and others have "lapsa," which Burm. injudiciously approves. See on G. 4. 449. [Pal. originally had 'rapta.'—H. N.]

740.] Some MSS. give 'incertum est,' as in 8. 352.

741.] 'Amissam respexi:' comp. 9. 387. 'Animum reflexi' = "animadverti," as in our verb 'to reflect,' a sense which occurs in one or two other passages, though "reflectere animum" is more commonly used of a change of feeling: see Forc. Heins. restored 'animumve' from the majority of MSS. for 'animumque,' which is said to have the authority of Med., though Ribbeck's silence makes this more than doubtful.

742.] The temple stood on a 'tumulus,' where there were one or more trees, v. 713. 'Antiquae' refers rather to the temple than to the goddess.

Venimus; hic demum collectis omnibus una
Defuit, et comites natumque virumque fefellit.
Quem non incusavi amens hominumque deorumque,
Aut quid in eversa vidi crudelius urbe?
Ascanium Anchisenque patrem Teucrosque Penatis
Commendo sociis et curva valle recondo;
Ipse urbem repeto et cingor fulgentibus armis.
Stat casus renovare omnis, omnemque reverti
Per Troiam, et rursus caput obiectare periclis.
Principio muros obscuraque limina portae,
Qua gressum extuleram, repeto, et vestigia retro
Observata sequor per noctem et lumine lustro.
Horror ubique animos, simul ipsa silentia terrent.

744.] 'Fefellit' is rightly explained by Wagn. ἔλαθεν οὐ συνεφεπομένη, though he does not mention that the notion which stands for the Greek participle is contained in 'comites.' She played them false, or escaped their notice—how?—as her companions. The sense would have been clearer had Virg. written "comes," but he has chosen to vary the expression by fixing the appellation on the less prominent of the two correlative parties. Comp. v. 99 above (note), where the variety is of an opposite kind. The meaning of course is that she was then first found to have disappeared.

745.] 'Incusare deos vel homines' occurs Tac. H. 2. 47, quoted by Wund., where Otho says that the dying do not indulge in upbraidings of gods or men. Some MSS. give 'deumque,' as in 1. 229. Virg., as Serv. suggests, probably wished to avoid the jingle 'natumque virumque . . . hominumque deumque.'

746.] Serv. remarks "Bene se commendat futurus maritus, qui apud feminam sic ostendit priorem se amasse uxorem." ["Quid faciunt hostes capta crudelius urbe?" Catull. 62. 24.—H. N.]

747.] ['Anchisem' Med.—H.N.] 'Teucrus' is used adjectively, as in Catull. 64. 344, Ov. M. 14. 72.

748.] 'Curvus' has the force of "cavus" and something more. So "curvis cavernis" 3. 674. Comp. 11. 522, "Est curvo anfractu valles," and see on 5. 287.

749.] We do not know where Aeneas left his armour; probably not at home, though it would have been natural that he should do so before starting with his father, as he does not return thither till v. 756, and then seems not to enter. 'Fulgentibus' may have some force, as showing that he no longer thought of avoiding danger. Ribbeck, after Peerlkamp, brackets the line.

750.] 'Stat' like 'sedet, with an infinitive, of a fixed resolution, 12. 678. For 'renovare' a few MSS. have 'revocare.' With the line generally comp. 9. 389.

752—774.] 'I sought her at the gate by which I had left the city: I went to my home, which was occupied by the enemy and in flames: I repaired to the palace, and found Greeks guarding the spoil: in desperation I called out her name through the streets: at last her spectre appeared to me.'

752.] Aeneas had made his journey through the dark for safety's sake (v. 725): he now mentions the shade as a thing which might have led to the loss of his wife, and which consequently formed a reason for careful search, while it enhanced the difficulty of it.

753.] "Vestigia retro observata legit" 9. 393 (note). The 'vestigia' of course are his son, as Serv. says.

754.] The sense of 'lumine,' which might else conceivably have been questioned, is fixed by 8. 153, "totum lustrabat lumine corpus."

755.] 'Animo' is adopted by Ladewig and Ribbeck from some MSS., including Pal. and Med., where however the corruption is easily accounted for by the way in which the words are written, 'animosimul' (see on G. 2. 219). We have already had 'animos' nearly in the sense of "animum" 1. 722; here it might be possible, if need were, to assume the more ordinary sense of

Inde domum, si forte pedem, si forte tulisset,
Me refero. Inruerant Danai, et tectum omne tenebant.
Ilicet ignis edax summa ad fastigia vento
Volvitur; exsuperant flammae, furit aestus ad auras.
Procedo et Priami sedes arcemque reviso.
Et iam porticibus vacuis Iunonis asylo
Custodes lecti Phoenix et dirus Ulixes
Praedam adservabant. Huc undique Troia gaza
Incensis erepta adytis, mensaeque deorum,
Crateresque auro solidi, captivaque vestis
Congeritur. Pueri et pavidae longo ordine matres
Stant circum.
Ausus quin etiam voces iactare per umbram

courage or martial spirit. With 'ipsa silentia terrent' Cerda and Henry comp. the description of Vitellius Tac. H. 3. 84, "terret solitudo et tacentes loci."

756.] 'Si forte,' 'on the chance that:' comp. v. 136 above, and see on E. 9. 38, Wagn.'s attempt to separate the second 'si forte,' as if it = εἰ τύχοι, is unnatural here, however applicable to other passages. Serv. says well "iteratione auxit dubitationem."

760.] The old reading before Heins. was 'procedo ad,' or 'protinus ad,' the latter doubtless a recollection of v. 437 above. 'Procedo et' is supported, not only by the oldest MSS., "miro consensu," but by 3. 349.

761.] 'Et' is merely a poetical return to the less artificial way of connecting sentences. See on G. 2. 402. In prose we should probably have had "ibi iam." Juno, like Pallas, Apollo, Vesta, &c., is supposed to have had a temple in the citadel, and the Greeks would naturally choose the dwelling of their patroness. The word 'asylum' may be intended to suggest, further, that they placed themselves under a protection which they had not respected in the case of their enemies. The language of vv. 761, 762 favours, if it does not invite, such an interpretation.

762.] Phoenix is associated with Ulysses here, as by Homer in the embassy to Achilles in Il. 9.

763.] 'Troia gaza' 1. 119. The form 'gazza' is supported by Med. here and in 5. 40, and is not absolutely condemned by Wagn., who remarks that the name "Mezentius" is written with a double z in the great majority of passages by Med., and twice by Rom.

764.] 'Mensae deorum' may perhaps include tripods, as Cerda and others think. The gods, however, had tables proper in their temples, as Wagn. shows from Pausanias 5. 20, where a table is spoken of in a temple of Hera.

765.] 'Auro solidi' for "ex solido auro." So "dona auro gravia" 3. 464. 'Captivus,' like αἰχμάλωτος, is applied to things as well as to persons in prose as well as in poetry. Comp. 7. 184., 11. 779, and also the use of 'mortalia' E. 8. 35. The bowls, if not the vestments, probably come from the temples.

766.] The captives formed a prominent feature in the representations, pictorial or narrative, of the sack of Troy. They figured in a painting of Polygnotus described by Pausanias 10. 25, 26, and they give the name to the Troades of Euripides. With the scene here portrayed we may comp. Aesch. Ag. 326 foll.:

οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀμφὶ σώμασιν πεπτωκότες
ἀνδρῶν κασιγνήτων τε καὶ φυταλμίων
παῖδες γερόντων οὐκέτ' ἐξ ἐλευθέρου
δέρης ἀποιμώζουσι φιλτάτων μόρον.

The structure of the line reminds us, as it was possibly intended to do, of v. 238.

767.] Some inferior MSS. fill up what Virg. left imperfect with such lines as "et crebris pulsant sua pectora pugnis," or "et tacitis implent mugitibus auras."

768.] Scaliger, Poet. 3. 11, expresses himself thus: "Profecto me horror capit, atque etiam quatit, ubi videre atque audire videor, in nocte, inter hostis, fortem simul atque pium virum etiam clamore carissimam uxorem quaerere."

Implevi clamore vias, maestusque Creusam
Nequiquam ingeminans iterumque iterumque vocavi.
Quaerenti et tectis urbis sine fine furenti
Infelix simulacrum atque ipsius umbra Creusae
Visa mihi ante oculos et nota maior imago.
Obstipui, steteruntque comae et vox faucibus haesit.
Tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis:
Quid tantum insano iuvat indulgere dolori,
O dulcis coniunx? non haec sine numine divom
Eveniunt; nec te hinc comitem asportare Creusam

'Voces iactare,' to call at random, in the vague hope of reaching her ear.

771.] 'Furere' here, as in v. 759, does duty for a verb of motion. ['Ruenti' Pal. and originally Gud., and so Ribbeck. —H. N.]

772.] 'Infelix' with reference to Aeneas' feeling, not to Creusa's actual condition. Contrasted with the living form, the apparition was wretched. Virg.'s characteristic love of iteration leads him to employ three words to designate the spectre.

773.] The forms of the shades, like those of the gods, were supposed to be larger than human, apparently as being no longer 'cribbed, cabined, and confined' by the body. Contrast Il. 23. 66, where it is expressly said that the shade of Patroclus was πάντ' αὐτῷ, μέγεθός τε καὶ ὄμματα κάλ', εἰκυῖα. Emm. comp. Juv. 13. 221, "tua sacra et maior imago Humana," where the apparition is of a living person in a dream. 'Notus,' i. q. "solitus," as in 1. 684., 6. 689.

774.] 'Stetĕrunt,' like "tulĕrunt," E. 4. 61.

775—794.] 'She addressed me, and told me that our separation was Heaven's will; that I had long wanderings before me, which would end in an Italian kingdom and a second marriage; that she had become one of the train of Cybele: and she ended by commending Ascanius to my care. Then she vanished, while I sought in vain to embrace her.'

775.] 'Adfari' and 'demere' are historical infinitives, not, as Wund. thinks, dependent on 'visa' v. 773. The line, which occurs again 3. 153, is said by Serv. to have been omitted in many copies: it appears however to be found in all now extant. Ribbeck relegates it to the margin.

776.] Two of Ribbeck's cursives and several quotations in other parts of Serv. give 'labori' for 'dolori,'—a recollection apparently of 6. 135. Creusa would then be denouncing Aeneas' search for her, not his grief.

777.] 'Sine numine divom' 5. 56. It is the Homeric οὐκ ἄνευθε or ἀέκητι θεῶν. See on 1. 133, "meo sine numine." ['Divum' Med.—H. N.]

778.] The reading of the latter part of this line is extremely doubtful. Serv. says that as it stands it cannot be scanned, but that it may be set right by changing the order of the words, 'nec te hinc comitem asportare Creusam,' though others prefer to read 'portare.' From this it seems that the authentic text in his time was supposed to be 'nec te comitem hinc asportare,' which is still found in Pal. and some other copies. The existing MSS. vary much: two of Ribbeck's cursives follow Serv.'s regulated text: Med. gives 'nec te comitem hinc portare,' while others have 'nec te comitem asportare,' 'nec te hinc comitem portare,' 'nec te comitem portare.' The last of these varieties is preferred by Wagn., Forb., and Gossrau, as probably representing the parent text from which the others were corrupted. But it may be doubted whether the fact that 'hinc' is found in different places in the different copies proves that it originally had no place at all, and doubted too whether the less common 'asportare' is likely to have been substituted by transcribers for the more common 'portare.' 'Asportare' is used by Cicero, Nepos, Plautus, and Terence (see Forc.); and though it may not be found elsewhere in poetry, it is a peculiarly appropriate word. Comp. Ter. Phorm. 3. 3. 18, "Quoquo hinc asportabitur terrarum, certumst persequi." On the whole, then, while admitting the difficulty of the question, I have restored,

Fas aut ille sinit superi regnator Olympi.
Longa tibi exilia, et vastum maris aequor arandum,
Et terram Hesperiam venies, ubi Lydius arva
Inter opima virūm leni fluit agmine Thybris:
Illic res laetae regnumque et regia coniunx
Parta tibi. Lacrimas dilectae pelle Creusae:
Non ego Myrmidonum sedes Dolopumve superbas
Aspiciam, aut Grais servitum matribus ibo,
Dardanis, et divae Veneris nurus;

as Ribbeck has done, the reformed Servian text, which Heyne and most of his predecessors adopted.

779.] 'Fas' probably goes with 'sinit,' as Heins. remarks. Comp. G. 1. 269, "Fas et iura sinunt." [Henry, however, would separate the clauses; 'fas (est): aut ille sinit.'—H. N.] 'Superi regnator Olympi' 7. 558. 'Ille' is peculiarly used of Jupiter, as a title of reverence: comp. 7. 110. 558., 10. 875, &c. Before Heins. the reading was 'haud ille,' which is found in Gud. corrected, Canon. corrected &c., and apparently supported by Ausonius, Mosell. 80, though there 'aut' would suit the sentence rather better, as 'neque' precedes. But in such matters MS. testimony is of no value. ['Superum' Pal. originally.—H. N.]

780.] 'Exilia' in the plural has some rhetorical force here, as multiplying the troubles of Aeneas. In 3. 4 it is used distributively. 'Arandum' is used strictly with 'aequor,' loosely with 'exilia.' Virg. seems as if he might have imitated Aesch. Supp. 1006, *πρὸς ταῦτα μὴ πάθωμεν ὧν πολὺς πόνος Πολὺς δὲ πόντος οὕνεκ' ἠρόθη δορί.* The resemblance would be still closer if we might follow the margin of Gud. in substituting 'longum' for 'vastum.'

781.] Some inferior MSS. have 'ad terram,' which is supported by Serv. on 3. 5: see on v. 139 above. 'Et' seems to have the force of 'tum' (see on v. 761)—'you have a long voyage before you, and then you will come,' &c.; so that it seems better to change the period usually placed after 'arandum' into a comma or semicolon. This definite prophecy of a home in Italy is inconsistent, as the editors remark, with what follows in the next book, where the Trojans first hear that they have to seek out their mother country, and only after a mistaken settlement in Crete, learn that Italy is to be their destination. See Introduction to Book 3. 'Lydius' refers to the traditional origin of the Etruscans from Lydia, alluded to again 8. 479.

782.] 'Virum' goes not with 'opima,' as Burm. and Forc. think, but with 'arva,' which has its strict sense of tilled land. It is a sort of unconscious reminiscence of the enthusiasm for labour, which, as we saw, animated the Georgics, the expression itself being perhaps modelled, as the commentators suggest, on *ἔργα ἀνδρῶν.* Comp. 1. 532, "Oenotri coluere viri." 'Opima,' as Henry remarks, denotes prime condition rather than fruitfulness. 'Leni agmine' is from Enn. A. 177, "Quod per amoenam urbem leni fluit agmine flumen," quoted by Macrob. Sat. 6. 4. We have already had "agmen aquarum" G. 1. 322.

783.] For 'res laetae,' which occurs Ov. Trist. 5. 14. 32, Pont. 4. 4. 16, Lucan 1. 81, Sil. 11. 23, Med. has a curious reading 'res Italae,' supported by a correction in Pal., which Wagn. attributes to a recollection of 8. 626.

784.] 'Partus' is peculiarly used of things that are virtually, though not actually realized: comp. 3. 495., 6. 89., 7. 598, E. 3. 68. Henry seems to go too far when he comments on 'dilectae:' "not merely loved, but loved by choice or preference. An exact knowledge of the meaning of this word enables us to observe the consolation which Creusa ministers to herself in the delicate opposition of 'dilectae Creusae' to 'regia coniunx parta.'" The clause seems to refer rather to what follows than to what precedes. Aeneas is bidden to dry his tears, not because another marriage awaits him, but because the lost wife of his heart is destined not to degrading servitude, but to a noble ministry.

785.] 'Myrmidonum Dolopumve' v. 7. The fate which Creusa disclaims for herself is the same which Hector dreads for Andromache Il. 6. 454 foll.

787.] Serv. says that some one filled

Sed me magna deum Genetrix his detinet oris.
Iamque vale, et nati serva communis amorem.
Haec ubi dicta dedit, lacrimantem et multa volentem
Dicere deseruit, tenuisque recessit in auras.
Ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum:
Ter frustra comprensa manus effugit imago,
Par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno.
  Sic demum socios consumpta nocte reviso.
Atque hic ingentem comitum adfluxisse novorum
Invenio admirans numerum, matresque, virosque,
Collectam exilio pubem, miserabile volgus.
Undique convenere, animis opibusque parati,

p the remainder of the verse with the ords 'et tua coniunx.' The supplement more happy than most of those which ave been invented by transcribers or ritics, and may naturally enough be upposed to have occurred to Virg. himelf, though without quite satisfying him.

788.] Cybele was one of the patronesses f Troy, being a Phrygian goddess, and orshipped on Ida. Comp. 3. 111., 9. 18., 10. 252. Virg. means evidently hat Creusa is to become one of her atendants, passing from ordinary humanity nto a half-deified state, which agrees ith v. 773. Pausanias 10. 26 says that ne legend represented her as rescued rom captivity by Cybele and Venus, hough in the painting of Polygnotus she ppeared among the prisoners. Another tory made Aeneas carry his wife (called y some Eurydice) with him into exile.

789.] 'Serva amorem,' as we should ay, continue to love. "Servare amores" ccurs in a different sense 4. 29.

790, 791.] Partially repeated from G. . 499 foll. 'Haec ubi dicta dedit' 6. 628., . 323 (note), 471., 10. 633., 12. 81, 441. Veidner remarks that the formula is ound in Lucil. ap. Non. p. 158, Livy 22. 0.

792.] This and the following lines ccur again 6. 700 foll. They are transted from Od. 11. 204 foll., where Ulysses rasps at the shade of his mother.

793.] For 'comprensa' some MSS. give compressa,' which would be less approriate.

794.] Hom.'s words are σκιῇ εἴκελον ἢ αὶ ὀνείρῳ. Virg., in talking of sleep, robably has a dream in his mind. In ny case there is no probability in Macroius' (Sat. 5. 5) misquotation 'fumo,' which Wakef. adopts. The Medicean of Pierius has a curious variety, "Par levibus pennis volucrique simillima vento."

795—804.] 'Returning to the rendezvous, I find a great multitude of fugitives ready to emigrate under my leadership. Nothing more was to be done in the city, so I removed my father to Ida.'

795.] There seems a touch of pathos in 'sic.' A modern writer would probably expand it 'A lonely widower, I return to my comrades.' Comp. 1. 225 (note), "sic vertice caeli Constitit."

796.] Serv. refers to a passage in the first book of Naevius' poem on the Punic War, already cited Introd. p. 24. The same scene is described in a fragment of Sophocles' Laocoon (fr. 343), Συνοπάζεται δὲ πλῆθος οὐχ ὅσον δοκεῖς Οἳ τῆσδ' ἐρῶσι τῆς ἀποικίας Φρυγῶν. ['Atfluxisse' Pal.—H. N.]

797.] 'Matresque, virosque' is meant to be exhaustive, including all the two sexes, of whatever age.

798.] Aelius Donatus read 'ex Ilio,' which Heins. prefers; but it could only be scanned by assuming a synizesis, and 'exilio' was evidently read by Silius, who imitates it, "Dux erat exilio collectis Marte Metellus" (10. 420, cited by Forb.). For the construction comp. "venturum excidio" 1. 22. 'Pubem' is meant to include vaguely the whole body, or at any rate the men, 'virosque,' not to designate the youth as a separate class, as Heyne thinks. Perhaps there is some bitterness in the expression, "pubem, non bello, sed exilio collectam." ['Vulgus' Med.—H. N.]

799.] 'Animis opibusque parati' gives another and brighter side of the picture of which we have just had the darker

In quascumque velim pelago deducere terras.
Iamque iugis summae surgebat Lucifer Idae
Ducebatque diem, Danaique obsessa tenebant
Limina portarum, nec spes opis ulla dabatur;
Cessi et sublato montis genitore petivi.

aspect in 'miserabile volgus.' With 'opibus' comp. the story mentioned on v. 636. "Ire" or some similar word has to be supplied for 'parati' to complete the full grammatical construction.

800.] Serv. reminds us that 'deducere' is the regular word for founding a colony.

801.] See notes on E. 6. 86., 8. 30. The story was that Lucifer, the star of Venus, guided Aeneas to Italy: Varro ap. Serv.

802.] With 'ducebatque diem' comp. E. 8. 17. Two reasons are given why Aeneas effected his retreat, the approach of morning, which made it necessary to avoid the enemy, and the fact that the Greeks were keeping their hold on the city. Wagn. rightly removes the period after v. 803, regarding vv. 801—803 as the protasis, v. 804 as the apodosis, which here as in many other places is expressed without any logically connecting particle. Comp. v. 134 above (note).

803.] 'Spes opis' may either be hope of giving aid, or, more probably, hope of receiving it, Aeneas identifying himself with the city.

804.] 'Cessi' seems to include the two notions of giving way metaphorically and actually quitting the scene. 'Montem' [is given by Pal. and was read by Serv.]; but 'montis,' which Wagn. restored, is found in Med., and some other MSS., and supported by v. 636 above, and by 3. 6.

VIRGIL AND PISANDER.

(See pp. 85 foll.)

[The words of Macrobius (Sat. 5. 2. 4, 5) are as follows: "Dicturumne me putatis ea quae vulgo nota sunt, quod Theocritum sibi fecit pastoralis operis auctorem, ruralis Hesiodum, et quod in ipsis Georgicis tempestatis serenitatisque signa de Arati Phaenomenis traxerit, vel quod eversionem Troiae cum Sinone suo et equo ligneo ceterisque omnibus quae librum secundum faciunt a Pisandro paene ad verbum transcripserit; qui inter Graecos poetas eminet opere quod a nuptiis Iovis et Iunonis incipiens universas historias quae mediis omnibus saeculis usque ad aetatem Pisandri contigerunt in unam seriem coactas redegerit et unum ex diversis hiatibus temporum corpus effecerit, in quo opere inter historias ceteras interitus quoque Troiae in hunc modum relatus est, quae Maro fideliter interpretando fabricatus sibi est Iliacae urbis ruinam? Sed et haec et talia ut pueris decantata praetereo."

Two poets named Pisander are known to the historians of Greek literature. One, Pisander of Camirus in Rhodes, is mentioned by Proclus as one of the five greatest poets of the epic cycle. His date is uncertain, but the latest assigned by Suidas is the thirty-third Olympiad, or the middle of the seventh century B.C. Bernhardy, to whom I am indebted for my Greek references, thinks that he may have been a contemporary of the older or later Cyclic poets (Grundriss der Griech. Litteratur, § 97. 2). The work by which he is known was called 'Ηράκλεια, a poem on the twelve labours of Hercules. Theocritus, in his epigram upon Pisander (Ep. 20), speaks of this and nothing else, nor is any other poem of his mentioned, so far as I know, by any ancient author. The 'Ηράκλεια is alluded to by Quintilian (10. 1. 56 "quid? Herculis acta non bene Pisandros"?). Suidas adds that there were other works falsely attributed to him.

The other Pisander lived in the reign of Alexander Severus, and was, according to Suidas, the author of a ἱστορία ποικίλη δι' ἐπῶν, or mythological miscellany, called

ἡρωικαὶ θεογάμιαι. Speaking of this work, Zosimus (5. 29) says, Πείσανδρος, ὁ τῇ τῶν ἡρωικῶν θεογαμιῶν ἐπιγραφῇ πᾶσαν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἱστορίαν περιλαβών. It appears to me that the poem mentioned by Macrobius cannot be either of these. Not the Ἡράκλεια of the older Pisander, which can hardly have included the capture of Troy by Agamemnon and Ulysses. Not the ποικίλη ἱστορία of the younger, for I cannot bring myself to believe that Macrobius could have been guilty of so gross a mistake as to accuse Virgil of copying from a writer who lived in the age of Alexander Severus. Macrobius speaks of Pisander in the same breath with Theocritus, Hesiod, and Aratus: in what he says of Virgil's relation to these poets he (or his authority) is, from his own point of view, right enough; why should he be mistaken about Pisander? Nor again, in spite of the words of Zosimus, do I think that a work such as Macrobius attributes to Pisander could well have borne the title ἡρωικαὶ θεογάμιαι. It seems rather to have been a continuous chronicle, such as may well have issued from the study of some earlier or later Alexandrian poet.

It is true that no ancient writer but Macrobius mentions this Pisander. But too much stress should not be laid on this consideration. In Gellius, Servius, and Macrobius we have only a fragment of the literary criticism of ancient Italy. To take another instance, we may remember that Virgil's debt to Parthenius seems to have been not inconsiderable (see Gellius 9. 9. 3, 13. 27. 1), yet Parthenius is never mentioned by Servius.

I suppose then that there really was a poem bearing the name of Pisander to which Virgil was in some way indebted for some parts at least of his story in the second Aeneid. Whether, however, there was really a third Pisander who wrote the poem, or whether it was, as Welcker thinks, falsely attributed to the older author, there seems to be little chance of deciding.

Bernhardy, it should be added, agrees with Heyne on this question.—H. N.]

P. VERGILI MARONIS

AENEIDOS

LIBER TERTIUS.

In the Third Book Virgil treads yet more closely in the steps of Homer, the subject being the wanderings of Aeneas, as that of the Ninth and three following books of the Odyssey is the wanderings of Ulysses. The time embraced by the present narrative is not much shorter than that comprehended by its prototype: indeed, it is considerably longer, as of Ulysses' ten years seven are spent with Calypso, and of these we have no record: but Virgil felt that the second narrator must be briefer than the first, and accordingly contracted his story into a single book. To a certain extent it was almost necessary that there should be a coincidence in the details of the two accounts as well as in the original plan. The mythical geography of Homer had become part of the epic commonplace, though, like the mythical history, it was modified freely, not followed servilely: and as Aeneas was wandering in the same parts as Ulysses, and at the same time, it would have been unnatural to make their experiences altogether independent and dissimilar. Yet the only place in which the two lines of adventure actually touch is when they enter the country of the Cyclops: and there Virgil has skilfully contrived not to rival Homer's story, but to appropriate it, and to make Aeneas reap the benefit of Ulysses' experience without being obliged to repeat it in his own person. For his other incidents he is indebted partly to other portions of the body of heroic legend, partly to his own invention. Polydorus is from the Greek drama; the bleeding myrtle, however, may be Virgil's own, though Heyne, with a judicial "videtur," gives the credit of it to the Cyclic poets: the adventure with the Harpies was suggested by Apollonius, who also, as we have seen in the general Introduction, gave hints for the predictions of Helenus and the deliverance of Achemenides: other legends, noticed in Heyne's first Excursus, seem to have given the outline of the voyage, indicating the several places touched at. The mistakes made in searching for the new kingdom, the scene at Delos, the appearance of the Penates, the meeting with Andromache, seem all to be more or less original. Segrais notes that the interest of the book has suffered from its position between two of the noblest portions of the poem: and Heyne observes that it is not generally appreciated because the reader does not possess adequate knowledge of the minute particulars of legendary history, geography, and antiquities which the poet has indicated by transient and remote allusions.

Heyne has been at the pains to distinguish the seven years over which Virgil distributes his hero's wanderings. Troy, according to the almost universal tradition, was taken in the summer. The winter of this year, which counts as the first of the seven, is spent by Aeneas in those preparations of which we read vv. 5 foll. He sails in the spring or summer of the second year (v. 8), and spends the winter in Thrace, where he builds a city. The tragedy of Polydorus drives him away in the

spring of the third year (v. 69). He goes to Delos and then to Crete. Two years are supposed to be consumed in his unfortunate attempt at colonization. His stay at Actium brings him to the end of the fifth year (v. 284). The sixth year is spent partly in Epirus, partly in Sicily. In the summer of the seventh year he arrives at Carthage (1. 755), leaving probably as winter is drawing on, though there is some difficulty in reconciling the language used by Virgil in different places. Dido talks about storms and winter while Aeneas is yet at Carthage (4. 309): Beroe speaks of the seventh summer as still going on after they have returned to Sicily (5. 626): but some exaggeration may be allowed in the mouth of the former, and in the case of the latter the difficulty may be removed by pressing the sense of 'vertitur,' which seems to mean that summer in its revolution is becoming winter.

Ingenious and plausible as this division is, it overlooks an important question, which appears only to have occurred quite recently to the critics of Virgil, but, when once entertained, is not easily dismissed. The Aeneid is known to have been left incomplete: are we right in treating it as a complete poem, and reconciling all the passages in the narrative in which the same thing is differently spoken of, rather than allowing for the existence of discrepancies? In particular, can we safely assume that the books of the Aeneid were all composed in the order in which they now stand? This last question has been pressed home forcibly by a German scholar, Conrads, in a short treatise called 'Quaestiones Virgilianae,' which appeared at Treves in 1863. He believes that when Virgil wrote the present book he intended Aeneas' wanderings to occupy not more than two or three years, which would agree with the account given by other authorities, or, as Heyne chooses to call it, the 'fides historiae.' This would certainly seem more natural on a view of the narrative as it stands, since the only marks of time which it contains subsequently to the departure of the Trojans, are vv. 69 foll., which may point to the opening of a new year, and vv. 284 foll., which distinctly speaks of winter. The suggestion having been once made that this book was written independently of the rest, we readily see how much there is to confirm it. A difficulty has always been felt about Creusa's mention of Hesperia, Book 2. 781, as contrasted with Aeneas' ignorance on the subject during the early part of his wanderings: the prophecy of Celaeno is in effect another version of the prophecy of Anchises (Book 7. 124 foll.), with which it is scarcely reconcilable: and the predictions of Helenus about the white sow and the information to be received from the Sibyl are either inconsistent with or unaccountably independent of what actually happens in the course of the story. Whether the Third Book represents Virgil's earliest or latest thoughts is of course a question: but that it is not homogeneous with those which precede and follow it can hardly, I think, be denied. [See vol. i. (fourth edition), p. xxv.—H. N.]

POSTQUAM res Asiae Priamique evertere gentem
Inmeritam visum Superis, ceciditque superbum
Ilium et omnis humo fumat Neptunia Troia,

1—12.] 'Seeing that all was lost, we build a fleet and set sail, not knowing whither our destiny would lead us.'

1.] ['Posquam' Ribbeck, from Marius Victorinus, p. 2467. P. and Pal.—H. N.] 'Res Asiae' like "res Troiae" 8. 471.

2.] The feeling is the same as in 2. 428, except that reproach is here more prominent.

3.] Some have thought 'fumat' could stand for "fumavit," which is of course impossible. Comp. 5. 57 note. There is force in the present, as Serv. remarks, the smoke being conceived of as continuing after the overthrow. So Aesch. Ag. 818 foll.:

καπνῷ δ' ἁλοῦσα νῦν ἔτ' εὔσημος πόλις·
ἄτης θυηλαὶ ζῶσι, συνθνήσκουσα δὲ
σποδὸς προπέμπει πίονας πλούτου πνοάς·

'Humo,' from the ground, expressing total overthrow.

Diversa exilia et desertas quaerere terras
Auguriis agimur divum, classemque sub ipsa
Antandro et Phrygiae molimur montibus Idae,
Incerti, quo fata ferant, ubi sistere detur,
Contrahimusque viros. Vix prima inceperat aestas,
Et pater Anchises dare fatis vela iubebat;
Litora cum patriae lacrimans portusque relinquo
Et campos, ubi Troia fuit. Feror exul in altum
Cum sociis natoque Penatibus et magnis dis.
Terra procul vastis colitur Mavortia campis,

4.] 'Diversa,' widely removed from Troy. Some MSS. give 'diversas quaerere terras;' but 'desertas' is rightly explained by Heyne of land not otherwise occupied, and so fit for a new settlement (comp. vv. 122, 3 below), perhaps with a contrast to 'Ilium superbum.' ["Terrarum solitudines" Ti. Donatus.—H. N.] Wagn., who accepts the improbable explanation of Serv., "desertas, a Dardano," objects that Latium could not be called deserted, being peopled and cultivated; but it is evident that Aeneas is speaking according to the feeling with which he set sail, when he had as yet no definite vision of Italy or any other country. Dido herself had settled in an uncultivated region, 1. 308. [Henry regards the line as part of the evidence that the Aeneid is an unfinished poem, and that Virg. never brought the third book into harmony with the rest.—H. N.]

5.] 'Auguriis divum;' Virg. does not say what auguries; but we have already heard 1. 382 that Venus guided the course of the fugitives, and we have had an omen 2. 682 foll., beside the warnings of Hector and Creusa. ['Divom,' Pal.—H. N.] 'Sub ipsa Antandro,' 'under the very shadow of Antandros,' a city at the foot of Ida.

6.] The building of this fleet is mentioned again 9. 80 foll., in connexion with Cybele's interposition. 'Molimur' of building, 1. 424. 'Phrygiae Idae' is a sort of pleonasm, perhaps expressing a feeling of tenderness. Serv.'s explanation, "ad discretionem Cretensis," is very jejune.

7.] ['Ferunt,' Pal. originally.—H. N.]

8.] The general tradition was that Troy was taken in the early summer (see Heyne's 2nd Excursus to this book), so that Virg. may mean that they sailed as soon as they could get their ships ready. Anchises' injunction was evidently given with reference to the favourable state of the weather for sailing. See Introduction to this book. Wagn. is apparently right in making the apodosis to 'vix,' not 'cum,' but 'et' (see on 2. 692), 'cum' being virtually equivalent to "et tum."

9.] For 'fatis' we might have expected 'ventis,' which two MSS. give as a various reading. 'Fatis' however was doubtless preferred by Virg. as the less common expression, and as expressing the absolute dependence on destiny in which Aeneas set sail. The order seems sufficiently to show that 'fatis' is the dative, not, as Heyne thought, the ablative.

10.] Serv. quotes a passage from Naevius' poem, already cited Introd. p. 24, adding the remark, "Amat poeta quae legit, inmutata aliqua parte, vel personis, [vel] ipsis verbis, proferre." Henry calls attention to the similarity between Jason in Apoll. Rhodius and Aeneas, both elsewhere and in their tears on leaving their country: αὐτὰρ Ἰήσων Δακρυόεις γαίης ἀπὸ πατρίδος ὄμματ' ἔνεικεν, Apoll. R. 1. 534.

12.] Virg. is evidently thinking of the end of the passage of Ennius, cited by Cic. Off. 1. 12, "Dono ducite, doque volentibu' cum magnis dis" (Ann. 6. fr. 13. Vahlen). For the Penates and Magni Di see on 2. 293.

13—18.] 'We first landed in Thrace, where I began to lay the foundation of a city.'

13.] Thrace was separated from the Troad only by the Hellespont, so that 'procul' is used, as it sometimes is, without any notion of great distance, expressing local separation, and no more. Ti. Donatus reminds us that Aeneas enters into detail for Dido's information. The mythological connexion of Mars with

Thraces arant, acri quondam regnata Lycurgo,
Hospitium anticum Troiae sociique Penates,
Dum Fortuna fuit. Feror huc, et litore curvo
Moenia prima loco, fatis ingressus iniquis,
Aeneadasque meo nomen de nomine fingo.
  Sacra Dionaeae matri divisque ferebam
Auspicibus coeptorum operum, superoque nitentem
Caelicolum regi mactabam in litore taurum.

Thrace is as old as Hom. (Il. 13. 301). 'Colitur' v. 73 note.

14.] 'Thraces arant' is interposed like "Tyrii tenuere coloni" 1. 12. 'Arant' as in G. 2. 324. 'Regno' is not properly a transitive verb: 'regnatus' however is used passively again 6. 793 (where, as here, it is followed by a dative), 'regnandus' ib. 770. Lycurgus seems to be introduced to keep up the Homeric colouring, his story being told Il. 5. 130 foll.

15.] ['Antiqum' Pal., 'antiquum' Med. Gud.—H. N.] 'Socii Penates' is another way of expressing 'hospitium anticum Troiae,' 'Their household gods were friends of ours.' For the alliance between Troy and Thrace Wagn. refers to Il. 2. 844.

16.] For 'Fortuna' see on G. 4. 209. 'Dum fuit,' not a very common use of the perf. with 'dum' in the sense of 'while it was.' Comp. 1. 268, "dum res stetit Ilia regno." 'Fortuna fuit' is said of Fortune past 7. 413. 'Feror,' as Gossrau remarks, must not be pressed, as if Aeneas found his way to Thrace involuntarily.

17.] 'Prima' may either mean that this was his first attempt at building the promised city, or that he began to lay the foundation of a city. 'Fatis ingressus iniquis:' "bene quid sit futurum praeoccupat." Serv. Heyne comp. Ammianus 22. 8, "Aenus, qua diris auspiciis coepta, moxque relicta, ad Ausoniam veterem ductu numinum properavit Aeneas."

18.] [Serv. takes this line as an allusion to the foundation of Aenus at the mouth of the Hebrus, where Pliny (4. 43) says that there was a tomb of Polydorus. Euphorion and Callimachus, according to Serv., said that Aenus was founded, not by Aeneas, but by a companion of Ulysses; and Serv. notices that Aenus is mentioned in the Iliad (4. 520), and must therefore have been in existence before the taking of Troy. No doubt there were two legends about the foundation of Aenus, as there were about Leucas, Baiae, and Rome itself; see pp. l., li. It is curious that Virg. should avoid mentioning Aenus.—H. N.] The name 'Aeneadae' was probably given to the people, not to the place, though there are instances where the town bore the name of the inhabitants, as Locri. 'Aeneadas' is put in apposition with 'nomen,' like "nomen dixere priores Ortygiam" v. 693 below. ['Aeneades' Med. originally.—H. N.]

19—46.] 'I was sacrificing in honour of my new undertaking, when I found blood dropping from the roots of some cornel and myrtle branches which I was pulling up for the altars, and a voice came from the soil where they stood, telling me that the murdered Polydorus was buried there, and that they were the spears which had been fixed in his body.'

19.] Henry quotes Aristoph. Birds 810 to show that the giving of a name to a new city came first, and the sacrifice to the God afterwards. 'Dionaeae' E. 9. 47. [The uncials write 'Dioneae.'—H. N.] 'Divisque' is rightly explained by Wagn. of the *rest* of the gods, as in the common Greek ejaculation ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί. For the custom of adding a general to a special invocation see on G. 1. 21.

20.] ["'Auspicibus coeptorum operum': Iovi, qui arcis deus est; Apollini propter auguria, Libero causa libertatis." Serv.—H. N.] 'Auspicibus coeptorum operum' is said proleptically, as Gossrau has seen. The gods are sacrificed to that they may be propitious to the work begun. This passage will illustrate the use of "auspicari" of commencing an undertaking. 'Nitens' here and in 6. 654 seems, like "nitidus," to denote sleekness rather than colour, though it might possibly include both.

21.] "It appears from one of the Emperor Julian's Epistles to Libanius (Epist. Mut. Graecan.) that the offering of a

Forte fuit iuxta tumulus, quo cornea summo
Virgulta et densis hastilibus horrida myrtus.
Accessi, viridemque ab humo convellere silvam
Conatus, ramis tegerem ut frondentibus aras,
Horrendum et dictu video mirabile monstrum.
Nam, quae prima solo ruptis radicibus arbos
Vellitur, huic atro liquuntur sanguine guttae
Et terram tabo maculant. Mihi frigidus horror
Membra quatit, gelidusque coit formidine sanguis.
Rursus et alterius lentum convellere vimen
Insequor et causas penitus temptare latentis.
Ater et alterius sequitur de cortice sanguis:
Multa movens animo Nymphas venerabar agrestis
Gradivumque patrem, Geticis qui praesidet arvis,
Rite secundarent visus omenque levarent.

'nitens taurus' to Jupiter was regal: ἔθυσα τῷ Διῒ βασιλικῶς ταῦρον λευκόν: with which comp. αὐτὰρ ὁ βοῦν ἱέρευσεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν 'Αγαμέμνων Πίονα, πενταέτηρον, ὑπερμενέϊ Κρονίωνι (Il. 2. 402)." Henry. On the other hand, Macrobius (Sat. 3. 10) and Serv. say that it was not allowed by the Roman ritual to sacrifice a bull to Jupiter, and that Virg. doubtless intended the informality to mark the inauspiciousness of the undertaking,—a conceivable but scarcely likely notion.

22.] The mound is apparently of sand, which had accumulated over the unburied body of Polydorus, if we suppose Virg. to follow the same story as Euripides, who makes Polymestor throw his victim's corpse into the sea. 'Quo summo' = "in cuius culmine."

23.] Cornel and myrtle are both mentioned G. 2. 447 as good for spear-shafts, while there is a further appropriateness in the introduction of myrtle, which "amat litora," and was besides sacred to Venus. 'Hastilia' are merely spear-like wands (G. 2. 358); but the choice of the word prepares us for the portent that follows.

24.] 'Silva' of thick leafy growth, G. 2. 17.

25.] 'Conatus' is better constructed with 'video' than taken as a finite verb. The boughs are to wreath or shadow the altars (2. 249 &c.), not for firewood.

26.] The order of the words in this line is varied in some of the inferior MSS. [Nonius p. 319 reads 'horrendum dictu video': Macrob. S. 3. 10. 6. 'horrendum dictu et visu.' 'Mostrum' Ribbeck, from the original reading of Med. —H. N.]

27.] Burm. and Heyne read 'arbor' from some MSS. for the sake of euphony: but see on E. 3. 56.

28.] 'Atro sanguine liquuntur,' drops flow in black blood, a variety for black blood flows in drops. It would be possible, but scarcely worth while, to construct 'atro sanguine' with 'guttae.' ['Linquuntur' fragm. Vat., Nonius p. 333: 'linguntur' Pal.—H. N.]

31.] ['Rusus' Ribbeck, from the original reading of fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

32.] 'Temptare' of exploring, 2. 38.

33.] Many MSS., including fragm. Vat., give 'alter,' a plausible reading. 'Ater' is however more poetical, and has the force of a repetition, "idem ater sanguis" having been already used v. 28. 'Cortex' seems to be the skin of the root.

34.] 'Multa movens animo' 10. 890. "'Nymphas agrestis:' the Hamadryads, who had the trees under their special protection: see Ov. M. 8. 741 foll., where we have an account of a prodigy similar to that in the text." Henry.

35.] [Mr. Minton Warren (American Journal of Philology, vol. iv. No. 13) computes that *Grādivus* occurs forty-nine times in poetry, *Grădivus* only four times.—H. N.] For 'pater' see on G. 2. 4, and for the confusion of the Getae and the Thracians, G. 4. 463. ['Gradivom' Pal.—H. N.]

36.] 'Visus' is not, as Ladewig thinks,

Tertia sed postquam maiore hastilia nisu
Adgredior genibusque adversae obluctor harenae—
Eloquar, an sileam ?—gemitus lacrimabilis imo
Auditur tumulo, et vox reddita fertur ad auris:
Quid miserum, Aenea, laceras ? iam parce sepulto;
Parce pias scelerare manus. Non me tibi Troia
Externum tulit, aut cruor hic de stipite manat.
Heu ! fuge crudelis terras, fuge litus avarum.
Nam Polydorus ego. Hic confixum ferrea texit
Telorum seges et iaculis increvit acutis.

'my sight,' but, as it is usually taken, 'the portent,' which Aeneas asks to have made propitious, "secundus." 'Omen levarent' is a parallel expression: the omen was apparently "gravis:" Aeneas asks to have it made "levis." "Visa secundent" occurs Sil. 8. 124. 'Rite,' as Forb. remarks, is used not of formal applications to the gods, but of the regular and, as it were, due blessings which the gods confer. Comp. 10. 254, "tu rite propinques Augurium."

37.] Charisius (P. 196 P.) quotes the line with 'tertio,' which Pierius takes some pains to reconcile to the heroic measure. ['Set' Med., which also has 'nixu' for 'nisu.'—H. N.]

39.] 'Eloquar, an sileam?' note on E. 3. 21. "Parenthesis ad miraculum posita, quae magnitudinem monstri ostendit, et bene auditorem attentum vult facere." Serv. Forc. gives no instance of the active use of 'lacrimabilis:' but the analogy of "penetrabilis," and other verbal adjectives, will warrant our assuming it here, though we might render 'a piteous moan.' ['Gemitum' Pal.—H. N.]

40.] Some MSS. have 'ad auras,' which Peerlkamp prefers.

41.] 'Iam,' at last, after this third effort.

42.] 'Parce' with inf. E. 3. 94. 'Pias scelerare manus' is paraphrased by Henry, "Let not your tender and compassionate hands do an act fit only for brutal hands, viz. disturb the grave of a fellow-countryman and relative." [On 'scelerare' Serv. remarks "est sermo Plautinus, quo hodie non utimur." The oldest instance quoted in the lexicons is Catull. 64. 403, "impia non verita est divos scelerare parentes."—H. N.] 'Non me tibi Troia externum tulit' is explained by Ti. Donatus as containing two assertions, 'I am a Trojan, and allied to you by affinity.' Others take it as containing only one, 'I am a Trojan, not an alien,' which is perhaps to be preferred, as agreeing better with the use of 'externus' in Virg., e. g. 7. 68, 98, &c.

43.] 'Aut' is used for "neque," 'non' being taken with both clauses, as in 10. 529, "Non hic victoria Teucrum Cernitur, aut anima una dabit discrimina tanta." Jahn's interpretation, supplying "externus" to 'cruor,' seems better than Heyne's, "this blood flows not from the wood, but from my body." For 'aut' many of the MSS., as usual, read 'haud,' which is found in the old editions. ["Manare cruorem" Lucr. 1. 885.—H. N.]

44.] 'Crudelis terras,' like "crudelis aras" 1. 355. 'Litus avarum' is an expression of the same kind.

45.] In Hom. Polydorus, Priam's youngest son, is killed by Achilles when he returns to the battle after the death of Patroclus (Il. 20. 407 foll.). Other traditions represented him as entrusted to Polymestor, king of Thrace, who broke the ties of hospitality and practised on his life; but the details of the story differed considerably, Euripides in the Hecuba agreeing in the main with Virg. (see on v. 22), Hyginus (fab. 109, 240) making Polymestor instead kill his own son by mistake, while Dictys (2. 18, 22, 27) speaks of Polymestor giving up Polydorus to the Greeks, who, after in vain endeavouring to exchange him with Helen, stone him to death under the walls of Troy. 'Ferrea seges' occurs again 12. 663. Here the image is particularly appropriate, as the spears had taken root, and were growing. Comp. G. 2. 142.

46.] 'Iaculis increvit acutis:' 'has shot up with (or, as we should say, into) sharp javelins.' Here as in the former

Tum vero ancipiti mentem formidine pressus
Opstipui, steteruntque comae et vox faucibus haesit.
Hunc Polydorum auri quondam cum pondere magno
Infelix Priamus furtim mandarat alendum
Threicio regi, cum iam diffideret armis
Dardaniae cingique urbem obsidione videret.
Ille, ut opes fractae Teucrum, et Fortuna recessit,
Res Agamemnonias victriciaque arma secutus,
Fas omne abrumpit; Polydorum obtruncat, et auro

clause Virg. expresses himself as if the spears were the result of the vegetation instead of being that out of which the vegetation grew, an inversion not unnatural in the mouth of Polydorus, who may be supposed to have felt the spear points more keenly as the shafts grew into a wood, and the whole became incorporated with his body. Euripides makes no mention of this portent in his version of the story of Polydorus. We cannot tell whether it is Virg.'s own invention or no. Serv. thinks he had in his mind the story of Romulus' spear, which, when fixed in the Aventine, took root and vegetated.

47—72.] 'I was horror-struck. Yes, Polydorus had been given in charge to the king of Thrace, who on the overthrow of Troy had murdered him for the sake of the treasure that had been sent with him. I refer the matter to my father and the chief of my comrades, who unanimously pronounce for leaving the country. We pay solemn funeral rites to the murdered youth, and set sail with the next fair wind.'

47.] 'Ancipiti' expresses the doubt of Aeneas whether he ought to remain in the country or leave it, as it is rightly explained by Henry, who remarks also that 'tum vero' denotes a further stage of horror than that described in 29, 30.

48.] Repeated from 2. 774. ['Obstipui' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

49.] The tale is told of course for Dido's information; but, standing where it does, it is evidently meant to express what passed through Aeneas' mind at the time. There is a difficulty however in determining whether Aeneas is reflecting on a story which he knew already, or receiving a new communication, doubtless from Polydorus himself. The language would rather be in favour of the former; but if Aeneas had known the story, he would hardly have landed in Thrace, and v. 60 seems to show that it was not until informed by him that Anchises and the Trojans knew of Polymestor's treachery.

50.] 'Infelix' is understood by Wagn. as referring not to Priam's end or to his ill-fortune generally, but to the misfortune about to be related, the treacherous murder of his son. Surely however an interpretation so restricted impairs the nature and poetical truth of the passage. Aeneas has just finished his narrative of the sack of Troy; and neither he nor Dido could associate the name of Priam with any other thought than of unhappiness, while this new horror would come in to show that as ill-fortune had followed him persistently through his later years, it was now making itself felt after his death. 'Furtim mandarat,' ὑπεξέπεμψε, Eur. Hec. 6.

52.] Virg.'s meaning evidently is that as the Greeks grew stronger the siege was converted into a blockade—an unseasonable introduction of the military tactics of his own time into the heroic age, and not very consistent with his own account of the ultimate capture of the city. The language in Eur. Hec. 4 is more general, ἐπεὶ Φρυγῶν πόλιν Κίνδυνος ἔσχε δορὶ πεσεῖν Ἑλληνικῷ.

53.] Fortune is said to retire, as in v. 615 to remain.

54.] 'Res Agamemnonias,' as we should say, the fortunes of Agamemnon. 'Victricia arma' is rather a strange grammatical combination, "victrix" being treated as a neuter adjective, apparently on the analogy of "felix" &c. It seems to be confined to the poets and later prose authors (see Forc.), and in general only found in the plural, though Claud. 6 Cons. Hon. 21 has "victrici concepta solo."

55.] 'Fas omne' (5. 800) seems here to stand for all laws, human and divine.

Vi potitur. Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
Auri sacra fames? Postquam pavor ossa reliquit,
Delectos populi ad proceres primumque parentem
Monstra deum refero, et, quae sit sententia, posco.
Omnibus idem animus, scelerata excedere terra,
Linqui pollutum hospitium, et dare classibus austros.
Ergo instauramus Polydoro funus: et ingens
Aggeritur tumulo tellus; stant Manibus arae,

[" Et cognationis et iuris hospitii " Serv. —H. N.]

56.] The use of 'cogere' with two accusatives, the cognate as well as that of the object, is not uncommon. Among other passages Forb. cites Ter. And. 3. 4. 44 " Quod vos vis cogit, id voluntate impetret," Livy 6. 15 " Vos id cogendi estis." ["Improbe amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis"? A. 4. 412.—H. N.] Henry mentions a curious misinterpretation of Virg.'s words in Dante (Purgat. 22. 40), " Perchè non reggi tu, O sacra fame Dell' oro, l' appetito de' mortali?" "why, O sacred love of gold, moderatest thou not our appetite?" an eulogy of thrift.

57.] 'Sacra' is commonly explained 'accursed,' a sense derived from the language of the old laws, where criminals were pronounced "sacri," i. e. devoted to some god, and consequently put to death. It may be doubted however whether the use of the word here does not come under another head also mentioned by Forc., "sacrum dicitur quidquid religione aut opinione horrendum, aut alioquin terribile atque reconditum obscurumque est, praesertim si a dis venire credatur," a sense for which he quotes "sacer ignis" G. 3. 566, "sacer effera raptet Corda pavor" Val. F. 1. 798. Serv. remarks that Aeneas chooses a topic that would come home to Dido, who had suffered similarly from the murderous avarice of her brother.

58.] 'Primumque parentem:' Aeneas would refer to Anchises first, not only as in private duty bound, but on account of Anchises' reputation for augury, 2. 687. Ladewig supposes, plausibly enough, that Anchises acts as "princeps senatus," prodigies being at Rome always referred to the senate.

59.] 'Monstra deum' occurs in a different sense 8. 698.

60.] 'Animus excedere:' see on G. 1. 213. Here the infinitives seem to be in apposition to 'animus.'

61.] Some inferior MSS. and Donatus on Ter. And. prol. 16 have 'linquere,' which was the old reading. 'Linqui' however, which was restored by Heins. from Med., and is found in Pal., is to be preferred, as the more difficult, and as agreeable to Virg.'s love of variety. The same mixture of the passive with the active infinitive will meet us again 5. 773., 11. 84, as it has already met us E. 6. 85, though the harshness here is greater, as the active is resumed immediately. 'Pollutum hospitium,' like "polluto amore" 5. 6, "polluta pace" 7. 467, the notion in each case apparently being the break of a sacred tie. So "polluere ferias," "ieiunia," are used by Gellius and Nigidius, of working on holidays, and breaking a fast: see Forc. 'Dare classibus austros,' the fleet being conceived of as waiting and hungering for the breeze which was to carry it over the sea. So "dato volnera lymphis" 4. 683 note. Cerda well comp. Calpurnius 5. 29, "Campos ovibus, dumeta capellis Orto sole dabis." There is nothing intrinsically absurd in Serv.'s notion of a hypallage, as we have repeatedly seen that Virg. uses one expression while thinking himself and intending his readers to think of another (see on 1. 381, G. 2. 364); but "dare classem austris" does not happen to be a Virgilian phrase, so that there is no reason to suppose that in this passage he thought of the winds desiring the ships rather than vice versa.

62.] 'Instaurare' is a term for sacrificial and other solemnities, so that we need not bring in the notion of a new interment, distinguished from the fortuitous one which Polydorus had already received. 'Et ingens' &c., as Wagn. remarks, expresses in detail what had been said generally in the earlier part of the verse.

63.] 'Tumulo' is probably to be constructed with 'aggeritur,' the casual mound already existing (v. 22) being

Caeruleis maestae vittis atraque cupresso,
Et circum Iliades crinem de more solutae;
Inferimus tepido spumantia cymbia lacte
Sanguinis et sacri pateras, animamque sepulchro
Condimus, et magna supremum voce ciemus.
Inde, ubi prima fides pelago, placataque venti
Dant maria et lenis crepitans vocat auster in altum,
Deducunt socii navis et litora complent.

raised higher. In another context we might accept Wagn.'s interpretation, "ut tumulus inde fiat," constructing 'tumulo' as an ablative, like "cumulo" 1. 105., 2. 498. 'Stant Manibus arae' refers to the Roman custom of erecting altars 'dis Manibus,' which many inscriptions survive to attest. In v. 305 Hector has two altars, which seems to have been the usual number (comp. E. 5. 66, where Daphnis has two, and see on A. 4. 610., 5. 81): in 5. 48 we hear of funeral altars to Anchises. See Lersch, Antiquitates Vergilianae, § 59. 'Stant,' are erected: comp. 4. 508.

64.] Altars are wreathed with fillets E. 8. 64, as elsewhere with boughs. ['Caeruleis,' black. "Cato ait deposita veste purpurea feminas usas caerulea cum lugerent. Veteres sane caeruleum nigrum accipiebant." Serv.—H. N.] The use of the cypress in funerals ("feralis cupressos" 6. 215) was also Roman. The epithet 'atra' refers rather to these associations (comp. G. 1. 129., 4. 407) than to the actual colour of the leaves. 'Maestae,' as we should say, in mourning. Comp. 11. 35, "maestum crinem."

65.] Another Roman custom, which, as Lersch remarks, is the meaning of 'de more.' The line is nearly repeated 11. 35, which shows that we need not supply 'stant' to 'circum,' though 'stant circum' would be natural enough.

66.] 'Inferre' was a sacrificial term: see Forc. Serv. says "inferias damus proprie;" but the similarity between the words seems merely accidental. 'Tepido,' newly milked. Bowls of new milk, wine, and blood are offered to Anchises 5. 77, of milk, wine, and oil to Daphnis E. 5. 67. In Aesch. Pers. 609 foll. water and honey are added to the list: comp. Soph. O. C. 481. 'Cymbia' 5. 267.

67.] 'Sanguinis sacri,' of the blood of victims, 5. 78. 'Animam sepulchro condimus,' just as we talk of laying a spirit, as the soul would wander so long as the body was unburied, 6. 327, &c. Gossrau remarks that there was a distinction between the Greek and the original Roman belief, the former placing the spirit of the buried body in the infernal regions, the latter in the tomb along with the body. Virg., in that case, must be supposed to have held himself free to adopt either view: here he is a Roman, in Book 6 a Greek. Gossrau comp. a similar expression from Ov. F. 5. 451, "Romulus et tumulo fraternas condidit umbras."

68.] The reference is to the 'inclamatio,' already mentioned in 1. 219. 'Supremum' is not the accusative of the object, as Thiel thinks, but the adverbial or cognate, as Serv. takes it, the object being 'animam.' Comp. 6. 506, "Magna Manis ter voce vocavi." 'Condimus' and 'ciemus' rather jar with each other, 'ciere' being specially used of calling up a shade to upper air, 4. 490. [Lucr. 4. 575 "Palantes comites cum montes inter opacos Quaerimus, et *magna* dispersos *voce ciemus*."—H. N.]

69.] 'Ubi prima' for "ubi primum," as in 1. 723. With 'fides pelago' comp. 5. 800, "Fas omne est, Cytherea, meis te fidere regnis." So "statio male fida carinis" 2. 23. 'Placataque venti Dant maria:' see note on E. 2. 26. 'Placata dant' nearly = "placant" or "placaverunt," "dare" having the force of τιθέναι, as in "vasta dare" 9. 323, "defensum dare" 12. 437. There is also the notion of "dant navigantibus."

70.] 'Lenis crepitans' like "creber adspirans" 5. 764, "saxosus sonans" G. 4. 370 (note). Serv. again censures the combinations, saying that Virg. has committed the fault in ten places. Some copies get rid of it by reading 'lene crepitans,' as "saxosum" is read in the Georgics. 'Auster,' as Heyne remarks, must be understood generally, as Aeneas would not want the south wind in setting sail from Thrace.

71.] 'Deducunt:' see on 1. 551. With

Provehimur portu, terraeque urbesque recedunt.
Sacra mari colitur medio gratissima tellus
Nereidum matri et Neptuno Aegaeo,
Quam pius Arquitenens oras et litora circum
Errantem Mycono e celsa Gyaroque revinxit,
Immotamque coli dedit et contemnere ventos.

'litora complent' comp. the picture 4. 397 foll. ['Conplent' Pal.—H. N.]

73—98.] 'We land in Delos and are welcomed there. I consult the oracle, begging the god to tell us where to settle. An answer came at once, bidding us seek out the place from which our race sprung, and assuring us a new and lasting empire there.'

73.] 'Mari medio' seems merely to mean surrounded by water. Heyne comp. Od. 4. 844, ἔστι δέ τις νῆσος μέσσῃ ἁλὶ πετρήεσσα. 'Colitur' is the Homeric ναίει, ναιετᾷ. For 'tellus' Burm. would read 'Delus;' but Wagn. rightly remarks that the two epithets would be against this.

74.] 'Nereidum matri,' Doris. The affection of the powers of the sea for Delos is not clearly explained. Strabo 8. p. 574 A says the island was sacred to Poseidon before it was given to Leto. The second syllable of 'Nereis' is common in Latin poetry, the form Νηρεΐς being adopted as well as Νηρηΐς. The open vowels as usual are an imitation of Greek rhythm. 'Aegaeo:' Neptune seems to have been specially connected with the Aegaean, his palace being fixed at a place Aegae (Il. 13. 21), which some identified with Aegae in Euboea, associated with the worship of Poseidon, and supposed to have given its name to the sea (Strabo, p. 386). Soph. fr. Laocoon 341 has Πόσειδον ὃς Αἰγαίου πρῶνας (quoted by Aristophanes, Frogs 664).

75.] 'Pius,' grateful to his own birthplace and to the island which had sheltered his mother. Med., Pal., &c., have the spelling 'Arquitenens,' which Ladewig and Ribbeck adopt. The word is as old as Naevius: comp. Macrob. Sat. 6. 5. Another reading 'prius,' which would go with 'errantem,' is mentioned by Serv. and found in some MSS.

76.] The reading of this line is involved in some doubt. Med., and, as would appear from Ribbeck's silence, Pal. and Gud., besides others, have 'Mycono e,' which Wagn., Gossrau, Forb., and Ribbeck adopt. Ladewig and Haupt read 'Mycono' without 'e,' a reading which Heins. seems to have found in some copies, and which might be preferable if better supported, as avoiding a harsh elision. The old reading was 'Mycone,' which is clearly wrong, as Pierius remarks, the name of the island being Μύκονος. Med. and probably others write 'Myconoe,' which, being taken as a diphthong, would naturally produce confusion. Heins. and Heyne, following some of Pierius' copies, read 'Gyaro celsa Myconoque,' Myconus being called "humilis" by Ov. M. 7. 463, while Petronius calls Gyarus "alta." Statius however, as Wagn. remarks, seems to have found Myconus mentioned before Gyarus in his copy, from his imitation Theb. 3. 438, "ipsa tua Mycono Gyaroque revelli, Dele, times." Mr. Clark (Peloponnesus, pp. 20, 21) says, "It is plain, I think, that Virgil had never visited these parts when he wrote the Aeneid. Myconos cannot be called lofty except, perhaps, in comparison with Delos itself. But, indeed, in no part of Aeneas' voyage before he reaches Italy can I trace any sign of the poet's personal acquaintance with the scenery." He had already spoken of "the 'narrow' rock of Gyaros, the Norfolk Island of the Romans, utterly barren, without a level or pleasant spot of ground, scarcely six miles in circumference, and as uninviting a residence as could well be to a man fond of ease, or change or pleasure. Its familiarity to the Roman ear doubtless induced Virgil to mention it as one of the anchors of Delos: otherwise Syra or Tenos would have had a better claim." Wagn. remarks that the Latin poets are apt to call all islands 'high,' and instances the application of the epithet "alta" to Prochyta 9. 715 as a similar misnomer: see however note there.

77.] 'Coli:' see on v. 73. 'Contemnere ventos' is rightly taken by Heyne as virtually equivalent to 'immotam coli,' as against Forb., who explains it of the shelter afforded by the circumjacent Cyclades. Comp. Prop. 5. 6. 27, "Phoebus linquens stantem se vindice Delon,

Huc feror; haec fessos tuto placidissima portu
Accipit. Egressi veneramur Apollinis urbem.
Rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phoebique sacerdos,
Vittis et sacra redimitus tempora lauro,
Occurrit; veterem Anchisen adgnoscit amicum.
Iungimus hospitio dextras, et tecta subimus.
  Templa dei saxo venerabar structa vetusto:
Da propriam, Thymbraee, domum; da moenia fessis
Et genus et mansuram urbem; serva altera Troiae

Nam tulit iratos mobilis ante Notos." The position of Delos indeed may be regarded as the geographical truth which the myth of Apollo's binding shadows forth.

78.] 'Placidissima' seems to be explained by the preceding line, as well as by 'tuto portu.'

80.] Anius was a mythical person, whose story was differently told: see Dict. Biog. One account was that Lavinia, the wife of Aeneas, was his daughter, and like him, a prophetess. He was himself represented by some as the son of Creusa. His friendship with Anchises is explained by the legend that Anchises had consulted him in former years whether he should go with Priam to Salamis to recover Hesione. We may perhaps wonder that Virg. should have mentioned him so slightly. Ovid, in the resumé of Aeneas' voyage which occupies parts of Books 13 and 14 of the Metamorphoses, introduces him more at length (13. 631—703), giving a conversation between him and Anchises, and describing in detail the presents which he and his guests exchanged at parting. 'Rex hominum' is the Homeric ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν. The ancient combinations of the royal and priestly functions may have been introduced by Virg., as Gossrau remarks, here and elsewhere, out of compliment to Augustus.

82.] 'Adgnovit' is the reading of most MSS., including Pal. and fragm. Vat., and is adopted by Ladewig and Ribbeck: but 'adgnoscit' (Med.) suits 'occurrit' better. Med. corrected has 'accurrit.'

83.] "Iunximus hospitio dextras" 11. 165. 'Hospitio' is the abl. 'in hospitality,' not the dat. 'for the purpose of hospitality,' as the tie had already been contracted. [Probus, according to Servius, made a difficulty about the phrase. —H. N.]

84.] 'Saxo structa vetusto' merely means "vetusta:" though Macrob. Sat. 3. 6 and Serv. find in it an allusion to the freedom of the island from earthquakes, so that the old building was still preserved. Forb. comp. 8. 478, "saxo fundata vetusto." For 'venerabar' some MSS. give 'veneramur,' which would be tautologous with v. 79, and less consistent with v. 90. The word has here the force of entreating, as in Hor. 2. S. 6. 8 and older Latin, so that the prayer naturally follows without further introduction. [Henry prefers to take it of saluting, doing reverence to.—H. N.]

85.] 'Propriam' E. 7. 31, note. 'Thymbraee' G. 4. 323. 'Da' need not have the sense of "dic" (E. 1. 18), as Apollo is looked upon as actually conferring a new home on them by telling them where to find it. Wagn. comp. v. 460 below, 6. 66 foll. 'Fessis' may be an oversight, as they were only beginning their wanderings; but they may well have been weary already.

86.] 'Genus' is explained by 'mansuram urbem.' Comp. 1. 5, 6, "dum conderet urbem Inferretque deos Latio: genus unde Latinum." So the parallel 5. 735, "Tum genus omne tuum, et quae dentur moenia, disces." 1. 380, which is also parallel in language, might suggest a different interpretation, 'genus' being taken of ancestry; but though the Trojans have ultimately to seek for the original seat of their race, it is not till after Apollo's reply, vv. 94 foll., that they know that they have to do so. 'Altera Troiae Pergama:' the city is regarded as already existing in the persons of those who are to inhabit it. See on 2. 703. 'Troiae Pergama:' in Hom. the citadel of Troy is called Πέργαμος; but later writers, beginning with Stesichorus, talk of πέργαμα Τροίης, as if the name were a generic one for a citadel. Etymologists connect it with πύργος, like "berg" and "burg."

Pergama, reliquias Danaum atque inmitis Achilli.
Quem sequimur? quove ire iubes? ubi ponere sedes?
Da, pater, augurium, atque animis inlabere nostris.
Vix ea fatus eram: tremere omnia visa repente,
Liminaque laurusque dei, totusque moveri
Mons circum, et mugire adytis cortina reclusis.
Summissi petimus terram, et vox fertur ad auris:
Dardanidae duri, quae vos a stirpe parentum
Prima tulit tellus, eadem vos ubere laeto
Accipiet reduces. Antiquam exquirite matrem.
Hic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris,

87.] 1. 30.

88.] 'Quem sequimur?' 'who is to be our guide?' like "quae prima pericula vito?" v. 367 below, Aeneas expressing himself in each case as if the matter on which he sought advice were already present, not future, and so showing the urgency of the request. They had started without any clear notion of their destination, v. 7. "Sedes ubi ponere possint" Lucr. 1. 994.

89.] 'Pater' G. 2. 4; though here there is probably a further reference to Apollo's Delian title of γενέτωρ. 'Augurium' is used loosely for an oracular response: see on v. 5. Heyne comp. Hdt. 4. 155, where the oracle tells Battus where to settle. 'Animis inlabere nostris,' as Heyne observes, is expressed as if the inspiration which Apollo gives to the seer (6. 11) were imparted to the ordinary applicant at the temple.

90.] For the motion of the sanctuary see on E. 4. 50. 'Omnia' is explained by what follows.

91.] Here and in 12. 363 'que' is lengthened before a single consonant. Gossrau (Excursus on the Virgilian Hexameter) cites other instances, from Ov. M. 1. 193., 4. 10., 5. 484., 10. 262. [See Excursus to Book 12.—H. N.] At Delphi, as here, the high altar stood in the front of the temple before the gates, and was crowned with bay, Eur. Ion 103 foll.

92.] 'Cortina,' properly a caldron, seems to have been used to designate the vessel which formed the body of the tripod. Others make it the slab on which the priestess sat (Dict. A. s. v.). 'Reclusis:' so the temple flies open to give the response 6. 81.

93.] ['Submissi' Pal.—H. N.] 'Summissi petimus terram' is from Lucr. 1. 92, "Muta metu terram genibus summissa petebat," as Cerda remarks. The variant 'ad auras' is here partially supported by Pal.

94.] 'Durus' is the Homeric πολύτλας. Like Ulysses, Aeneas and his comrades are destined to many hardships and formed to bear them. See G. 1. 63 note. 'Dardanidae' is doubtless intended to be significant, though not understood by those to whom it was addressed. It is noticed by Macrob. Somn. Scip. 1. 7. It is to be observed that the MSS. here uniformly give 'a stirpe,' "ab stirpe" being the more usual expression elsewhere in Virg.

95.] 'The land which first produced you from your ancestral stock,' i. e. the land where your ancestral stock first grew, the birthplace of your ancestors. 'Ubere laeto' expresses the quality of Italy (comp. 1. 531., 2. 782), perhaps with a reference to the image of a mother immediately following. They are told not merely that they shall find a home, but that the home shall be a fruitful one.

96.] 'Antiquam exquirite matrem' sums up what had been said in the previous two lines and a half. The enigmatic character of the Greek oracles would perhaps have been better preserved if it had been allowed to stand alone; but Virg. is going to demand our attention for the thing said, not for the manner of saying it. With the image comp. G. 2. 268, and the oracle given to the Tarquins and Brutus that he should be king who first kissed his mother.

97.] This and the next line are translated from Poseidon's prophecy Il. 20. 307, νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείαο βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει, Καὶ παίδων παῖδες, τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται. We may observe however the verbal changes, 'domus Aeneae' for

Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis.
Haec Phoebus; mixtoque ingens exorta tumultu
Laetitia, et cuncti, quae sint ea moenia, quaerunt,
Quo Phoebus vocet errantis iubeatque reverti?
Tum genitor, veterum volvens monimenta virorum,
Audite, o proceres, ait, et spes discite vestras:
Creta Iovis magni medio iacet insula ponto;
Mons Idaeus ubi, et gentis cunabula nostrae.
Centum urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna;
Maximus unde pater, si rite audita recordor,
Teucrus Rhoeteas primum est advectus ad oras,
Optavitque locum regno. Nondum Ilium et arces

Αἰνείαο βίη, which involves making the second line epexegetical of the first, not, as in Homer, an addition to it, and the separation of 'qui nascentur ab illis' from 'nati natorum,' and the real change of converting a prediction of the supremacy of Aeneas and his family in a revived Phrygian Troy into a promise of the Roman empire. V. 98 is an answer to Aeneas' prayer v. 86. Serv. has a curious statement, borrowed, Heyne suggests, from some Alexandrian poem, such as the Chiliad of Euphorion, that Homer took the words from Orpheus, as Orpheus had taken them from the oracle of Apollo.

99—120.] 'All are eager to know the meaning of the oracle. My father explains to them that Crete was the original cradle of our race and our national religious observances, and that we can reach it in three days' sail, and orders sacrifices to render the voyage auspicious.'

100.] 'Ea moenia,' the city which Apollo had promised by implication.

101.] 'Quo' seem to be a separate question, not a dependent on 'moenia.' 'Errantis,' truants from their home.

102.] 'Volvens,' 1. 305; but Virg. may also have meant to suggest the notion of unrolling a volume, 1. 262. 'Veterum monimenta virorum,' the traditions (not of course written, but oral) of past generations, of which in those days the old were the natural depositaries, just as in Plaut. Trin. 2. 2. 100, the father says to his son, "Historiam veterem atque antiquam haec mea senectus sustinet." It may be questioned whether 'virorum' is a possessive genitive, or a genitive of the object, "quae monent de veteribus viris." In 8. 356, where the words recur, the latter is evidently meant. ['Monumenta' Med.—H. N.]

103.] 'Spes,' the object of your hope, like "vestras spes uritis" 5. 672.

104.] Κρήτη τις γαῖ' ἔστι, μέσῳ ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ Od. 19. 172. 'Iovis magni insula,' as the birthplace of Jove. 'Medio ponto:' see on v. 73.

105.] The existence of a mount Ida is adduced to prove that Troy was colonized from Crete. 'Cunabula' of a birthplace, Prop. 4. 1. 27, "Idaeum Simoenta, Iovis cunabula parvi."

106.] 'Habitant,' men inhabit (G. 3. 158, 312), another way of saying "centum urbes habitantur." Ninety is the number of the cities of Crete in Od. 19. 174; but in Il. 2. 649 the island is called ἑκατόμπολις.

107.] 'Maximus pater' is evidently used loosely for the founder of the race; it is worth while however to comp. "quartus pater" Pers. 6. 58 for a great-great-grandfather, and the expression "maximus patruus" or "avunculus" for a great-great-grandfather's or grandmother's brother. According to the legend, Anchises seems to have been the great-great-great-grandson of Dardanus, whom one story made the son-in-law of Teucer, another his father-in-law.

108.] For the two legends about Teucer see Dict. Biog. 'Rhoeteas:' the Troad is so called from the Rhoetean promontory on the Hellespont. [A variant 'Rhoetias' is mentioned by Serv.—H. N.] 'Teucrus' is defended by Heins. as better supported by the MSS. than 'Teucer,' which others give.

109.] 'Optavit' 1. 425 note. Virgil is again translating Hom. (Il. 20. 216 foll.):

Pergameae steterant; habitabant vallibus imis.
Hinc mater cultrix Cybeli Corybantiaque aera
Idaeumque nemus; hinc fida silentia sacris,
Et iuncti currum dominae subiere leones.
Ergo agite, et, divum ducunt qua iussa, sequamur;
Placemus ventos et Gnosia regna petamus.
Nec longo distant cursu; modo Iuppiter adsit,
Tertia lux classem Cretaeis sistet in oris.
Sic fatus, meritos aris mactavit honores,
Taurum Neptuno, taurum tibi, pulcher Apollo,
Nigram Hiemi pecudem, Zephyris felicibus albam.

κτίσσε δὲ Δαρδανίην· ἐπεὶ οὔπω Ἴλιος ἱρὴ
ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλιστο, πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,
ἀλλ᾽ ἔθ᾽ ὑπωρείας ᾤκεον πολυπίδακος Ἴδης,

where it is Dardanus that is spoken of.

110.] 'Steterant:' see on v. 403 below. 'Habitabant' like "habitant" v. 106.

111.] ['Hic' Nonius p. 250, Serv. on A. 10. 220.—H. N.] 'Mater,' of goddesses, like "pater" of gods, G. 1. 498, but with a special reference to Cybele as the mother of the gods. ['Cybele' the uncials: 'Cybeli' Nonius p. 250 and Serv., who says "nonnulli 'cultrix Cybele' legunt, ut sit quasi Cybeleia."—H. N.] 'Cultrix Cybeli:' Cybele derived her name from a mountain Cybelus or Cybele in Phrygia. "Dindymon et Cybelen et amoenam fontibus Iden, Semper et Iliacas mater amavit opes" Ov. F. 4. 249. 'Corybantiaque aera:' see on G. 4. 151. The Corybantes are classed with the Curetes Ov. F. 4. 210 (speaking of the birth of Jupiter), and were sometimes identified with them. Others however place the Curetes in Crete, the Corybantes in Phrygia.

112.] 'Idaeum nemus' like "Idaea silva" 2. 696. All these are mentioned as derived by Phrygia from Crete. 'Fida silentia sacris' refers to the mysteries of Cybele. Forb. well comp. the language of Hor. 3 Od. 2. 25 foll., about the parallel if not kindred mysteries of Ceres.

113.] Cybele was represented as drawn by lions (comp. 10. 253), a mode of conveyance which Anchises appears to say originated in Crete. 'Domina' of Cybele as of Juno v. 438 below. Here however, as Gossrau suggests, the word may be used relatively to 'leones,' as in Catull. 63. 13, "Dindymenae dominae vaga pecora."

114.] ['Divom' Pal.—H. N.]

115.] 'Placemus ventos' of sacrificing to the gods of the sea, as vv. 119, 120 show. 'Gnosia' G. 1. 222. ['Cnosia,' Ribbeck, from fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

116.] 'Nec longo distant cursu:' about 150 miles. Jupiter may be mentioned as the god of the weather (E. 7. 60 note), Serv. This and the following line are imitated from Il. 9. 362, 363, εἰ δέ κεν εὐπλοίην δώῃ κλυτὸς Ἐννοσίγαιος, Ἤματί κεν τριτάτῳ Φθίην ἐρίβωλον ἱκοίμην, the latter of which lines (or rather the adaptation of it by Socrates) Cicero renders (Divin. 1. 25) "Tertia te Phthiae tempestas laeta locabit."

118.] 'Honores' G. 3. 486 note. 'Mactavit' is of course used in its later sense of sacrificing: but we may comp. "eos ferunt laudibus, et mactant honoribus" Cic. Rep. 1. 43. ['Mactabat' Nonius p. 320, Macrob. S. 3. 4. 6.—H. N.] 'Aris' is more likely to be a local abl. than, as Forb. would have it, a dative.

119.] Neptune and Apollo are the tutelary deities of Troy; and there is a further reason for invoking them here, the one as the god of the sea, the other as having given the oracle. A bull is sacrificed to Neptune 2. 202, promised to the sea-gods 5. 235 foll. 'Pulcher Apollo' E. 4. 57. Comp. Il. 11. 727, ταῦρον δ' Ἀλφειῷ, ταῦρον δὲ Ποσειδάωνι.

120.] The 'pecus' was probably a lamb, which 5. 772 is offered under similar circumstances to the "Tempestates." A black victim is offered to the power which is required to withhold unpropitious influences (as to the powers of the dead 6. 249), a white one to those that are expected to exert themselves favourably. 'Hiemps' is itself called

Fama volat pulsum regnis cessisse paternis
Idomenea ducem, desertaque litora Cretae,
Hoste vacare domum, sedesque astare relictas.
Linquimus Ortygiae portus, pelagoque volamus,
Bacchatamque iugis Naxon viridemque Donysam,
Olearon, niveamque Paron sparsasque per aequor
Cycladas et crebris legimus freta concita terris.
Nauticus exoritur vario certamine clamor;
Hortantur socii Cretam proavosque petamus.
Prosequitur surgens a puppi ventus euntis,
Et tandem antiquis Curetum adlabimur oris.

black 7. 214, the Zephyrs white Hor. 3 Od. 7. 1. Virg. may have thought of Il. 3. 103, *οἴσετε δ' ἄρν', ἕτερον λευκόν, ἑτέρην δὲ μέλαιναν.*

121—131.] 'We hear that we may settle in Crete without danger from enemies, and make our way thither accordingly.'

122.] The story as told by Serv. and others is that Idomeneus in a storm vowed to the gods of the sea that he would sacrifice the first thing that met him on landing, that this proved to be his son, that he fulfilled his vow, that a plague visited Crete, and that the inhabitants consequently expelled him, when he settled in Calabria, as mentioned v. 400 below.

123.] Virg. expresses himself as if the Cretans had vacated the country as well as Idomeneus; but he may only mean that now that the chief was gone, the people would not be unwilling to receive the Trojans. 'Astare' is rightly explained by Henry, 'stand ready to our hand.' ['Domos' Med., which also spells 'adstare.'—H. N.]

124.] ['Liquimus' the Harleian MS. of Nonius p. 333.—H. N.] 'Ortygia,' the ancient name of Delos.

125.] 'Bacchatam' G. 2. 487 note. 'Iugis' is either a local abl. or 'in respect of its mountains.' There is a question about the Greek forms, the chief authority for which is Med., Pal., fragm. Vat., and Gud. a m. pr. having 'Naxum,' 'Oliarum,' or 'Olearum,' and 'Parum;' and so Ribbeck. Donusa, one of the Sporades, is called 'viridis' probably from its vegetation rather than, as Serv. suggests as an alternative, from the colour of its marble, like 'niveam Paron.'

127.] ['Concita,' = "agitata," is the reading of nearly all the MSS., of Servius, Nonius, p. 205, and Ti. Donatus. But Conington after Heinsius and Henry preferred 'consita,' the reading of at least two copies, the 'primus Moreti' and one at Munich. 'Consita,' he says, "is much more natural in this context, referring unmistakably to the name of the Sporades, some of which the poet has mentioned already, as he has also mentioned some of the Cyclades individually before summing them up in the general clause 'sparsasque per aequor Cycladas.' There is no force in the supposed geographical objection, as Virg. need not be supposed to be enumerating the countries in the precise order in which Aeneas sailed by them."—H. N.]

128.] The 'clamor' is the *κέλευσμα* (see 5. 140), the 'vario certamine' (with which comp. v. 280 "Certatim socii feriunt mare et aequora verrunt," v. 668 "Verrimus et proni certantibus aequora remis") the efforts of the rowers.

129.] 'Hortantur' seems to mean that they encourage each other, which is perhaps intended to be brought out by 'socii.' 'Cretam proavosque petamus' is doubtless meant to give a notion of sailor-language. 'For Crete and our forefathers, ho!'

130.] Virg. copies Od. 11. 6, *ἡμῖν δ' αὖ μετόπισθε νεὸς κυανοπρῴροιο Ἴκμενον οὖρον ἵει πλησίστιον, ἐσθλὸν ἑταῖρον*, the last words being rendered by 'prosequitur,' which, as Henry remarks, has here its proper sense of acting as an escort or convoy.

131.] 'Curetum:' note on v. 111. 'Adlabimur' is in keeping with the general tone of the context, expressing the ease with which the passage was effected.

132—146.] 'I had begun the foundation of a city, when a pestilential season set in. My father recommended returning to Delos and consulting the oracle again.'

Ergo avidus muros optatae molior urbis,
Pergameamque voco, et laetam cognomine gentem
Hortor amare focos arcemque attollere tectis.
Iamque fere sicco subductae litore puppes;
Conubiis arvisque novis operata iuventus;
Iura domosque dabam: subito cum tabida membris,
Corrupto caeli tractu, miserandaque venit

132.] 'Optatae' refers to the choosing of the site with auspices, after the Roman fashion: see note on 1. 425. 'Molior' seems to denote that the building of the walls was begun, though the word is rather a vague one. The remark of Serv., "ordo est, avidus optatae urbis, muros molior, non, avidus molior," will hardly find any one to accept it now. With the description generally comp. 1. 422 foll., 5. 755 foll.

133.] 'Pergameam' is the spelling of the MSS.; but Wagn. would prefer to write 'Pergamiam,' as answering to the Greek Περγαμία, though he admits that Roman custom may have been in favour of using a short ĕ where we should expect ē or ī. See on 1. 201. The city, which Pashley (Travels in Crete, vol. ii. p. 23) identifies with the modern Platania, seems generally to have been called Pergamum. Serv. mentions another legend that the place was founded by some Trojan captives from Agamemnon's fleet, under the leadership of another Aeneas, whose history is not very clearly indicated. Heins. restored 'et' before 'laetam.' Some of those who omitted it omitted likewise the stop after 'voco,' placing it at the end of the line. 'Laetam cognomine,' like "gaudet cognomine terra" 6. 383. Here as in vv. 334, 350, &c., "cognomen" may = ἐπωνυμία.

134.] 'Amare focos' seems to mean 'to regard the place as their settled home,' "ut haberent cum laribus novis [novis novos?] affectus," as Ti. Donatus gives it, a sense with which Forb. well comp. 4. 347, "Hic amor, haec patria est," and G. 2. 486, "Flumina amem silvasque." 'Tectis' is the modal abl., not as Gossrau, after Cerda, takes it, the dative. Henry comp. 2. 185, "attollere molem Roboribus textis," and Stat. Achill. 1. 437, "galeasque attollere conis." See on 2. 460.

135.] 'Fere,' which Wagn. and Gossrau think unintelligible, is rightly explained by Forb. as referring to the two next clauses as well as to the present, the sense being "iam fere nova colonia in eo erat ut conderetur."

136.] 'Operata' has not its sacrificial sense here, as Serv. thinks, but merely denotes employment, as in Hor. 1. Ep. 2. 29, "In cute curanda plus aequo operata iuventus." Marrying and giving in marriage and cultivation of the soil are two natural symptoms of settled life ("quae res ostendebat magnam fiduciam manendi," as Ti. Donatus says), though there is something a little quaint to our notions in the juxtaposition. See on 2. 378, 654. For the synizesis see on 1. 73.

137.] 'Iura domosque dabam' is another juxtaposition of the same sort. Comp. 1. 264, "moresque viris et moenia ponet." A settled government is established (comp. 1. 426., 5. 758), and houses (either sites, or buildings vacated by the Cretans, v. 123) apportioned to the individual colonists. From Pal. and fragm. Vat. there seems to have been another reading 'dabant.' 'Membris' is connected with 'venit,' like 'arboribus satisque:' 'tabida' by its position belongs more naturally to the former, 'miseranda' to the latter, though the two epithets could hardly be so separated in a grammatical analysis of the sentence. In English we should probably turn 'tabida' into a substantive. "Suddenly there came on the human frame a wasting sickness, shed from the whole tainted expanse of the sky, a piteous blight on trees and crops, a year charged with death." (A reviewer took exception to my use of the word "sky:" it is of course true that "air" would be strictly the more proper term: but here and elsewhere I use such words as seem most appropriate for poetical prose, and "sky," as I have since found, is the word which Dryden employs a line or two lower down, "Sirius from on high With pestilential heat infects the sky," where I suppose the requirements of the passage are the same.) This passage has been already referred to, to illustrate the more elaborate description of the pestilence G. 3. 478 foll.

138.] 'Tractus' is the expanse, not the

Arboribusque satisque lues et letifer annus.
Linquebant dulcis animas, aut aegra trahebant
Corpora; tum sterilis exurere Sirius agros;
Arebant herbae, et victum seges aegra negabat.
Rursus ad oraclum Ortygiae Phoebumque remenso
Hortatur pater ire mari, veniamque precari:
Quam fessis finem rebus ferat; unde laborum
Temptare auxilium iubeat; quo vertere cursus.
  Nox erat, et terris animalia somnus habebat:
Effigies sacrae divum Phrygiique Penates,
Quos mecum a Troia mediisque ex ignibus urbis
Extuleram, visi ante oculos astare iacentis
In somnis, multo manifesti lumine, qua se

draught of air, as Burm. thought, comparing "tractus aquarum" Lucan 4. 368. "Caelum corrumpere" occurs Lucr. 6. 1124. 'Corrupto tractu' is doubtless abl. abs., though I have rendered it otherwise in English. ["Hic est ordo pestilentiae, ut Lucretius (6. 1090) docet: primo aëris corruptio, post aquarum et terrae, mox omnium animalium." Serv.—H. N.]

139.] "Arboribusque satisque" G. 1. 444. Cic. Ep. ad Fam. 5. 16 has "hoc gravissimo et pestilentissimo anno." [The line recalls Lucr. 6. 1138 "haec ratio quondam morborum et mortifer aestus." —H. N.]

140.] The life is generally said to leave the man, not the man the life: both expressions however occur in the Homeric poems, λίπῃ λεύκ' ὀστέα θυμός Od. 11. 221. λεῖπε δὲ θυμόν Hymn to Apollo v. 361. 'Vitam reliquit in astris' is said of a bird A. 5. 517. The antithesis between 'leaving the soul' and 'dragging about the sick body' will not bear to be pressed; but Virg. merely means to distinguish the dead from the dying.

141.] Sirius appears as the cause of pestilence as well as of drought 10. 274. So Apoll. R. 2. 516 foll., when Sirius is seen, prayers are put up against pestilence. 'Sterilis' is proleptic.

142.] 'Victum negabat' G. 1. 149.

143.] ['Rusus' Ribbeck, from the original reading of fragm. Vat.—H. N.] Virg. was probably thinking, as Heyne suggests, of Achilles' speech Il. 1. 59 foll. 'Remenso' 2. 181.

144.] 'Veniam,' a gracious answer to the questions which follow. See note on 1. 519.

145.] 'Quem,' the more usual concord (comp. 1. 241), is supported by two of Ribbeck's cursives; but the weight of authority (Med., fragm. Vat., Nonius p. 205) is in favour of 'quam,' which Heins. restored. See on 2. 554. 'Fessis rebus' 11. 335: comp. G. 4. 449 note. The expression is used also by Tac. A. 15. 50, Pliny 2. 18. 'Ferat' may either be 'tell' or 'give' (comp. "da" v. 85 note, and see on 7. 118). 'Laborum auxilium' like "belli auxilium" 8. 462.

146.] 'Temptari,' the second reading of Med., found also in two other copies and some MSS. of Serv., might be supported from v. 61.

147–191.] 'While I was thinking what to do, the Penates appeared to me by night, with a communication from Apollo, telling me that the real home of our race was Italy, whence Dardanus came. I inform my father, who admits his error, and remembers a similar prophecy by Cassandra. We set sail again.'

147.] Repeated with some expansion A. 8. 26, 27.

148.] 'Effigies divum' are the statues, not the appearances in vision: comp. 7. 443. 'Penates:' see on 2. 293.

149.] 'Ab Troia' Ribbeck from fragm. Vat. and (originally) Pal.; 'a Troia' Med., Gud.

150.] 'Astare' of a vision Ov. F. 3. 639 (comp. by Forb.), "Nox erat: ante torum visa est astare sororis Squalenti Dido sanguinolenta coma." ['Adstare' Med.—H. N.]

151.] 'Iacentis in somnis' perhaps from Lucr. 4. 987, "cum membra iacebunt In somnis." Heyne read 'insomnis,' arguing from the mention of the moonlight and from the words "nec sopor illud erat"

Plena per insertas fundebat luna fenestras;
Tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis:
Quod tibi delato Ortygiam dicturus Apollo est,
Hic canit, et tua nos en ultro ad limina mittit.
Nos te, Dardania incensa, tuaque arma secuti,
Nos tumidum sub te permensi classibus aequor,
Idem venturos tollemus in astra nepotes,
Imperiumque urbi dabimus. Tu moenia magnis
Magna para, longumque fugae ne linque laborem.
Mutandae sedes. Non haec tibi litora suasit
Delius aut Cretae iussit considere Apollo.

v. 173, that this could not be a dream. Wagn. and Jahn make the moonlight part of the dream, and understand v. 173 to mean that it was not a mere dream. The truth seems to be that we have here a mixture of dream and vision, as in 1. 355., 2. 296, the moonlight belonging to the latter, the other circumstances to the former. The word 'visi' here, as Wagn. admits, proves nothing, being equally applied to real and to fanciful appearances. ['Manufesti' Ribbeck, from fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

152.] Imitated from Lucr. 2. 114, "cum solis lumina cumque Inserti fundunt radii per opaca domorum." [But 'insertas' probably, as Serv. suggests, means unbarred: the opposite of "consertus." So Ti. Donatus, "fenestris patentibus." Conington took it of the windows let into the wall.—H. N.]

153.] Repeated from 2. 775, and omitted here in many copies in the time of Serv.

154.] 'Dicturus est' is said rhetorically, as if Aeneas were certainly going to arrive there.

155.] 'Ultro:' without waiting to be asked. 'Tua ad limina' is understood by Heyne of Aeneas' chamber, the Penates being already in the house. It seems better to say that the actual existence of the gods is separated from their presence in their images. The Penates, like other gods, have their home elsewhere, and come thence to Aeneas.

156.] 'Dardania' of the city, Ov. Her. 16. 57, "Dardaniae muros excelsaque tecta." 'Arma secuti' above v. 54.

158.] Wagn. makes a distinction between "tollere in astra" and "tollere ad astra," the first being used strictly of apotheosis, the second also of mere metaphorical immortality or exaltation. See on E. 5. 51. When we come however to look at the principle of the distinction, it appears to fail. "Tollere ad auras" may differ from "tollere in auras," the one meaning rising towards the air, the other elevation into it: but here the elevation is the same, the difference being that in the one case it is literal, in the other rhetorical. There seems then no reason why we should not with Heyne understand these words generally of the superhuman glory of Aeneas' descendants, not with Serv. specially of the apotheosis of Caesar or Augustus, which would harmonize less well with the following clause, and be further objectionable, as merging Aeneas' own deification in that of his posterity.

159.] 'Magnis,' nor, as is generally understood, the "nepotes," but the "magni Penates" (9. 258) or "magni di" who are speaking, the authors and impersonations of this national greatness. Comp. 2. 294, "his moenia quaere Magna," and the remark of Ti. Donatus quoted there. The 'moenia' are the city of Lavinium, the Italian settlement, regarded however doubtless as the cradle of the eternal city itself. The attempt of Heyne and others to press 'para,' as if in founding Lavinium Aeneas were preparing for Rome, is altogether needless, 'para' being obviously equivalent to "quaere" in the parallel passage from Book 2.

160.] 'Fugae,' as Aeneas is said 1. 2 to be "fato profugus," what would be a reproach under ordinary circumstances being his glory. "Fugae laborem" 5. 769.

162.] The separation of 'Delius' and 'Apollo' has the effect of two nominatives, though 'Delius' is doubtless intended to be merely an epithet. Comp. 1. 195, 411, 691, E. 6. 2. Forb. comp. Ov. 3 Amor. 9. 21, "Quid pater Ismario, quid mater profuit Orpheo?"

Est locus, Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt,
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glaebae;
Oenotri coluere viri; nunc fama minores
Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem:
Hae nobis propriae sedes; hinc Dardanus ortus,
Iasiusque pater, genus a quo principe nostrum.
Surge age, et haec laetus longaevo dicta parenti
Haud dubitanda refer: Corythum terrasque requirat
Ausonias. Dictaea negat tibi Iuppiter arva.
Talibus attonitus visis et voce deorum—
Nec sopor illud erat, sed coram agnoscere vultus
Velatasque comas praesentiaque ora videbar;

163–166.] Repeated from 1. 530–533, where see notes.

166.] ['Duxisse' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

167.] 'Nobis' illustrates 'magnis' v. 159. They identify themselves with the Trojans, or rather the Trojans with themselves. 'Propriae' v. 85, to which it perhaps refers, as if it had been said, "Here is that settled home you prayed for." 'Hinc Dardanus ortus' 7. 240.

168.] The natural meaning of the words would seem to be that Iasius was the father of Dardanus, and the ultimate progenitor of the Trojan race. No tradition however appears to favour this view: and Virg. himself in 7. 219 apparently follows the Homeric story (Il. 20. 215), which makes Dardanus the son of Zeus. The legends vary (see Dict. Biog. Dardanus, Iasion): but those which assert a connexion between Dardanus and Iasion or Iasius make them brothers. This also might be reconciled with the text, which would then mean that the brothers sprung from Italy, and that Iasius, one of them, was the father of the Trojans. Here again however we should be at issue with the legends, and with Virg.'s language elsewhere, which speak of Dardanus as the author of the race, Iasius having settled, not in Phrygia, but in Samothrace. If then we wish to make Virgil consistent with himself, and with the line of tradition which he seems to have followed, we must suppose him to use 'pater' rather vaguely, and to intend 'a quo' to refer to Dardanus. But the language is certainly against this; and those who prefer to consider that he has attributed to Iasius what is elsewhere attributed to Dardanus may perhaps fortify themselves by appealing to 7. 208, where not Iasius but Dardanus is said to have penetrated into Samothrace.

170.] 'Corythum' is probably the place, Corythus or Cortona, not its founder, Corythus, who according to one story was the father of Dardanus. Comp. 7. 209., 9. 10, where it appears to stand for the country. At the same time the legendary connexion with Dardanus would be a reason for Virg. using the word, without committing himself to the story. 'Requirat' Med., fragm. Vat. Others have 'require' or 'requiras.' The two latter readings might be supported from 'tibi' in the next line; but the former, besides being less obvious, is confirmed by the parallel passage 12. 75 foll. "Phrygio mea dicta tyranno Haud placitura refer . . . Non Teucros agat in Rutulos."

171.] 'Dictaea' E. 6. 56. 'Tibi' is addressed to Aeneas by the Penates, not by him to Anchises.

172.] The sentence is interrupted by a parenthesis, which produces an anacoluthon, v. 175 introducing another sentence. With Ribbeck I have restored 'et' for 'ac,' on external grounds, though the exact state of the evidence is not clear. Wagn. admits that 'et' is found in Med. and fragm. Vat., but says that the other MSS. supporting it are few and modern: Ribbeck quotes only two Berne MSS. for 'ac,' leaving it to be inferred that 'et' is the reading of the rest of his copies, including not only Pal., but Gud.

173.] See on v. 151. The words seem intended to represent Homer's οὐκ ὄναρ ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ἐσθλόν (Od. 19. 547). Henry comp. Stat. Theb. 5. 135., 10. 205, Sil. 3. 198. ['Illut' Med. and Pal. 'Set' Med. 'Adgnoscere' Pal. 'Voltus' Pal.—H. N.]

174.] 'Velatas,' crowned with fillets. Comp. 5. 134, 366., 7. 154., 11. 101. Two

Tum gelidus toto manabat corpore sudor—
Corripio e stratis corpus, tendoque supinas
Ad caelum cum voce manus, et munera libo
Intemerata focis. Perfecto laetus honore
Anchisen facio certum, remque ordine pando.
Adgnovit prolem ambiguam geminosque parentes,
Seque novo veterum deceptum errore locorum.
Tum memorat: Nate, Iliacis exercite fatis,

representations of the Penates of different Roman families so crowned are mentioned by Lersch, Antiqq. p. 149.

175.] The sweat shows the powerful impression made by fear or otherwise upon the mind. Gossrau and Forb. comp. 7. 459, Sil. 8. 187, though they go too far when they speak of sweat as a sign of the reality of the vision. Macrob. Sat. 6. 1 instances the line as an imitation of Ennius (A. 16, fr. 6), "Tunc timido manat ex omni corpore sudor," which seems also to have been copied by Lucr. 6. 944.

176.] "Corripere ex somno corpus" Lucr. 3. 163.

177.] Comp. 2. 688. [Serv. remarks "honesta elocutio cum uno sermone respondemus duobus."—H. N.] As in 5. 743., 8. 70, Aeneas offers up a prayer or sacrifice after the vision. 'Munera' of wine 1. 636.

178.] 'Intemerata' seems to include the two notions which have been assigned to the word by Wagn. and Wund., the wine being both unmixed and choice (unblemished, as victims are called "egregii" &c.). The feeling is the same in Aesch. Ag. 94, φαρμασσομένη χρίματος ἁγνοῦ Μαλακαῖς ἀδόλοισι παρηγορίαις. The hearth was the altar of the Penates. 'Honore' v. 118. 'Laetus:' the performance of the sacrifice had apparently given him time to recover himself, so that he could tell his father with pleasure (v. 169). 'Perfecto:' see on 4. 639.

179.] 'Facere certiorem' is the more common expression in prose; but the positive is used by Plaut. Pseud. 1. 1. 16, Ov. M. 6. 268., 11. 415. 'Ordine pando' like "ordine dicam" G. 4. 4, 537.

180.] "'Ambiguam:' non incertam sed modo duplicem," Serv., an interpretation which would agree with Horace's "ambiguam Salamina," a second Salamis (1 Od. 7. 29, quoted by Emmenessius). The word however seems rather to mean capable of being referred to either source, "quod est ambiguarum proprium, res duas significari," as Forcell. quotes from Cic. Orat. 34. The 'ambiguity' here would lie in the possibility of tracing the line either to the king of the country or to the settler who married his daughter, though, as we have seen on v. 107, there is a further ambiguity which presses on us, if it did not press on Anchises or on Virg., the difficulty of determining which was the father-in-law and which the son-in-law. [Nonius p. 245 (s.v. "anceps") seems to have read 'ancipitem' for 'ambiguam.'—H. N.]

181.] 'Novo errore' seems best explained by Gossrau of the surprise of Anchises when informed of his mistake (see on G. 4. 357), the word being used to produce an apparent antithesis with 'veterum,' as Serv. long ago remarked. Other instances of mere verbal antithesis are given in my note on Aesch. Cho. 272. Or we may say that there is a touch of humour in the word, expressing the contrast between old places and new mistakes, as it strikes the mind of Anchises, a meaning which I have endeavoured to bring out in my verse translation. "And smiles that ancient lands have wrought Such new confusion in his thought." Henry's former interpretation, referring 'novo' to the previous mistake about settling in Thrace, which he assumed, plausibly enough, to have been advised by Anchises, is less likely, as that mistake was of a different kind, unconnected with ancient tradition, and so could hardly be called an 'error veteris loci.' [Henry now takes 'novo' to mean strange, unusual, considering that the places were not new to Anchises.—H. N.] 'Error locorum' like "errore viae" 7. 199.

182.] 'Nate, Iliacis exercite fatis' is repeated 5. 725, where Anchises consoles Aeneas for the burning of the ships, as Henry remarks, as here for the unfortunate settlement in Crete.

Sola mihi talis casus Cassandra canebat.
Nunc repeto haec generi portendere debita nostro,
Et saepe Hesperiam, saepe Itala regna vocare.
Set quis ad Hesperiae venturos litora Teucros
Crederet? aut quem tum vates Cassandra moveret?
Cedamus Phoebo, et moniti meliora sequamur.
Sic ait; et cuncti dicto paremus ovantes.
Hanc quoque deserimus sedem, paucisque relictis
Vela damus, vastumque cava trabe currimus aequor.
  Postquam altum tenuere rates, nec iam amplius ullae
Apparent terrae, caelum undique et undique pontus,
Tum mihi caeruleus supra caput astitit imber,
Noctem hiememque ferens, et inhorruit unda tenebris.
Continuo venti volvunt mare magnaque surgunt

183.] 'Casus Cassandra canebat.' "Haec compositio iam vitiosa est, quae maioribus placuit: 'Anchisen adgnovit amicum' (v. 82), et 'sale saxa sonabant' (5. 866)." Serv. See note on 2. 494.

184.] 'Nunc repeto' 7. 123. The fuller expression "repetere memoria" is found in Cicero; but "repetere" alone is used by the poets and silver-age prose authors. 'Debita:' so Aeneas 7. 120 addresses Italy, "fatis mihi debita tellus."

185.] It seems doubtful whether 'vocare' means to give the names, or to invoke as a prophetess might invoke a fixed yet apparently lingering destiny: τὸ μόρσιμον μένει πάλαι, εὐχομένοις δ' ἂν ἔλθοι (Aesch. Cho. 465).

186.] ['Sed' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

187.] 'Crederet:' who could think so in those days? a common and idiomatic use of the imperfect, where we should prefer the pluperfect, 'who would have thought so?' For 'moveret,' as might be expected, some of Ribbeck's cursives give 'moneret.'

188.] 'Phoebo,' because he sent the message by the Penates.

189.] 'Ovantes,' at having at last discovered what their destiny was.

190.] 'Paucis relictis' is apparently introduced to square with the legend that the town Pergamum or Pergamea (v. 133 note) was actually founded by Aeneas.

191.] 'Currimus aequor' is one of those constructions found in Greek as well as in Latin, which it is difficult to unravel satisfactorily. We may call it an extension of the construction "currit iter," which is found 5. 862, and say that from being used with a cognate accusative, the intransitive verb comes to be used with an ordinary accusative of the object, which happens to give nearly the same sense as the cognate; or we may account for it as an accusative of the object put loosely with a verb which is generally intransitive. The expression occurs again 5. 235, and is used by Ov. ex Ponto 1. 3. 76. ['Cucurrimus' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

192—208.] 'When out of sight of land, we were involved in a storm, which raged for three days and nights. On the fourth day land appears.'

192.] This and the three following lines (repeated with variations 5. 8—11) are copied closely from Od. 12. 403 foll. (repeated 14. 301 foll.). 'Nec iam amplius:' this use of 'amplius' is not found in Cic., who uses 'nec iam' simply: it occurs however Lucr. 4. 874.

193.] 'Apparent' belongs to 'caelum et pontus' as well as to 'terrae.'

194.] 'Caeruleus imber:' see G. 1. 236 note. ['Adstitit' Med. corrected and fragm. St. Gall.—H. N.]

195.] 'Inhorruit unda tenebris' is an ornamental rendering of the Homeric ἤχλυσε δὲ πόντος ὑπ' αὐτῆς, the words being borrowed from Pacuv. inc. fr. 45, "inhorrescit mare, Tenebrae conduplicantur, noctisque et nimbum occaecat nigror," a description of the storm that fell upon the Greeks as they returned from Troy. The picture seems to be of the surface of the water roughened or curled partly by the wind, partly by the darkness, which would change its outline to the eye. Perhaps we might say in English "And darkness ruffled the billow's crest."

196.] 'Venti volvunt mare:' comp. 1.

Aequora; dispersi iactamur gurgite vasto;
Involvere diem nimbi, et nox umida caelum
Abstulit; ingeminant abruptis nubibus ignes.
Excutimur cursu, et caecis erramus in undis.
Ipse diem noctemque negat discernere caelo,
Nec meminisse viae media Palinurus in unda.
Tris adeo incertos caeca caligine soles
Erramus pelago, totidem sine sidere noctes.
Quarto terra die primum se attollere tandem
Visa, aperire procul montis, ac volvere fumum.
Vela cadunt, remis insurgimus; haut mora, nautae
Adnixi torquent spumas et caerula verrunt.
Servatum ex undis Strophadum me litora primum

86. [Varro, Sat. Men. p. 211 (Riese) "quod si pergunt diutius mare volvere."—H. N.] 'Magna' with 'surgunt.'

198.] 'Involvere diem' is a poetical variety for "involvere caelum." See on G. 4. 59. With the line generally comp. 1. 88, "Eripiunt subito nubes caelumque diemque Teucrorum ex oculis."

199.] ['Abrupti' fragm. St. Gall.; 'abruptis' Med. Pal. and fragm. Vat., supported by Macrob. Sat. 6. 1. 27, who quotes Lucr. 2. 214 "abruptis nubibus ignes Concursant." There, however, the MSS. give "abrupti."—H. N.]

200.] 'Caecis in undis' like "freta caeca" G. 2. 503, though here the uncertainty arises from actual darkness, not from the mariner's ignorance or rashness.

201.] 'He cannot distinguish day and night in the sky:' as he looks at the sky, he cannot tell whether it is day or night.

202.] 'Nec' is used as if an affirmative verb, such as "dicit," had preceded. See Madv. § 462, b. 'Media in unda' seems contrasted with 'caelo:' as he cannot tell the time of the day in the sky, so he cannot tell the path in the water.

203.] 'Adeo' strengthens 'tris,' like "quinque adeo" 7. 629, as we might say 'three long days.' See on E. 4. 11. 'Incertos' goes closely with 'caeca caligine,' 'suns obscured by blinding darkness.'

204.] Serv. says that after this verse the following lines were found enclosed in brackets or placed in the margin—

"Hinc Pelopis gentes Maleaeque sonantia saxa
Circumstant, pariterque undae terraeque minantur:
Pulsamur saevis et circumsistimur undis."

The locality may be correctly given, as the storm is supposed to have arisen about the promontory of Malea (see 5. 193): but the lines, even if intrinsically worthy of the poet, would be inconsistent with the context, which tells us expressly that they did not know where they were, and that land was not seen till the fourth day.

206.] The rising of smoke as a sign of an inhabited country is from Od. 10. 99, *καπνὸν δ' οἷον ὁρῶμεν ἀπὸ χθονὸς ἀΐσσοντα.*

207.] ['Haud' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

208.] Repeated 4. 513. 'Caerula verrunt' may be from Catull. 64. 7, "caerula verrentes abiegnis aequora palmis." [Lucr. 6. 624 "validi verrentes aequora venti." Ov. Am. 3. 8. 43 "non freta demisso verrebant eruta vento." 'Verro' in these passages means not to sweep, but to tear, lash into foam.—H. N.]

209—267.] 'We find ourselves on the Strophades, the islands of the Harpies. Oxen and goats are seen grazing: we kill, sacrifice, and eat, when the Harpies come upon us and tear and pollute the meat. We do the same in another spot, and the same visitation follows. A third time we try, and on their coming attack them with the sword, but make no impression. One of them, Celaeno, threatens us with famine, which shall drive us when landed in Italy to eat our very tables, as a punishment for our present gluttony and violence. My father deprecates the denunciation, and bids us set sail again.'

209.] The episode which follows is imitated partly from Od. 10. 260 foll.,

Excipiunt; Strophades Graio stant nomine dictae,
Insulae Ionio in magno, quas dira Celaeno
Harpyiaeque colunt aliae, Phineia postquam
Clausa domus, mensasque metu liquere priores.
Tristius haut illis monstrum, nec saevior ulla
Pestis et ira deum Stygiis sese extulit undis.
Virginei volucrum vultus, foedissima ventris
Proluvies, uncaeque manus, et pallida semper
Ora fame.
Huc ubi delati portus intravimus, ecce
Laeta boum passim campis armenta videmus
Caprigenumque pecus nullo custode per herbas.
Inruimus ferro, et divos ipsumque vocamus
In partem praedamque Iovem; tum litore curvo

where the companions of Ulysses devour the herds of the sun, partly from Apoll., R. 2. 178 foll. where Zetes and Calais deliver Phineus from the Harpies. For 'primum' Med. and Gud. have 'prima' which seems to be a corruption from the preceding word.

210.] ['Accipiunt' Med.; the other uncials have 'excipiunt.'—H. N.] 'Stant' is obviously a variety for "sunt" (E. 7. 53): but whether the additional notion is that of the position of the island, or, as Wagn. thinks, the permanence of the name, is not clear. Apoll. R. 2. 285 foll. makes Zetes and Calais chase the Harpies to the Πλωταὶ νῆσοι, where they would have killed them, had not Iris interposed. The assailants turn back from the islands, which are thence called Στροφάδες: the Harpies fly to Crete. Other writers expanded the story (see Dict. Biog. 'Harpyiae'), but it does not appear whether any but Virg., whom Ov. M. 13. 709 obviously follows, made the Strophades the regular habitation of the Harpies.

211.] For the Greek rhythm comp. G. 1. 437.

212.] The Homeric conception of the Harpies is of personified storm-winds, which agrees not only with their general designation and with the name Podarge, given to one of them Il. 16. 149, but with the names given to them in later legends, Aello, Ocypete, and Celaeno. In the story of Phineus they appear in the loathsome character in which they are represented here. Aeschylus, one of whose lost plays was on that subject, makes the priestess in the Eumenides name them along with the Gorgons as the frightful monsters with which her memory supplies her for comparison with the Erinnyes.

213.] 'Metu:' for fear of Zetes and Calais.

214.] 'Haut—nec' 7. 203 note. ['Haud' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

215.] 'Ira deum' is a bold expression for the effect of divine anger. Val. Fl. 1. 683 has adopted it from Virg., applying it to Sirius.

216.] 'Theirs are the maiden countenances of birds:' they are birds with maidens' countenances. The expression somewhat resembles Lucr. 4. 733, "Cerbereasque canum facies," "semiferas hominum species" Id. 2. 702.

217.] The Harpies are the goddesses of eternal famine, carrying off and spoiling the food of others, yet ever hungering themselves, which gives point to Celaeno's denunciation v. 256.

218.] Virg. follows Od. 12. 353 foll., though not very closely.

220.] [Servius remarks "*laeta* pinguia: nam in animalibus, in quibus cognosci non potest sensus, laetitiam pingue corpus ostendit, non mens, ut in hominibus."—H. N.]

221.] 'Caprigenum pecus' is from Pacuvius and Attius, according to Macrob. Sat. 6. 5. "Satis nove et adfectate" is Serv.'s criticism. 'Caprigenum' is neuter sing., not, as some have thought, gen. pl., as Cic. Progn. fr. 6. p. 556 (Orelli) has "Caprigeni pecoris custos." 'Herbam' Serv. ["Armenta appellavit boves, pecora autem capras, ut ostenderet nec boves pecora dici posse, nec capras armenta." Ti. Donatus.—H. N.]

223.] 'In praedam partemque' was

Extruimusque toros dapibusque epulamur opimis.
At subitae horrifico lapsu de montibus adsunt
Harpyiae et magnis quatiunt clangoribus alas,
Diripiuntque dapes contactuque omnia foedant
Inmundo; tum vox taetrum dira inter odorem.
Rursum in secessu longo sub rupe cavata,
Arboribus clausa circum atque horrentibus umbris,
Instruimus mensas arisque reponimus ignem:
Rursum ex diverso caeli caecisque latebris
Turba sonans praedam pedibus circumvolat uncis,
Polluit ore dapes. Sociis tunc, arma capessant,
Edico, et dira bellum cum gente gerendum.
Haud secus ac iussi faciunt, tectosque per herbam
Disponunt enses et scuta latentia condunt.
Ergo ubi delapsae sonitum per curva dedere
Litora, dat signum specula Misenus ab alta

read before Heins. The expression seems a fair instance of hendiadys (note on G. 2. 192), standing for 'in partem praedae.'

224.] They piled up turf to recline, or, as we should say, to sit on while eating. "Extructos toros" 11. 66.

225.] Heins. restored 'subitae' for the common reading 'subito.' ['Labsu' fragm. St. Gall.—H. N.]

226.] *κλαγγῇ ταίγε πέτονται*, Il. 3. 5, comp. by Wagn. Virg. follows Apoll. R. 2. 187 foll.—

ἀλλὰ διὲκ νεφέων ἄφνω πέλας ἀΐσσουσαι
Ἅρπυιαι στόματος χειρῶν τ' ἄπο γαμφηλῇσι
συνεχέως ἥρπαζον· ἐλείπετο δ' ἄλλοτε φορβῆς
οὐδ' ὅσον, ἄλλοτε τυτθόν, ἵνα ζώων ἀκάχοιτο·
καὶ δ' ἐπὶ μυδαλέην ὀδμὴν χέον·

Serv., who raises a question about the use of 'clangoribus,' says that there was another draught of the line bracketed or cancelled (see note on v. 204 above), "resonant magnis stridoribus alae." ["Taetro odore" Lucr. 3. 581.—H. N.]

229, 230.] Partly repeated from 1. 310, 311. Here, as in 1. 311, 'clausam' is read by Pal., and originally by Med., Gud., and two other of Ribbeck's cursives, Rom., we may remember, being deficient through the greater part of this book and the last. 'Clausa' is the corrected reading of Med., Gud., and another cursive, and seems on the whole safest to adopt. 'Clausi,' the common reading, would be neater, but it is only found in two of Ribbeck's cursives corrected, and in inferior copies. Ribbeck goes further, and omits v. 230, which seems unnecessary, though it may be allowed that the variation of the text is a ground for suspicion.

231.] 'Reponimus' is rightly understood by Wund. of a second sacrifice, the first being implied, if not actually expressed, in v. 222. See on G. 3. 527.

232.] 'Ex diverso' 2. 716.

233.] Virg. has chosen his words with attention, 'praedam' suiting 'pedibus uncis,' 'dapes' 'ore.' It matters little whether we understand 'praedam' relatively to the Trojans, as in v. 222, or to the Harpies, as in v. 244.

234.] Comp. 10. 258.

236.] "Haud minus ac iussi faciunt," v. 561 below, which shows, what would else be very doubtful, that 'iussi' is a participle, not a verb. ['Haut' Med.—H. N.]

237.] 'Latentia' of course is proleptic.

238.] This must refer to a third, not, as Forb. thinks, to the second visitation, which came to an end v. 234. Virg. tells us of the banquet indirectly, more suo, in v. 244. ['Dilapsae' Pal.—H. N.]

239.] 'Misenus' 6. 164, 165 notes. Virg. doubtless imitated Apoll. R. 2. 1055, *ἀλλ' ὅγε χαλκείην πλαταγὴν ἐνὶ χερσὶ τινάσσων Δοῦπει ἐπὶ σκοπιῆς περιμήκεος.*

Aere cavo. Invadunt socii, et nova proelia temptant,
Obscenas pelagi ferro foedare volucres.
Sed neque vim plumis ullam nec volnera tergo
Accipiunt, celerique fuga sub sidera lapsae
Semesam praedam et vestigia foeda relinquunt.
Una in praecelsa consedit rupe Celaeno,
Infelix vates, rumpitque hanc pectore vocem:
Bellum etiam pro caede boum stratisque iuvencis,
Laomedontiadae, bellumne inferre paratis
Et patrio Harpyias insontis pellere regno?
Accipite ergo animis atque haec mea figite dicta.
Quae Phoebo pater omnipotens, mihi Phoebus Apollo
Praedixit, vobis Furiarum ego maxima pando.
Italiam cursu petitis, ventisque vocatis

241.] 'Foedare' in apposition to 'nova proelia,' as "stridere" to "mirabile monstrum" G. 4. 554. foll. 'Ferro foedare' 2. 55 note. [Serv. quotes a fragment of Ennius "ferro foedati iacent."—H. N.] 'Pelagi volucres' seems rightly explained by Serv. of the mythological origin of the Harpies from Pontus, Poseidon, or Electra, daughter of Oceanus. 'Obscenas:' G. 1. 470 note.

242.] The Harpies in Apollonius seem not to be invulnerable, as we are told (v. 284) that Zetes and Calais would have slain them had they overtaken them. ['Vulnera' Pal.—H. N.]

244.] ['Semesam': see on 8. 297. Pal. has 'relinquont.'—H. N.]

246.] 'Rupit' was read before Heins. 'Infelix vates,' an inauspicious prophet, Homer's *μάντι κακῶν*, Serv. So 'infelix' of the Trojan horse 2. 245.

247.] Celaeno asks whether they are going so far as to wage war in defence of their right to the cattle which they have so unjustly slaughtered.

248.] 'Laomedontiadae,' a term of reproach, like "Laomedonteae Troiae" G. 1. 502.

249.] 'Patrio' seems used loosely for "proprio," as in G. 1. 52 (note), which Serv. comp. His other explanation, 'belonging to our father the sea-god' (see on v. 241), in other words, 'our island kingdom,' is far less likely. The order before Pierius was 'insontis Harpyias.'

250.] Repeated 10. 104. 'Animis' goes with 'accipite,' as in 5. 304, "accipite haec animis," not with 'figite,' though the word may be supplied in the second clause, which is a translation, as Heyne remarks, of the Homeric *σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῇσιν*.

251.] Phoebus receives his revelations from Zeus, whose *προφήτης* he is, Aesch. Eum. 19. In his turn he has the power of imparting inspiration, as to Cassandra, Ag. 1202. Whether Celaeno is to be regarded as a prophetess, or merely as possessed of this single communication of the future, is not clear. ["Ut Varro in secundo Divinarum dicit, oraculum hoc a Dodonaeo Iove apud Epirum acceperunt. . . . Sed tamen colorate tangit historiam dicendo 'quae Phoebo pater omnipotens.'" Serv.—H. N.]

252.] 'Furiarum maxima' 6. 605. The later mythology, which limited the number of the Erinnyes, introduced gradations of age among them. Virg. identifies or confuses the Harpies with the Furies, as Aesch. Eum. 50 does with the Gorgons. [Pal. has 'mando' corrected from 'pendo.'—H. N.]

253.] 'Cursu petere' of a speedy journey 1. 157., 2. 399, E. 6. 80. 'It is for Italy that you are crowding all sail.' As Ti. Donatus remarks, Celaeno shows them that she knows the present, that they may believe her prophecy of the future. 'Vocatis' is understood by Wagn. 'duly invoked,' and therefore favourable. Perhaps the sense rather is 'the winds shall come at your call,' as if any stress were laid on due invocation, Celaeno would be inadvertently giving profitable advice where she intends only to terrify. Comp. 5. 211., 8. 707, where the words recur, and see on 4. 223.

Ibitis Italiam, portusque intrare licebit;
Set non ante datam cingetis moenibus urbem,
Quam vos dira fames nostraeque iniuria caedis
Ambesas subigat malis absumere mensas.
Dixit, et in silvam pinnis ablata refugit.
At sociis subita gelidus formidine sanguis
Deriguit; cecidere animi, nec iam amplius armis,
Set votis precibusque iubent exposcere pacem,
Sive deae, seu sint dirae obscenaeque volucres.
Et pater Anchises passis de litore palmis
Numina magna vocat, meritosque indicit honores:
Di, prohibete minas; di, talem avertite casum,
Et placidi servate pios! Tum litore funem
Deripere, excussosque iubet laxare rudentis.

254.] With the repetition of 'Italiam' comp. 1. 553, 554.

255.] 'Datam urbem' like "data moenia" v. 501 below, "datas urbes" 4. 225. ['Sed' Pal.—H. N.]

256.] 'Dira,' monstrous, like "dira cupido" G. 1. 37. 'Iniuria': the wrong is regarded as having the power of avenging itself. 'Caedis,' since the Trojans were murderers in will, if not in deed, as Menelaus says of Ajax (Soph. Aj. 1126 foll.), κτείναντά με . . . θεὸς γὰρ ἐκσώζει με, τῷδε δ' οἴχομαι.

257.] 'Ambesas absumere;' see on 1. 29. 'Malis' goes with 'absumere' as in G. 3. 268. So "absumere ferro" 4. 601., 9. 494. This prophecy formed part of the traditional account of Aeneas' landing in Italy (Heyne, Excursus 8), so that Virg. had no choice about introducing it. The notion of putting it into the mouth of Celaeno, so far as we know, is his own; others having represented it as given by Jupiter at Dodona, or by the Erythrean sibyl to Aeneas, or by Venus to Anchises. In 7. 122 foll., where the prophecy is fulfilled, it is said to have been delivered by Anchises to Aeneas, no mention being made of Celaeno, though she is expressly named as its author later in this book, v. 365. See Introduction to this Book, and also note on 7. 123. 'Subigat:' the subj. is used as if the Trojans would be anxious to anticipate the visitation by establishing themselves in their city. One MS. has 'subiget.'

258.] 'Pinnis ablata' 11. 867.

260.] 'Deriguit' was restored by Heins. from Med. and others for 'diriguit.' 'Cecidere animi:' comp. "contunsos animos" G. 4. 240, and see on A. 2. 120.

261.] The "pax" which they sought by arms was liberty to feed unmolested: that which they seek by prayer is freedom from further annoyance, if the Harpies are merely monsters, deliverance from divine vengeance, such as that just denounced, if they are goddesses. ['Sed' Pal.—H. N.]

263.] 'Et' was restored by Heins. for 'at,' which is supported by a correction in Med.

264.] 'Numina magna:' the powers above, such as those from whom Celaeno derived her knowledge. He offers sacrifice on the shore.

265.] ['Dii' Pal.—H. N.]

266. 'Placidi' seems to have the force of 'placati.' Pal. and Gud. a m. pr. have 'placide.'

267.] Med. has 'diripere:' see on 1. 211 etc. 'Excutere rudentis' v. 682 below. The 'rudentes' here are the ropes fastened to the bottom of the sail at its two corners ('pedes'). "Before setting sail, these ropes, which our seamen call the sheets, would lie in a coil or bundle. In order therefore to depart, the first thing was to unroll or untie them, the next to adjust them according to the direction of the wind and the aim of the voyage . . . 'Laxate rudentes' was equivalent to 'ease the sheets.'" Dict. A. 'rudens.'

268—277.] 'We sail by the islands off the west coast of Greece, and at last land in Leucadia.'

Tendunt vela Noti; fugimus spumantibus undis,
Qua cursum ventusque gubernatorque vocabat.
Iam medio apparet fluctu nemorosa Zacynthos
Dulichiumque Sameque et Neritos ardua saxis.
Effugimus scopulos Ithacae, Laertia regna,
Et terram altricem saevi execramur Ulixi.
Mox et Leucatae nimbosa cacumina montis
Et formidatus nautis aperitur Apollo.
Hunc petimus fessi et parvae succedimus urbi;
Ancora de prora iacitur, stant litore puppes.
Ergo insperata tandem tellure potiti

268.] For 'fugimus' Heins. restored 'ferimur,' from Pal. a m. s., Gud., and a few other MSS.; but the authority is not sufficient to recommend the word, though it may have a slight rhythmical advantage. Wagn. thinks it may have arisen from 5. 33, "vela secundi Intendunt Zephyri: fertur cita gurgite classis;" but the resemblance is hardly great enough, and the parallel might be turned into an argument on the other side.

269.] Imitated from Od. 11. 10, *τὴν δ' ἄνεμός τε κυβερνήτης τ' ἴθυνεν.* 'Vocabat' Med., 'vocabant' inferior MSS., which Heyne retained.

270.] Again from Homer (Od. 9. 24), *Δουλίχιόν τε Σάμη τε καὶ ὑλήεσσα Ζάκυνθος.* Mr. Long says of 'nemorosa,' "This is true now, if the reference in Virg. and Hom. is to plantations, as I think it is, not to forests." 'Medio fluctu:' note on v. 73.

271.] Neritos in Hom. (Od. 9. 22., 13. 351) is a mountain in Ithaca. Some have thought that Virg. considers it so here; but the subsequent mention of Ithaca in the next line is against this, and all the other names here are names of islands. Mela 2. 7 mentions Neritos among the islands in the Ionian sea, and the same is evidently the meaning of Ov. M. 13. 712, Sil. 15. 305, who however as evidently have merely copied the present passage. Perhaps Virg. was thinking of Il. 2. 633, where Neritos is mentioned separately from Ithaca among the places from which Ulysses' followers came, Zacynthos and Samos following two lines afterwards.

272.] Serv. may be right in supposing that something of a taunt may be intended in 'scopulos Ithacae, Laertia regna,' with which he comp. "inmania saxa, Vestras, Eure, domos" 1. 139. Taubm. appositely cites Cic. De Orat. 1. 44, "Ut Ithacam illam in asperrimis saxulis tanquam nidulum adfixam sapientissimus vir inmortalitati anteponeret." Here and in the next line Virg. is evidently glancing at Ulysses' own description of his country, Od. 9. 27, as *τρηχεῖ' ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος*, and perhaps also, as Heyne thinks, at Il. 3. 201, *ὃς τράφη ἐν δήμῳ Ἰθάκης, κραναῆς περ ἐούσης.*

273.] ['Exsecramur' Pal.—H. N.]

274.] Leucata or Leucates is the promontory of Leucas, or Leucadia, celebrated as the scene of the Lover's Leap.

275.] 'Formidatus nautis Apollo' plainly indicates a temple of Apollo built on a dangerous rock. Such a temple existed on Leucata (Dict. G. Leucas). Heyne however objects that they are not likely to have landed there, as the 'parva urbs' in that case must be Leucas, which was besides in a different part of the island, not, as the next sentence seems to prove, Actium; he accordingly thinks that the temple of Apollo at Actium is meant, thus separating v. 275 from v. 274. The following lines certainly seem to show that they landed in Actium: the present line naturally points to Leucata. Can Virg. have confused the two temples? 'Aperitur,' comes into sight, like 'aperire' v. 206. ["'Aperitur Apollo,' nauticum verbum, quotiens cedente eo quo impeditur aspectus, aliquid patescit, ut (v. 530) 'portusque patescit Iam propior.'" Serv.—H. N.]

277.] Repeated at the end of Book 6.

278—293.] 'At Actium we sacrifice and celebrate games, in joy of our escape so far. We winter there, and then depart, leaving a memorial of our sojourn. We next land in Chaonia.'

278.] 'Insperata' is explained by vv.

Lustramurque Iovi votisque incendimus aras,
Actiaque Iliacis celebramus litora ludis.
Exercent patrias oleo labente palaestras
Nudati socii; iuvat evasisse tot urbes
Argolicas mediosque fugam tenuisse per hostis.
Interea magnum sol circumvolvitur annum,
Et glacialis hiemps aquilonibus asperat undas.
Aere cavo clipeum, magni gestamen Abantis,

282, 283, as Wagn. remarks. 'Tellure potiti' 1. 172.

279.] 'Lustramur' middle. The purification was doubtless required by their recent adventure with the Harpies. 'Iovi,' in honour of Jupiter. The expression is imitated by Gratius Cyn. 492, "Lustraturque deae." It is asked why Jove is singled out rather than Apollo, the tutelary god of the place. Jove had doubtless been invoked foremost among the "numina magna," v. 264, and he would be specially propitiated here for the same reason, as aggrieved in the matter of the Harpies, partly perhaps by the inauspicious sacrifice, v. 223, partly by the attempt to injure his ministers, which the prophecy v. 251 seems to show that he resents. 'Votis' here stand for votive offerings. Wagn. well comp. Aesch. Ag. 91, βωμοὶ δώροισι φλέγονται. "Incensa altaria" occur 8. 285. The vows are explained partly by what follows, v. 282, partly by what precedes, v. 264.

280.] The celebration of games at Actium by Aeneas is a compliment to Augustus, who instituted a quinquennial celebration at Actium in honour of his victory, Dion. 51. 1. The adjective 'Actius' occurs again 8. 675, 704, and elsewhere in the Latin poets, the prose form being "Actiacus." 'Celebramus litora ludis' is a variety for "celebramus ludos in litore," "celebrare" having its strict sense of 'to make populous.'

281.] The 'palaestra' is given as a specimen of other games, which may perhaps be the force of the plural. 'Exercent palaestras' like "choros exercet" 1. 499, "exercet ludos" Prop. 4. 14. 3. 'Oleo labente:' the oil is said to slip, probably from its effect on the bodies of those who use it.

282.] ['Evassisse' Pal.—H. N.]

284.] The sun is said to roll round the year, as it is said to roll round the sky, the year being equivalent to what is traversed in the year. In a Greek author we should at once pronounce 'annum' to be a cognate accusative; here it is evidently an ordinary accusative of the object, though the acc. of the duration of time may help us to understand the expression. The epithet 'magnum' is merely an ornamental one, just as Hom. Il. 2. 134 speaks of Διὸς μεγάλου ἐνιαυτοί (comp. G. 4, 154 note), not, as Wakefield thinks, used with the feeling of an exile. [Lucr. 5. 644 "quae volvunt magnos in magnis orbibus annos."—H. N.] For the date which this point marks in Aeneas' wanderings see Introduction to the present Book.

285.] The inference to be drawn from this line apparently is that they remained on shore during the winter, though prima facie it would seem from v. 289 that they started immediately. Here as elsewhere the narrative is touched very lightly.

286.] The name of Abas, an early king of Argos, son of Lynceus and Hypermnestra, is connected in legends with a shield, which obtained victory even after his death (Dict. Biog., following Serv. on this passage). The shield appears to have been fastened up in the temple of Here at Argos, that the conqueror in the games celebrated there might bear it in procession. Another story, also mentioned by Serv., made Abas the inventor of the shield. Virg. can hardly be thinking of this mythical person, whose date would involve an anachronism here, though it is singular that the words 'de Danais victoribus,' v. 289, coincide with the pedigree of the shield, which is said originally to have belonged to his grandfather Danaus, while the story about the games again seems as if it might be glanced at in the Actian games just mentioned, as if Aeneas were bearding the old hero on his own ground. But for these coincidences, the Abas of the present passage would be to us merely the name of some unknown Grecian

Postibus adversis figo, et rem carmine signo:
Aeneas haec de Danais victoribus arma.
Linquere tum portus iubeo et considere transtris.
Certatim socii feriunt mare et aequora verrunt.
Protinus aërias Phaeacum abscondimus arces,
Litoraque Epiri legimus portuque subimus
Chaonio et celsam Buthroti accedimus urbem.
  Hic incredibilis rerum fama occupat auris
Priamiden Helenum Graias regnare per urbes,
Coniugio Aeacidae Pyrrhi sceptrisque potitum,
Et patrio Andromachen iterum cessisse marito.
Opstipui, miroque incensum pectus amore

warrior whom Aeneas had slain at some time or other, and whose shield he hangs up on Grecian soil as a crowning act of triumphant joy after an unmolested sojourn there. Ov. M. 15. 664 talks of the shield of Euphorbus, which Pythagoras recognized as his own, as hanging up "Abanteis templo Iunonis in Argis." 'Gestamen,' 7. 246.

287.] "Multaque praeterea sacris in postibus arma" 7. 183. 'Adversis,' as Heyne says, is merely ornamental, on the door as it faces you. It is not said where the door was; indeed, we are left to imagine for ourselves how Aeneas contrived to inhabit the town unmolested.

288.] E. 7. 30 note.

289.] This and the next line imitated from Od. 9. 103, 104, οἱ δ' αἶψ' εἴσβαινον καὶ ἐπὶ κληῖσι καθῖζον, Ἑξῆς δ' ἑζόμενοι πολιὴν ἅλα τύπτον ἐρετμοῖς.

291.] 'Abscondimus' of passing a place, or seeing it vanish, like ἀποκρύπτειν Plato Protag. 338 A. Not unlike is the use of "condere" E. 9. 52. [Serv. says "'abscondimus' nauticus sermo est." —H. N.] The 'aëriae Phaeacum arces' (G. 1. 240) are the mountains of Corcyra, ὄρεα σκιόεντα Γαίης Φαιήκων, Od. 5. 279.

292.] 'Portu' may be either dat. or local abl. "Muro subibant" 7. 161, "subeunt luco" 8. 125, seem in favour of the former. 'Portus . . . Chaonios' is the reading of many MSS., including Med. a m. sec., the text having originally been 'portus . . . Chaonio,' which the pseudo-Probus (p. 227 Keil) actually explains as a genitive, comparing 'Chaonio' with "Androgeo." Serv. notices the plural as unmetrical.

293.] 'Adscendimus,' the reading before Heins., is favoured by 'celsam,' but hardly agrees with what follows, vv. 300, 345, which shows that Aeneas did not reach the city till afterwards. "The epithet of *lofty* cannot be applied with any propriety to Buthrotum," Dict. G. Perhaps it is only meant to be a perpetual epithet of a city.

294—343.] 'Here I am told that Priam's son, Helenus, is king of the country and married to Andromache. Going to the city, I find her making offerings at Hector's tomb. From her I hear that the tale is true, Andromache having been given by Pyrrhus to Helenus, when he was wearied of her himself, and Helenus having succeeded to part of Pyrrhus' dominions after Pyrrhus had been killed by Orestes.'

294.] "'Incredibilis rerum fama:' incredibilium rerum fama," Serv.

296.] 'Coniugio' for "coniuge" 2. 579. The story of Aeneas' meeting with Helenus seems to have been told by Varro in his 2nd book "Rerum divinarum (Serv. on vv. 256 above, 349 below), as it is told by Dionys. Hal. 1. 51. Both appear to have agreed in one point omitted by Virg., the consultation by Aeneas of the oracle at Dodona (see on v. 257). Varro makes the 'parva Troia' (v. 349) a name given to the site where the Trojans encamped while waiting for Aeneas' return from the oracle.

297.] 'Patrio,' as being an Asiatic, Andromache being the daughter of Eetion, king of the Cilician Thebe (Il. 6. 395). 'Cessisse' passed to, as in v. 333 below, 12. 17.

298.] For 'incensum' a few MSS. give 'incensum est,' a few others 'incensus,' which Jahn prefers, coupling 'compellare' with 'progredior.' In any case the

Compellare virum et casus cognoscere tantos.
Progredior portu, classes et litora linquens,
Sollemnis cum forte dapes et tristia dona
Ante urbem in luco falsi Simoentis ad undam
Libabat cineri Andromache Manesque vocabat
Hectoreum ad tumulum, viridi quem caespite inanem
Et geminas, causam lacrimis, sacraverat aras.

infinitives seem to depend on 'amore,' as 2. 10 shows, though 8. 163 might be pleaded for connecting them with 'incensum.'

299.] Partly from 2. 280, partly from 2. 10.

300.] "Notandum sane finitum esse versum participio, quod rarum apud Latinos est, apud Graecos vitiosissimum," Serv. Wagn. examines this dictum in an excursus on 12. 609—613, ending by accepting it in a very limited sense, as applying to the supposed case of a bona fide participle in the nominative terminating a paragraph, of which he finds no example in Virg., and which he thinks objectionable on account of the weakness of such a termination. The question is one of some interest, but belongs perhaps more properly to a treatise on Latin composition than to a commentary on a Latin poet. Serv. is evidently wrong at the outset in the distinction which he takes between Latin and Greek poetry, as if the offending participle were more to be condemned in the case of the latter than in that of the former. The present participle at any rate is known to be much more idiomatic in Greek than in Latin. Hom. says in one of his most wonderful passages (Il. 6. 201) *ἤτοι ὁ κὰπ πεδίον τὸ 'Αλήϊον οἶος ἀλᾶτο, Ὃν θυμὸν κατέδων, πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων.* Cicero renders it nearly verbally (Tusc. 3. 26) "qui miser in campis maerens errabat Aleis, Ipse suum cor edens, hominum vestigia vitans;" and we at once feel the difference. As a matter of fact, one book of the Iliad (the 18th), and two of the Odyssey (the 5th and the 15th) end with the obnoxious participle.

301.] 'Tum,' which Heyne preferred, is the reading of two of Ribbeck's cursives. Ladewig rightly observes against Wagn., that if we adopt 'cum' we must understand it not in the sense of *δὴ τότε*, "quae multo alacriorem ac rei necopinatae convenientiorem reddit orationem," a sense which would not suit the imperfect, but in the sense of 'at the time when,' so that the semicolon which Wagn. and others put after 'linquens' should be changed into a comma. 'Tum forte' would be supported by 9. 3, 638. 'Sollemnis dapes' may refer merely to the libations which formed the staple of the offerings to the dead (see on v. 66 above), as 'libabat' would seem to show; but there may very well be a zeugma. 'Dapes' are distinguished from libations in the funeral offerings to Misenus 6. 225, where see note. In 5. 92 the meaning is doubtful.

302.] So a grove is planted and a chapel built on Anchises' tomb 5. 760. 'Falsi,' pretended; see 1. 684, 716.

303.] "'Cineri:' non dixit cuius, sed exin latius intellegitur." Serv. 'Manesque vocabat:' v. 68 above.

304.] 'Hectoreum' 2. 543. 'Tumulum inanem' 6. 505, where a cenotaph is erected because the body could not be found, not, as here, because it had been buried elsewhere. Cerda mentions a story that the ashes of Hector were removed from Troy to Thebes. Emm. comp. Stat. Theb. 12. 161, "Nomina, quod superest, vacuis datis orba sepulchris, Absentisque animas ad inania busta vocatis," where "ad busta," like 'ad tumulum' here, is to be understood 'at the tomb,' not, as might at first sight seem plausible, constructed with "vocatis."

305.] See on v. 63. "Causam lacrimis:' hoc tantum, ut causam lacrimarum haberet." Serv. The feeling is the same as in the well-known lines in Andromache's speech Il. 24. 742 foll.—

ἐμοὶ δὲ μάλιστα λελείψεται ἄλγεα λυγρά·
οὐ γάρ μοι θνήσκων λεχέων ἐκ χεῖρας ὄρεξας,
οὐδέ τί μοι εἶπες πυκινὸν ἔπος, οὗ τέ κεν αἰεὶ
μεμνήμην νύκτας τε καὶ ἤματα δακρυχέουσα.

'Causa' is generally found in Virg. with a gen.: comp. however 4. 290, "quae sit rebus causa novandis."

Ut me conspexit venientem et Troia circum
Arma amens vidit, magnis exterrita monstris
Deriguit visu in medio, calor ossa reliquit;
Labitur, et longo vix tandem tempore fatur:
Verane te facies, verus mihi nuntius adfers,
Nate dea? vivisne? aut, si lux alma recessit,
Hector ubi est? dixit, lacrimasque effudit et omnem
Implevit clamore locum. Vix pauca furenti
Subicio et raris turbatus vocibus hisco:
Vivo equidem, vitamque extrema per omnia duco;
Ne dubita, nam vera vides.
Heu! quis te casus deiectam coniuge tanto
Excipit? aut quae digna satis fortuna revisit
Hectoris Andromachen? Pyrrhin conubia servas?

308.] "'Deriguit visu in medio:' dum me cernit, obstipuit," Serv. The lines are perhaps imitated, as Heyne suggests, from Od. 4. 704 foll. *δὴν δέ μιν ἀμφασίη ἐπέων λάβε . . . Ὀψὲ δε δή μιν ἔπεσσιν ἀμειβομένη προσέειπεν.*

309.] 'Longo tempore' E. 1. 30.

310.] For the nom. where we should have expected the accusative comp. 1. 314 &c. Med. has 'verum.' 'Verus nuntius' is explained by Heyne "ut vere ille sis quem voltus nuntiat:" but it is perhaps better to suppose Andromache to mean 'one who can really give me news,' as a living friend after a separation of years would be able to do.

312.] Serv. has a just observation, "Hoc ad Aeneae pertinet gloriam, ut ab Hectore nunquam discessisse videatur. Sentit autem hoc: si umbrae videntur in sacris, cur non eorum magis quibus sacrificatur?" ['Effundit' Pal.—H. N.]

314.] 'Subicere' is used of replying Varro R. R. 1. 7. 'Turbatus' does not refer, as Thiel supposes, to the actual interruption of Aeneas' speech by Andromache's shrieks and sobs, but to the effect produced on his mind by the whole scene. 'Hisco' of opening the mouth without full articulation, like "inceptus clamor frustratur hiantis" 6. 493.

315.] 'Ducere vitam' is common enough; here the metaphor is extended and modified by the introduction of the thing through which life is drawn or dragged along, like "poenam traxe per omnem" 5. 786.

316.] 'Vera fides' is found in several late MSS., a plausible variety, as 'fides' might be used of seeing as well as of hearing.

317.] 'Deiectam coniuge' is an expression apparently formed on the model of "deici honore," "spe" &c., as Heyne suggests. Not unlike in Eur. Alc. 879, *ἁμαρτεῖν πιστῆς ἀλόχου.*

318.] 'Excipere' of receiving in succession, G. 2. 354 note (see also on G. 4. 207), perhaps with an actual reference to the metaphor in 'deiectam,' as in Ov. M. 11. 785 (comp. by Forb.) "Tethys miserata cadentem Molliter excepit." The expression will then be very similar to the well-known lines in Shaksp. Hamlet, Act 1, sc. 5, though in Virg.'s words there is no reproach:

"O Hamlet, what a falling off was there,
From me, whose love was of that dignity
That it went hand in hand even with the vow
I made to her in marriage; and to decline
Upon a wretch, whose natural gifts were poor
To those of mine!"

'Revisere' of a change of fortune 11. 426. 'Digna satis' is illustrated by what goes before and explained by what follows.

319.] Ladewig is apparently right in restoring 'Andromachen' for 'Andromache' from fragm. Vat. (Bottari: but Ribbeck is silent) and some other MSS., supported by the testimony of Serv., who mentions both readings. The external authority for the accusative is perhaps not great; [Ti. Donatus read 'Andromache';] in v. 303 above 'Andromache'

Deiecit vultum et demissa voce locuta est:
O felix una ante alias Priameia virgo,
Hostilem ad tumulum Troiae sub moenibus altis
Iussa mori, quae sortitus non pertulit ullos,
Nec victoris eri tetigit captiva cubile!
Nos, patria incensa diversa per aequora vectae,
Stirpis Achilleae fastus iuvenemque superbum,
Servitio enixae, tulimus: qui deinde, secutus
Ledaeam Hermionen Lacedaemoniosque hymenaeos,

is corrupted into 'Andromachen' by fragm. Vat., and the 'n' here may have arisen from 'Pyrrhin,' which in fragm. Vat., as in some other copies, was originally 'Pyrrhi.' But the common reading is objectionable as conveying an unfeeling reproach to Andromache, understood as it must be by Wagn., "tune, Hectoris coniunx, in Pyrrhi, et hostis, et multo deterioris viri, matrimonium venisti?"—a reproach, too, which would be unmeaning in itself, as Aeneas well knew that Andromache had become Pyrrhus' captive, and therefore, according to the Homeric usage, his concubine, and inconsistent with the previous context, as though Aeneas finds the rumour of Helenus' good fortune incredible, he nevertheless assumes its truth in action (v. 299). The force of these objections might be to a certain extent abated; but enough would remain to make the passage as commonly read difficult and awkward. If we accept the accusative, all is clear: Aeneas asks, 'In what condition do I find Hector's wife?' the second clause going beyond the first, and referring to the report of her new prosperity, while in the third he inquires whether she is *still* united to Pyrrhus, in other words, whether the report is a false one. 'Hectoris Andromachen' will then balance 'deiectam coniuge tanto.' For the genitive 'Hectoris Andromachen,' which, as Gossrau observes, is not elliptical but an ordinary possessive, see Madv. § 280, obs. 4. 'Pyrrhin' like "tanton" 10. 668, 12. 503, "mortalin" 12. 797, the final 'e' being elided before a consonant no less than before a vowel. [Henry now prefers 'Andromache,' which however he would join with the preceding clause.—H. N.]

321.] For the story of Polyxena see the Hecuba of Euripides.

322.] 'Troiae sub moenibus altis' is used loosely in any case, as Polyxena's death happened after the sack of Troy. Euripides makes Polyxena's death take place in the Thracian Chersonese; Virg. followed a different story, placing the tomb of Achilles on the Sigean promontory. ['Troiiae' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

323.] The captives were divided by lot, Eur. Tro. 240 foll., where however it is said of Andromache, v. 274, καὶ τήνδ' Ἀχιλλέως ἔλαβε παῖς ἐξαίρετον. Andromache's feeling is like that of Creusa 2. 785 foll. For the indicative where we might have expected the subjunctive see on G. 2. 460.

324.] 'Tetigit cubile' like εὐνῆς ἅπτεσθαι.

325.] 'Diversa per aequora vectae' 1. 376, a comparison of which will show that 'patria incensa' here may be the local abl., though the abl. abs. seems more natural. 'Patria' of the city Troy, as in 5. 624. ['Vecti' fragm. Vat. originally. H. N.]

327.] 'Servitio enixae' defines 'tulimus:' Andromache was the slave of her master's passion, and had offspring by him. The name of Andromache's son was Molossus, who is one of the dramatis personae in Eur. Andr. It is strange that Jahn should have attempted to fix another sense on 'enixae,' "semper enitentes ut servitio exiremus," though he appears right in saying that this absolute use of 'eniti' for bringing forth is not common. It would be possible to explain 'fastum' and 'iuvenem superbum' of the insolence of Pyrrhus in leaving Andromache after making her his concubine; but 'servitio' is in favour of the other interpretation, which is also perhaps more in keeping with ancient feeling. [Ti. Donatus read "enixe," which he explained as = "intolerabiliter." Nonius p. 297 would make 'enixae' = "subiugatae"; p. 458 "omni labore exercitae." Serv. explains it rightly.—H. N.]

328.] Serv. may be right in supposing

Me famulo famulamque Heleno transmisit habendam.
Ast illum, ereptae magno flammatus amore
Coniugis et scelerum Furiis agitatus, Orestes
Excipit incautum patriasque obtruncat ad aras.
Morte Neoptolemi regnorum reddita cessit

that the epithets contain a taunt: "cum ingenti felle: ac si diceret, infelices maritis semper, ut Paridi, ut Deiphobo." For the story comp. Eur. Andromache, parts of which Virg. seems to have imitated here, e. g. vv. 24 foll.—

κἀγὼ δόμοις τοῖσδ' ἄρσεν' ἐντίκτω κόρον,
πλαθεῖσ' Ἀχιλλέως παιδί, δεσπότῃ δ' ἐμῷ.
. . . .
ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν Λάκαιναν Ἑρμιόνην γαμεῖ
τοὐμὸν παρώσας δεσπότης δοῦλον λέχος.

329.] Wagn. appears rightly to explain 'que' as coupling two clauses which are co-ordinate in sense, though not grammatically, 'transmisit me famulo' (to be the wife of his captive) 'famulamque' (and to be a captive wife). Of the parallel instances which he quotes from Virg. the most apposite seem to be "Ipse gravis graviterque ad terram pondere vasto" 5. 447, "Extremus galeaque ima subsedit Acestes" ib. 498, "Obvius adversoque occurrit" 10. 734. See also on 2. 87, G. 2. 428. The old reading "Me famulam famuloque," supported by a few inferior MSS., looks like a correction.

330.] 'Flammatus' fragm. Vat., Pal., Gud, a m. p., 'inflammatus' Med. External evidence seems in favour of the simple word, which I have preferred with Ribbeck. On internal grounds there seems little to say: the dictionaries would lead us to suppose that the simple word was more common in poetry, the compound in prose. See on 4. 54. Henry remarkes that Orestes is represented as impelled to kill Pyrrhus by two causes—he is not himself, and he has sustained a personal injury. With the sense so produced he compares Ausonius' epitaph on Pyrrhus (Epitaph. Heroum 9), "Impius ante aras quem fraude peremit Orestes, Quid mirum? caesa iam genetrice furens."

331.] 'Coniugis' 9. 138 note. 'Scelerum Furiis' combines the two senses, which in the old belief would be undistinguishable, of the Furies that punished the matricide and the madness arising from it. [Cic. Verr. Act. 2. 1. 2 "quorum scelerum Poenis agitatur": 5. 43 (from the letter of Furius) "Poenas scelerumque Furias."—H. N.]

332.] 'Excipit' E. 3. 18. With the language of this line Henry comp. 1. 349, "ante aras . . . Clam ferro incautum superat," observing that 'patrias ad aras' explains 'incautum,' Pyrrhus being attacked at home in his own penetralia. There is however a doubt about the reference of 'patrias ad aras' here, which is generally explained of an altar raised in honour of Achilles at Delphi (a fact apparently resting only on a doubtful statement of Serv.), Delphi being the place where Pyrrhus was said to have met his death (Dict. B. 'Neoptolemus'). Virg.'s brevity will hardly allow us to decide definitely. In any case, as the language shows (comp. 2. 663), we are meant to think of Pyrrhus' death at the altar as a retribution for his murder of Priam. Heyne refers to Tryphiodorus v. 640—

σχέτλιος, ᾗ μὲν ἔμελλε καὶ αὐτῷ πότμος ὁμοῖος
ἔσσεσθαι παρὰ βωμὸν ἀλαθέος Ἀπόλλωνος
ὕστερον, ὁππότε μιν ζαθέου δηλήμονα νηοῦ
Δελφὸς ἀνὴρ ἐλάσας ἱερῇ κατέπεφνε μαχαίρῃ.

Comp. also Eur. Andr. 1117 foll., where Pyrrhus is killed at the altar of Apollo by the Delphians under Orestes. But the parallel would be better if we suppose him to have been killed in his own house.

333.] Different stories were told of the connexion of Pyrrhus with Epirus: see Dict. B. 'Neoptolemus.' The names Neoptolemus and Pyrrhus were both given to kings of Epirus in historical times. ['Reddita' probably means 'given to him as his due.' Serv. on v. 297 says of Neoptolemus, "moriens praecepit ut Andromache, quae apud eum coniugis locum tenuerat, Heleno daretur propter supra dictum beneficium, quo eum a navigatione prohibuerat. Inde factum est ut teneret regnum privigni." Conington suggested that the word might have the sense of giving in succession, giving to one person after another.—H. N.] 'Cessit' above v. 297.

Pars Heleno, qui Chaonios cognomine campos
Chaoniamque omnem Troiano a Chaone dixit,
Pergamaque Iliacamque iugis hanc addidit arcem.
Sed tibi qui cursum venti, quae fata dedere?
Aut quisnam ignarum nostris deus appulit oris?
Quid puer Ascanius? superatne et vescitur aura,
Quem tibi iam Troia—
Ecqua tamen puero est amissae cura parentis?
Ecquid in antiquam virtutem animosque virilis

334.] The name 'Chaones' was one of greater antiquity than that which is here ascribed to it, the Chaonians being connected by tradition with the Pelasgians (Dict. Geogr. 'Epeirus'). Various stories of this Chaon are mentioned by Serv., the general result being that he was Helenus' brother or comrade, who was either killed by him accidentally or died for him voluntarily.

336.] There is an unmetrical reading 'Pergamiamque' in Med. (supported by a correction in Pal.), which Serv. mentions as the usual one in his time, though he condemns it. With 'iugis addidit arcem' comp. 6. 774. ['Addedit' Ribbeck, from the first reading of Gud. and another of his cursives.—H. N.]

337.] Andromache means, as Heyne remarks, to ask Aeneas how he has come to Epirus—by stress of weather, or by destiny, or divine intervention, 'qui' having virtually the force of 'quomodo' (E. 1. 54 note). The alternatives are scarcely meant to exclude each other, being rather different ways of stating the same thing. With 'quae fata dedere' comp. 4. 225, "fatisque datas non respicit urbes." ['Set' Med.—H. N.]

338.] 'Ignarum' is explained by 'deus,' a divine intervention having brought Aeneas to a country which he did not know to be a friendly one. 'Deus appulit oris' is repeated below v. 715. Before Heins. 'quis te' was read for 'quisnam.'

339.] 'Quid puer Ascanius?' see on G. 3. 258. 'Superat' as in E. 9. 27. 'Vescitur aura' 1. 546. Here some MSS. give 'auras,' which is supported by a reading in fragm. Vat., and approved by Jahn; but the construction is not found elsewhere in Virg.

340.] [Suetonius, Vita Vergilii 41, says "omnia fere apud eum (Vergilium) hemistichia absoluto perfectoque sunt sensu praeter illud 'quem tibi iam Troia.'" Serv. on A. 1. 636 "sane quidam hunc versum intellegi non putant posse, ut est ille 'quem tibi iam Troia.'"—H. N.] The copyists of the inferior MSS. have attempted to supply the deficiency in different ways—"peperit fumante Creusa," "obsessa est enixa Creusa," "natum fumante reliqui." Later critics, as Heyne, Gossrau, and Ladewig, have fancied that the passage has been interpolated. Wagn. and Forb. complain that, as the text stands, Andromache makes no mention of Creusa, whom she could not know to be lost, and accordingly adopt, as does Ribbeck, 'quae' for 'quem' from the 'Menagianus alter,' separating 'et vescitur aura' from 'superatne.' (Ribbeck cites Med. for 'quae:' but a friend who consulted the MS. for me assures me that it distinctly reads 'quem.') They account for 'amissae' v. 341 by supposing that Aeneas gives some sign which shows that his wife is no more —an expedient which would scarcely be natural in an ancient drama, but is ridiculous in an epic. (Ribbeck supposes a lacuna.) The words of the next line clearly show that Andromache—how, we know not, but they imagine for ourselves —was aware of Creusa's fate. They are not such as would occur to her on the moment of hearing a piece of news like this: they are precisely what might be spoken under other circumstances by a mother possessed with the image of her own lost boy, and wondering whether the separation had really entailed a breach in their love of each other. On the whole, there seems no good reason to doubt that we have the passage as Virg. left it. If we cannot complete the hemistich satisfactorily, we may console ourselves with thinking that he could not either.

341.] 'Tamen' refers to 'amissae:' still, in spite of her death. 'Ecquae iam' was the old reading before Heins. 'Quae' (or 'qua') 'tamen et' is also found.

342.] ['Ecquit' Med.—H. N.]

Et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitat Hector?
Talia fundebat lacrimans longosque ciebat
Incassum fletus, cum sese a moenibus heros
Priamides multis Helenus comitantibus adfert,
Adgnoscitque suos, laetusque ad limina ducit,
Et multum lacrimas verba inter singula fundit.
Procedo, et parvam Troiam simulataque magnis
Pergama et arentem Xanthi cognomine rivum
Adgnosco, Scaeaeque amplector limina portae.
Nec non et Teucri socia simul urbe fruuntur.
Illos porticibus rex accipiebat in amplis;
Aulai medio libabant pocula Bacchi,

343.] Repeated 12. 440. 'Avunculus,' because Creusa, according to one account, was Priam's daughter. Serv. mentions a criticism of his day, "quidam 'avunculus' humiliter in heroico carmine dictum accipiunt." ['Avonculus' Pal. —H. N.]

344—355.] 'As she was speaking, Helenus appears. He welcomes me to his city, built after the model of old Troy, and entertains my companions.'

346.] Pal. and others give 'Helenus multis' for 'multis Helenus:' but Wagn. rightly observes that the present line does not stand on the same footing as v. 295 above, 'Priamides' being here joined with 'heros.'

347.] Before Heins. 'moenia' was read for 'limina.'

348.] Pal. and others have 'lacrimans,' a reading as old as Serv., which, as Pierius says, might be explained "interfundit verba singula multum lacrimans:" but the received reading is clearly right, though the adverbial accusative 'multum' is unusual where another accusative is expressed. Serv. observes judiciously, "Bene verba Heleno post Andromacham non dedit, ne frigeret." This reticence indeed is one of Virg.'s most noble characteristics, though it must be admitted that, in his anxiety not to weary the reader, he sometimes fails to inform him sufficiently.

349.] 'Simulata magnis,' as Cic. Att. 9. 8 talks of "Minervam simulatam Mentori." [Ti. Donatus remarks, "Idcirco posuit parvam Troiam, simulataque magnis Pergam, et arentem Xanthi cognomine rivum, . . . ut ostenderet fuisse quidem multa, quae similitudinem et vocabula locorum veterum afferrent, non tamen ostenderent magnitudinem."—H. N.]

350.] Germanus attempts to show that the features of this river are intended not to be contrasted but to be paralleled with those of the real Xanthus, which was itself comparatively a small stream, as Horace Epod. 13. 13 talks of "frigida parvi Scamandri flumina." But this is obviously contrary to Virg.'s meaning, which is evidently to contrast Hom.'s ποταμὸς δινήεις with its miniature, which "derives its course From thrifty urns and an unfruitful source."

351.] Aeneas embraces the gate in token of recognition, as the women in 2. 490 embrace the doors in token of farewell. ['Agnosco' Med.—H. N.]

352.] 'Socia urbe fruuntur,' enjoy the hospitality of the place.

353.] 'Accipere' of entertaining guests, as in Ter. Eun. 5. 8. 52, "Accipit hominem nemo melius." The "porticus" seems to have surrounded the "aula," which appears to be used by Virg. in the case of a palace as equivalent to "atrium." See Lersch, § 72. "Atria" and "porticus" are connected 2. 528., 12. 474 foll. The banquet probably extended to both, as all Aeneas' companions appear to have been entertained. Symmons finds a difficulty here: but the circumstance doubtless did not count for much with Virg., who is apt to exaggerate in such matters (comp. 1. 634, 635 &c.), and merely wished to convey a notion of Helenus' hospitality.

354.] 'Aulai' is one of the archaisms which Virg. admits into the Aeneid: see on 1. 254. 'In medio,' the reading of some MSS., is supported by a citation in Velius Longus p. 57 Keil, but the preposition is omitted by Med., Pal., and Terentius Scaurus p. 16 Keil.

Impositis auro dapibus, paterasque tenebant.
Iamque dies alterque dies processit, et aurae
Vela vocant tumidoque inflatur carbasus austro:
His vatem adgredior dictis ac talia quaeso:
Troiugena, interpres divum, qui numina Phoebi,
Qui tripodas, Clarii laurus, qui sidera sentis
Et volucrum linguas et praepetis omina pinnae,
Fare age—namque omnem cursum mihi prospera dixit

355.] 'Paterasque tenebant' is censured by Heyne as weak: but the two lines are evidently meant to give a picture, where the Trojans are seen cups in hand.

356—373.] 'Wishing to sail, I consult Helenus about my voyage, telling him that every divine intimation, save that of Celaeno, has been in favour of the journey to Italy, and asking him what I have to be on my guard against.'

356.] 'Dies alterque dies' would strictly denote that two days had passed; but we need not limit the poet so exactly. So "unus et alter." 'Aurae vela vocant:' the wind is favourable, while the ships are lingering. In 4. 417, as Gossrau remarks, we have the opposite image, "vocat iam carbasus auras," where the ships are ready.

358.] For the connexion between this and the previous lines see on 2. 134. 'Adgredior dictis' 4. 476.

359.] 'Troiugena,' like "Graiugena," is a Lucretian word (Lucr. 1. 465). Comp. also the prophecy of Marcius, Livy 25. 12, "Amnem Troiugena Cannam Romane fuge; ne te alienigenae cogant in campo Diomedis conserere manus," and Catull. 64. 355. Here, as Ti. Donatus says, "plurimum dat ei generi, ex quo fuit etiam ipse qui laudabat." ['Numina,' the manifestations of his will.—H. N.]

360.] 'Sentis,' as we should say, 'whose senses are alive to.' These supernatural facts were as open to Helenus as the common facts of sense to ordinary men. The enumeration 'tripodas, Clarii laurus' may remind us of v. 91 above, as the passage generally resembles 10. 174 foll. Here, as there, astrology is made part of divination—a notion much later than the Homeric times. Apollo is called "Clarius" from his temple at Claros near Colophon, where oracles were given as late as the time of Germanicus, who is said to have received there an ambiguous presage of the fate awaiting him (Tac. A. 2. 54). 'Clari,' the reading of Pal., Med. a m. pr., &c., would be unmetrical. 'Laurus' Med. a m. pr., Pal., 'lauros' Med. a m. s., &c. See on E. 6. 83.

361.] 'Volucrum linguas' and 'praepetis omina pinnae' refer to the two modes of divination, from the note and from the flight of birds. ['Praepes' in the technical language of augury was variously explained by the ancient scholars. Nigidius Figulus (ap. Gell. 7. 6. 10) distinguished "praepetes" from "inferae aves" as birds flying high from those that fly low: Hyginus (ap. Gell. 7. 6. 3) explained 'praepes' as = "quae opportune praevolat:" Verrius Flaccus (Fest. p. 205, Müller) mentioned a theory that "praepetes aves" were those which "secundum auspicium faciunt praetervolantes." All these explanations are quoted in the note of Servius here. 'Praepetes aves' were distinguished from "oscines" as giving omens by their flight, not by their voice ('volucrum linguas'): they are distinguished from "inebrae" as being of good omen (Serv. here and on v. 246 above). No doubt the word is derived from "prae" and "peto" in the sense of flying or going, and means either flying in front or flying past. Ennius (A. 94) uses the word of one of the birds which gave the augury to Romulus: twice (A. 97, 478) he applies it to places, apparently in the sense of happy, of good omen. It is noteworthy that in all these passages he combines it with "pulcher." Cicero in his Marius (ap. De Div. 1. § 106) said "praepetibus pinnis:" so Virg. here and in 6. 15 applies it to 'pinna.' In the passage before us it probably means 'of good omen:' in 6. 15 simply swift, and so Pliny 7. Prooem. 1. 4, Seneca Phaedra 1070. The poets use it in the sense of winged. Med. writes 'praepitis.' —H. N.]

362.] "Hypallage: nam non omnem cursum prospera dixit religio, sed omnis religio dixit prosperum cursum." Serv. There is another reading 'omnis,' found in Pal. and Gud. a m. pr., and adopted

Religio, et cuncti suaserunt numine divi
Italiam petere et terras temptare repostas;
Sola novum dictuque nefas Harpyia Celaeno
Prodigium canit, et tristis denuntiat iras,
Obscenamque famem—quae prima pericula vito?
Quidve sequens tantos possim superare labores?
Hic Helenus caesis primum de more iuvencis
Exorat pacem divom, vittasque resolvit
Sacrati capitis, meque ad tua limina, Phoebe,
Ipse manu multo suspensum numine ducit,

by Ribbeck; but Virg. probably chose to vary the expression in the two clauses, saying in the first that there were favourable prognostics of the whole of Aeneas' voyage, in the second that the divine voices were unanimous in favour of his journeying to Italy.

363.] 'Religio' is used of a divine presence or utterance Phaedrus 4. 11. 4, "Repente vocem sancta misit religio." [Nonius p. 126; "'inconsulti,' quibus religio nihil diceret."—H. N.] 'Numen' of the expression of the divine will 2. 123 note.

364.] 'Repostas' i. q. 'remotas:' "penitusque repostas Massylum gentis" 6. 59.

365.] 'Nefas' must be understood as = "nefandum," 'dictuque nefas' being coupled with 'novum' as an epithet of 'prodigium,' though no instance is quoted of this adjectival use. Wagn.'s proposal to make 'dictuque nefas' parenthetical fails on account of the 'que,' to which such passages as v. 615 below furnish no parallel; indeed, its author seems to abandon it in his smaller edition. ['Novom' Pal. originally.—H. N.]

366.] 'Prodigium,' like 'monstrum' (from which the grammarians attempted to distinguish it: see Serv.), seems to be used of anything contrary to ordinary experience, and consequently attributable to supernatural interposition. So here it is applied to an event which seemed as if it could not happen under ordinary conditions.

367.] 'Obscenus, is used of a bird delighting in revolting food Pliny 10. 86. For the present indicative 'vito' see on v. 88. 'Vito' in fact is explained by 'prima.' He puts the question directly instead of making it depend on 'fare age,' perhaps on account of the length of the intervening parenthesis.

368.] 'Tantos:' "quantos Harpyia praedixerat," Serv. It seems better to take it 'those many hardships which such a voyage must involve.' From the encouragement of the gods he inferred that the difficulties could be surmounted in some way or other. 'Possim' might be explained as a return to the indirect question (comp. Pers. 3. 67 foll.): but it seems better to regard it as depending on 'sequens,' which may be resolved into 'si sequar.'

369.] I have removed the commas which are generally placed after 'Helenus' and 'iuvencis,' as "deinde" v. 373 shows that 'primum' is not confined to 'caesis iuvencis,' but belongs to the whole sentence down to the end of v. 372. 'Hic' of time 1. 728, 'de more' v. 65. Victims are sacrificed before consulting the oracle, as in 6. 38.

370.] 'Pacem' above v. 261. 'Vittasque resolvit;' this action of Helenus is apparently to be paralleled by such passages as Tibull. 2. 5. 66, Ov. F. 1. 503, the unbinding of the hair being in keeping with the abnormal physical condition of those who are about to be made subjects of the divine afflatus. Thus we may comp. the Sibyl 6. 48, and even the frantic action of Cassandra Aesch. Ag. 1264 foll. Helenus however seems to have performed the action gravely and deliberately. Serv. has a mystical interpretation to the effect that unbinding the head is supposed to free the mind, and so make it susceptible of divine communications. ['Divum' Med.- H. N.]

371.] The sacrifice seems to have been made elsewhere, not in the temple itself, unless we take 'limina' of the adytum, or suppose a ὕστερον πρότερον.

372.] 'Ipse manu' G. 4. 329 &c. [Lucr 2. 869 "ipsa manu ducunt." Med. originally had 'dicit:' a common confusion.—

Atque haec deinde canit divino ex ore sacerdos:
Nate dea,—nam te maioribus ire per altum
Auspiciis manifesta fides: sic fata deum rex
Sortitur, volvitque vices; is vertitur ordo—
Pauca tibi e multis, quo tutior hospita lustres
Aequora et Ausonio possis considere portu,
Expediam dictis; prohibent nam cetera Parcae
Scire Helenum farique vetat Saturnia Iuno.

H. N.] 'Multo numine' is the presence of the god, which fills the temple and takes possession of the mind of the worshipper. Comp. 9. 335, "multoque iacebat Membra deo victus." 'Suspensum,' αἰωρηθέντα, bewildered [or rather, as Henry puts it, in doubt between hope and fear.—H. N.] Serv. mentions another reading 'suspensus.'

373.] Helenus is priest as well as prophet. 'Divino:' "quia divina canit," Ti. Donatus. See Forc.

374—462.] 'He told me that my home in Italy was not so near as I thought, the neighbouring coast being occupied by Grecian settlements. I was to sail round by Sicily, and the sign of my home was to be the appearance of a white sow with thirty young ones on a river's bank. In sailing by Sicily I was to avoid the passage by Scylla and Charybdis, for fear of destruction, and go round by Pachynus. Special care was to be taken to propitiate Juno. Arrived in Italy, I was to go to Cumae and consult the Sibyl, who would tell me all about my future conflicts with the Italian nations in establishing my kingdom.'

374.] 'Nam te' &c. This clause, the meaning of which has been a good deal disputed, seems to correspond to vv. 362 foll. Helenus acknowledges what Aeneas says, assuring him that he is undoubtedly undertaking this voyage with the highest supernatural sanction. With 'maioribus' so explained we may comp. 12. 429, "Maior agit deus, atque opera ad maiora reservat." 'Nam' then has a reference, though not a very distinct one, to what follows in v. 377, "pauca tibi expediam." 'I will explain some of the difficulties in your voyage, which you are quite right in supposing to be undertaken under prosperous auspices.' 'Ire per altum' 4. 310. 'Manifesta fides' 2. 309. 'Sic

375.] 'Manifesta fides' gives a reason for the preceding clause, the emphatic words being 'sic'—ordo,' and 'is.' 'Such is the ordinance of Jove; such the course of fate.'

376.] Jupiter is supposed to draw the decrees of fate like lots out of the urn, being apparently the regulator, if not the actual author of destiny. So 4. 614 we hear of "fata Iovis." In 'volvitque vices' the notion seems to be that of ordaining the succession of events, being further explained by "is vertitur ordo." We have already had the word used in connection with fate 1. 22, 262 (notes): but in the latter passage, and perhaps in the former too, the precise reference seems to be different.

377.] Henry seems right in giving 'hospita' here and v. 539 a medium sense, like that of ξένος, between 'stranger' and 'host.' To press the latter aspect of the word would be inconsistent with 'tutior,' as if the seas were absolutely friendly, Helenus' directions would scarcely be needed: to merge it entirely in the former would make the epithet loss poetical. Comp. G. 3. 362, "Unda . . . Puppibus illa prius, patulis nunc hospita plaustris," and the application of εὔξενος, ἄξενος, ἀπόξενος, to seas.

378.] 'Considere,' as Henry remarks, signifies to settle finally and completely.

379.] 'Expediam dictis' 6. 759.

380.] Serv., followed by Heyne and others, separates 'scire' from 'Helenum,' understanding the words to mean 'th[e] Fates forbid you to know the rest, an[d] Juno will not let Helenus reveal it,' being supposed that an admission Helenus' ignorance would be derogat[ory] to his prophetic dignity. Forb. form[erly] made 'Helenum' the subject of 'sc[ire]' 'Parcas' of 'fari,'—'the Fates will n[ot] me know, and Juno will not let the[m] reveal it to me.' But it is simpler wi[th] Donatus to make 'Helenum' the sub[ject of] both infinitives, Helenus saying in that the future is partly unkn[own to] him, partly incommunicable b[y him.] With 'prohibent cetera Parca[e]' we may comp. Aesch. Ag. 1025,

Principio Italiam, quam tu iam rere propinquam
Vicinosque, ignare, paras invadere portus,
Longa procul longis via dividit invia terris.
Ante et Trinacria lentandus remus in unda,
Et salis Ausonii lustrandum navibus aequor
Infernique lacus Aeaeaeque insula Circae,

τεταγμένα μοῖρα μοῖραν ἐκ θεῶν εἶργε μὴ πλέον φέρειν. Whether the restraining power exercised by Juno is owing simply to her enmity to Troy is not clear. Helenus' respect for her appears afterwards vv. 437 foll. In Sil. 1. 137, "Venientia fata Scire ultra vetuit Juno," comp. by Wagn., there is a propriety in her intervention, as it is a Carthaginian priest who is speaking of the future. What the 'cetera' specifically are we need not inquire, though the context seems to point rather to the events of the voyage (Serv., Heyne) than to the future greatness of the Trojan empire in Italy. [Ti. Donatus on v. 458 refers it to the fortunes of Aeneas in Italy.—H. N.] There is a general resemblance to Apoll. R. 2. 311, *κλῦτέ νυν· οὐ μὲν πάντα πέλει θέμις ὔμμι δαῆναι Ἀτρεκές· ὅσσα δ' ὄρωρε θεοῖς φίλον, οὐκ ἐπικεύσω.*

381.] 'Rere' occurs Hor. 1 S. 9. 49.

382.] 'Ignare' where we should have expected 'ignarus:' see on 2. 283. For the connexion between this clause and the preceding see on G. 2. 208.

383.] 'Longis terris' seems best taken with Forb. as the abl. after 'dividit.' 'A far journey separates Italy from our far country,' the "terrae" spoken of being Epirus, where they now were, and 'longis' being introduced to give a rhetorical balance, like "absens absentem auditque videtque" 4. 83, in spite of the logical confusion created by its insertion. Other interpretations are 'dividit longis terris,' divides by a long stretch of country, referring to the length of Italy that has to be sailed along before the Trojans reach the proper spot for landing (Heyne), and 'via longis terris,' a way by long tracts of country, like "cursus brevissimus undis" v. 507 below (Wund.), an expression which would be applicable to a land-journey, not to a voyage. 'Via invia' is another jingle, an imitation of such Greek combinations as *βίος ἄβιος*, &c., 'a way, yet no way.' Helenus' meaning is that though Italy looks near, the way which Aeneas must go to reach the part assigned him by the fates is long and beset with dangers.

384.] Henry seems to be refining too much when he understands 'lentare' of suppling rather than of bending the oar, and accordingly refuses to admit the parallel of Catull. 64. 183, "lentos incurvans gurgite remos." It is true doubtless that 'lentare' = 'lentum facere,' but there is nothing to show that it may not be applied to the simple drawing of an oar against the water or to the simple bending of a bow (which surely must be its sense in Stat. Theb. 1. 703, "Tela tibi longeque feros lentandus in hostis Arcus"). The imitation of Sen. Ag. 435, "Properat iuventus omnis adductos simul Lentare remos," seems to show that he understood it in that sense. Comp. also 7. 28, "in lento luctantur marmore tonsae," where the meaning is the water pulls against the oars as well as the oars against the water. At the same time there is nothing to prevent our supposing that Virg. choose the word here to indicate that the voyage was to be a long one, the oars growing more tough and flexible by exercise. [Servius says, "quidam 'lentandus' nove fictum verbum putant; sed in annalibus legitur 'confricati, oleo lentati, paratique ad arma.'"—H. N.]

385.] 'Salis Ausonii' like "sale Tyrrheno" 6. 697. "'Sal Ausonium,' mare Tyrrhenum, vel accuratius ea pars maris inferi quae est inter Tyrrhenum et Ionium circa fretum Siculum. Cf. Plin. 3. 95, et 14. 69." Forb.

386.] 'Infernique lacus:' see v. 442 below. They pass by Circe's island after leaving Cumae and Caieta, 7. 10 foll. 'Circes' was the old reading: but 'Circae,' which Heins. restored from the older MSS., is in keeping with Virg.'s practice elsewhere of preferring the Roman to the Greek form of the genitive. Hom. call Circe's island *Αἰαίην νῆσον*, Od. 10. 135, Circe being so called from her connexion with Aea in Colchis. ["'Insula Circae,' quae nunc Circeius mons a Circe dicitur, aliquando, ut Varro dicit, insula fuit, nondum siccatis paludibus quae eam

Quam tuta possis urbem componere terra.
Signa tibi dicam; tu condita mente teneto:
Cum tibi sollicito secreti ad fluminis undam
Litoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus sus
Triginta capitum fetus enixa iacebit,
Alba, solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati,
Is locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum.
Nec tu mensarum morsus horresce futuros:
Fata viam invenient aderitque vocatus Apollo.
Has autem terras, Italique hanc litoris oram,
Proxima quae nostri perfunditur aequoris aestu,
Effuge; cuncta malis habitantur moenia Grais.
Hic et Narycii posuerunt moenia Locri,
Et Sallentinos obsedit milite campos

dividebant a continenti." Servius. Pal. originally had 'insola.'—H. N.]

387.] Burm. rightly makes 'componere' include both the sense of building ("ponere") and that of settling, as if Virg. had said "ponere quietam urbem." Heyne says that this supposed twofold reference "sermonis humani rationi adversatur:" but others will probably pronounce it "sermonis Vergiliani rationi maxime consentaneum." Comp. note on 1. 249, and for other instances of this characteristic of Virgil's style, notes on 1. 381, G. 3. 364. ['Conponere' Pal.—H. N.] 'Tuta:' "propter Thraciae et Cretae discrimina." Serv. Dangers from hostile neighbours are more likely to have been in Helenus' mind, as vv. 395 foll. show.

388.] 'Signa' is explained by the context to mean the token that the Trojans had come to their destined home. Comp. 1. 442.

389.] Nothing is said in the passage at the beginning of A. 8, where this prophecy is repeated and verified, to illustrate 'secreti' here, except it be "per silvam" v. 82: but it is not unnatural that the scene should be laid in a retired spot.

390.] This and the three following lines occur 8. 43 foll., with a verbal change. 'Litoreis' of the bank of a river, as in 8. 83, "viridi in litore," where the fulfilment is described. ["De hac autem sue alii dicunt, secundum Vergilium, quod in Italia inventa sit, alii quod secum eam more navigantium Troiani portaverint, et oraculo cognoverint ibi esse condendam civitatem ubi sus illa post fugam fuisset inventa." Servius.—H. N.]

391.] 'Capita' is used of animals numerically, as we use 'head,' "bina boum capita" 5. 61. See also instances from Columella quoted by Forc. 'Capitum' then is a descriptive gen. after 'fetus.'

393.] See on 8. 46, and also Introduction to this Book. ['Hic' for 'is' Nonius p. 341.—H. N.]

394.] 'Nec' with imperative G. 2. 96.

395.] 'Fata viam invenient' 10. 113. The expression is imitated by later poets, Lucan 1. 33, Stat. Silv. 1. 145. 'Adesse' of gods 1. 734. 'Vocatus Apollo' G. 4. 7.

396.] 'Has,' as if he were pointing to the east coast of Italy in the direction from Epirus, as Forb. observes. 'Litoris oram' G. 2. 44.

397.] 'Nostri aequoris,' the Ionian and Adriatic. 'Perfundere' of the sea, as we talk of washing. Forc. quotes Pliny 4. 72., 5. 109, where it is used of rivers surrounding a country, being distinguished in the latter passage from "adluere."

398.] For the distributive use of 'cuncta' see on 1. 518. The plural 'moenia' generally answers to "urbis:" here it = "urbes." ['Graiis' Pal.—H. N.]

399.] 'Narycii' G. 2. 438 note. Virg. follows a story which represented some of the companions of the younger Ajax as driven on shore on the coast of Bruttii by the storm which attacked the Grecian fleet on its return, and settling there. Others were driven still farther, to Africa, as Virg. tells us himself, 11. 265.

400.] See on v. 122. "Sallentinos" is the orthography of Med., Pal., &c.,

Lyctius Idomeneus; hic illa ducis Meliboei
Parva Philoctetae subnixa Petelia muro.
Quin, ubi transmissae steterint trans aequora classes
Et positis aris iam vota in litore solves,
Purpureo velare comas adopertus amictu,
Ne qua inter sanctos ignis in honore deorum
Hostilis facies occurrat et omina turbet.

preferred by Heins. and the later editors to 'Salentinos.' One MS. has 'Salantinos,' which is supported by a coin.

401.] 'Lyctius' E. 5. 72. 'Ducis Meliboei:' Meliboea in Thessaly has been part of the dominions of Philoctetes (Il. 2. 717), who, like Idomeneus, was forced to leave his kingdom and settle in Italy.

402.] 'Subnixa muro,' supported by its wall, like "solio subnixa" 1. 506. Henry thinks a compliment is intended to the strength of the little Bruttian town, which made a gallant resistance in the second Punic War, Livy 23, 30. 'Philoctetae' with 'Petelia.' ['Petelia,' not 'Petilia,' is the right spelling of this name, according to the testimony of inscriptions and coins; see Mommsen in the tenth volume of the Corpus Inscriptionum, pp. 15 foll. Manuscripts, however, as for instance Pal. here, sometimes write 'Petilia.' The word may perhaps, as was suggested by Turnebus, be connected with "petilus," an adjective glossed by Festus p. 205 (Müller) as = "siccus, substrictus," and by Nonius p. 149 as = "tenuis, exilis." Instances are given by Nonius from Plautus and Lucilius. See on 1. 298.—H. N.]

403.] Wagn. would take 'steterint' here, like "steterant" above v. 110, as a perf. subj. from "sisto," such a form being vouched for by Charisius and Diomedes, so that 'steterint' here will = "stabunt." We may accept his remark as to the use of the word in these two passages without committing ourselves to his grammatical position, as Gell. 2. 14 speaks of "stiti" as the only perfect of "sisto." The utmost that could be said would be, that as "stiti" seems to be confined to the transitive sense of "sisto," and even then only to be used in legal formularies, the perfect of "sto" is sometimes employed with a certain latitude, so as to include the meaning of "sisto" intransitive. For the union of "steterint" and "solves," as for that of "admoverit" and "rarescent," vv. 410, 411, see on G. 4. 282. Gossrau apparently connects "trans aequora" with "transmissae," not with "steterint;" but the order seems against this. Helenus' direction refers to their landing on the nearest coast of Italy for the purpose of sacrificing, as is evident from vv. 543 foll., where they fulfil his injunction, so that perhaps we may say that this and the next verse contain an indirect precept, Helenus assuming that they will do what otherwise they would not have thought of doing.

404.] 'Ponere aras' 4. 200.

405.] 'Velare' imperative passive: see on 2. 707, and comp. v. 545 below. To explain 'velare' as infinitive for imperative is to introduce a construction unexampled in Latin, except in one very doubtful passage, Val. Fl. 3. 412, "Tu socios adhibere sacris." See Wagn. Lect. Verg. p. 337. The covering of the head during sacrifice was a distinctively Roman custom, the Greeks sacrificing with the head uncovered. There is a representation of Aeneas sacrificing with his head covered in the Royal Gallery at Florence: see Lersch, p. 176. Lucr. has not omitted the trait in his well-known lines on the inutility of sacrifice (5. 1196 foll.), "Nec pietas ullast velatum saepe videri Vertier ad lapidem."

406.] 'In honore deorum' G. 3. 486. 'Inter sanctos ignis' expresses the same thing more picturesquely.

407.] The reason given for the precept seems to be that the appearance of an enemy, if seen by the worshipper, would be an evil omen. It is not said that such an appearance would be an evil omen in itself; nor is anything intimated about the danger to the sacrificer; though perhaps the meaning may be that he would become confused or break off the sacrifice. The prohibition "Absint profani" is supposed to be connected with the same observance. If we may trust Serv., Virg. is not only accounting for a Roman custom, but glancing at a Trojan legend, to the effect that Diomed, being ordered

Hunc socii morem sacrorum, hunc ipse teneto:
Hac casti maneant in religione nepotes.
Ast ubi digressum Siculae te admoverit orae
Ventus et angusti rarescent claustra Pelori,
Laeva tibi tellus et longo laeva petantur
Aequora circuitu; dextrum fuge litus et undas.
Haec loca vi quondam et vasta convolsa ruina—
Tantum aevi longinqua valet mutare vetustas—
Dissiluisse ferunt, cum protinus utraque tellus
Una foret; venit medio vi pontus et undis
Hesperium Siculo latus abscidit, arvaque et urbes
Litore diductas angusto interluit aestu.
Dextrum Scylla latus, laevum inplacata Charybdis

by an oracle to restore the Palladium, came upon Aeneas while sacrificing, that Aeneas did not interrupt his worship, and that the restoration was consequently made not to him, but to Nautes. 'Hostilis facies' like "virgineae facies" 9. 120. 'Omina turbet;' the omens would have been taken before the sacrifice, and anything occurring during the sacrifice might spoil them. As usual, many MSS. give 'omnia.'

408.] "Morem ritusque sacrorum Adiciam" 12. 836. [Lucr. 2. 610 "antiquo more sacrorum."—H. N.]

409.] 'Casti' = 'pii,' as in 6. 563 &c. 'Manere in religione,' like "manere in sententia," "in amicitia" &c.: see Forc.

410.] 'Digressum,' leaving Italy and re-embarking.

411.] 'Rarescent' is rightly explained by Serv. of the gradual opening of a passage which at a distance would appear closed. It is used similarly of the thinning of the ranks of an army, of the population of a city, &c.: see Forc. ["'Claustra:' not the straits or actual passage, but (literally) the closers, shutters, or barriers, i. e. the approximating headlands." Henry.—H. N.]

412.] 'Laeva tellus,' the left or southern side of Sicily, round which Aeneas was to sail 'longo circuitu,' so as to avoid the passage between Scylla and Charybdis.

414.] 'Haec loca' refers to 'dextrum litus et undas.' The opinion that Sicily and Italy had originally been one country is frequently found in the Latin writers. Comp. Ov. M. 15. 290, Val. Fl. 1. 589, Claudian, Rape of Proserpine 1. 140. ['Convulsa' Med.—H. N.]

415.] The expression would seem to suit a gradual rather than a violent change; but Virg. doubtless means no more than that a long period of years gives time for accidental convulsions.

416.] 'Protinus' of continuity in space, E. 1. 13.

417.] 'Medio' seems better taken as a local abl. than with Serv. and others as a dative (= "in medium"). 'Medius,' which we should rather have expected (comp. 1. 348), was perhaps avoided as less euphonious. [Seneca N. Q. 6. 30. 1. quotes the line with 'ingenti' for 'medio.'—H. N.]

418.] "Sicanium latus" occurs 8. 416 for "Sicaniae latus." Here there may be some force in the substitution of the adj. for the gen., as indicating that both sides originally belonged to the same undivided continent.

419.] Heyne's explanation of 'litore diductas' as equivalent to "mari deductas," "ubi enim litus, ibi mare," seems rather harsh. Perhaps it would be better to interpret the words, 'separated in respect of coast,' the ground on which they stood being no longer continuous, but disconnected. 'Diductas' is the reading of Pal., Gud., &c., 'deductas' of Med. and most others. See on G. 2. 354. [Seneca N. Q. l. c. quotes the line with "aequore diductas" for 'litore.' This reading is very tempting, as it is difficult to see how a satisfactory sense can be extracted from 'litore.' Conington's explanation would surely require 'litoribus diductas.' Thus Silius 1. 198, which Henry quotes in support of Conington, says "diducta *propinquis* Europes videt arva *iugis*."—H. N.]

420.] In the following lines Virg. has

Obsidet, atque imo barathri ter gurgite vastos
Sorbet in abruptum fluctus, rursusque sub auras
Erigit alternos et sidera verberat unda.
At Scyllam caecis cohibet spelunca latebris,
Ora exertantem et navis in saxa trahentem.
Prima hominis facies et pulchro pectore virgo
Pube tenus, postrema immani corpore pistrix,
Delphinum caudas utero commissa luporum.
Praestat Trinacrii metas lustrare Pachyni

had his eye on the much longer description of Scylla and Charybdis Od. 12. 73 foll. The Scylla and the Odyssey however is a six-headed and twelve-footed monster; the Scylla of Virg. is modelled on the later legend, already glanced at E. 6. 75 foll., which represented her as a maiden whose lower parts had been transformed by magic. "'Dextrum:' de Ionio venientibus. Scylla enim in Italia est, Charybdis in Sicilia." Serv. 'Inplacata,' insatiate, as Hor. 2. S. 8. 5 talks of "iratum ventrem placare." The word is said to occur only here and in Ov. M. 8. 846. ['Laevom' Pal.—H. N.]

421.] 'Ter,' three times a day, as appears from Od. 12. 105.

422.] 'Sorbet in abruptum,' swallows down her gulf: Hom's. ἀναῤῥοιβδεῖ. The Homeric Charybdis, who is not represented in any visible form, dwells under a rock. 'Sub auras,' upwards to the air, as in v. 576, &c.

423.] Hom.'s description is less hyperbolical, ὑψόσε δ' ἄχνη Ἄκροισι σκοπέλοισιν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἔπιπτεν, Od. 12. 238.

424.] Μέσση μέν τε κατὰ σπείους κοίλοιο δέδυκεν, Ἔξω δ' ἐξίσχει κεφαλὰς δεινοῖο βερέθρου, Od. 12. 93, 94.

425.] In Hom. Charybdis swallows the ships, Scylla contents herself by seizing six men, one in each of her mouths.

426.] 'Hominis facies,' a poetical variety for "homo facie." 'Prima' and 'postrema' of the top-most and bottom-most parts, as in Lucr. 5. 905. "Prima leo, postrema draco, medio ipsa Chimaera," which was probably in Virg.'s mind.

427.] 'Pube tenus' explains "prima." ['Pistrix' the uncials. Servius says that 'pistrix' is the right form if the fish is meant, while 'pristis' is the name of a ship; as in 5. 116, 156. The distinction has some support in actual usage, though Nonius, p. 411, quotes Aen. 5. 154 with 'pistrix,' and Virg., A. 10. 211, says of a ship "in pristim desinit alvus." Nonius p. 535 "*pristis*, navigii genus, a forma pristium marinarum, quae longi corporis sunt sed angusti. Claudius Rerum Romanarum lib. XII. 'quinque pristes: navigium ea forma a marina belua dictum est.'" 'Pristis' of such a ship is found in Liv. 35. 26. 1, 44. 28. 1: 'pristis' = a whale in Pliny 9. 4, 8: 'pistrix' = a whale in Attius fragm. inc. 40 (Ribbeck), Cic. Aratea 152, Paulus p. 30 (Müller), Arnobius 3. 31, and in several glosses. A form 'pistris' is found in Val Fl. 2. 531, where modern editors retain it, and in Serv. here. Perhaps 'pistris' was the transitional form from the Greek 'pristis' to the Latinized 'pistrix.'—H. N.]

428.] This line is a further description of the "pistrix" part of Scylla which was not entirely fish, but fish and wolf or dog mixed. 'Delphinum' probably means little more than "piscium." Virg. calls the fishy part 'pistrix' and 'delphin' indifferently, aiming in each case at being poetically graphic, not prosaically general, as he speaks of the material of the Trojan horse as fir, maple, and oak indifferently. ['Delphinum caudas,' &c. The sentence, if analyzed grammatically, would run "cuius utero aliquis caudas delphinum commiserat;" the sense, as Serv. says, being "commissas habens utero caudas delphinum." See on G. 4. 337 (fourth edition). 'Utero luporum,' her belly of wolves, i. e., apparently, her womb that gave birth to wolves. "Canes et lupi ob hoc ex ea nati esse finguntur, quia ipsa loca plena sunt monstris marinis," says Serv. on v. 420.—H. N.] 'Commissus' of junction. "Eadem plumbo commissa manebit," Juv. 14. 310. So the substantive "commissura."

429.] In Hom. (vv. 109, 110) the advice given to Ulysses is that he should keep close to Scylla and away from Charybdis.

Cessantem, longos et circumflectere cursus,
Quam semel informem vasto vidisse sub antro
Scyllam et caeruleis canibus resonantia saxa.
Praeterea, si qua est Heleno prudentia, vati
Si qua fides, animum si veris implet Apollo,
Unum illud tibi, nate dea, proque omnibus unum
Praedicam, et repetens iterumque iterumque monebo:
Iunonis magnae primum prece numen adora;
Iunoni cane vota libens dominamque potentem
Supplicibus supera donis: sic denique victor
Trinacria finis Italos mittere relicta.

Virg. however has had the language in view, while varying the sense. 'Metas:' Pachynum being the southern promontory of Sicily, which they were to sail round as they would go round a goal, of which 'longos circumflectere cursus' is actually used 5. 131.

430.] 'Cessantem,' taking a longer way, which would virtually be the same thing as loitering on a shorter one.

431.] οὐδέ κέ τίς μιν γηθήσειεν ἰδών, οὐδ' εἰ θεὸς ἀντιάσειεν, Hom. vv. 87, 88. On 'vidisse' Gossrau remarks that the Roman poets were fond of using the perf. inf. for metrical reasons, if a past notion could be introduced with any shadow of propriety. 'Vasto sub antro;' for the size of Scylla's cave see Hom. vv. 83, 84.

432.] In a note on G. 4. 388 I had suggested that 'caeruleus' as applied to sea-gods, &c., need only mean "marinus:" it appears however that the ancients did actually conceive of the sea-gods as of that colour, as Vell. Pat. 2. 83 tells us of a person who acted Glaucus "caeruleatus et nudus, caputque redimitus harundine, et caudam trahens."

433.] We are probably not intended to discriminate sharply between 'prudentia' and 'fides,' as Serv. wishes, as if the first indicated a human, the second a supernatural attribute. 'Vati si qua fides' is merely 'if the prophet is to be trusted,' or 'if he is to be trusted as a prophet.' At the same time there can be little doubt that those copies are wrong which connect 'vati' with what precedes. One MS. gives 'fati,' which, if better supported, would be plausible, though I should connect it with 'prudentia,' not, as Heins., with 'fides.' The substitution of 'Heleno' and 'vati' for the personal pronoun here as in v. 380 suits a solemn and impressive, as in 4. 308, 610 an impassioned style.

434.] 'Veris,' with truth. "Liceat concedere veris" Hor. 2 S. 3. 305. This use of the neuter pl. as a substantive seems commoner in the nom. and acc. than in the other cases.

435.] ['Illut' Med.—H. N.] 'Proque' is the reading of the best MSS., others having 'praeque,' which Burm. preferred and Heyne retained. Wagn. comp. Cic. Att. 2. 5, "Cato ille noster, qui mihi unus est pro centum milibus." So the phrase "unus instar omnium."

436.] 'Iterumque iterumque' probably with 'monebo.'

437.] 'Iunonis numen adora' 1. 48. 'Primum,' as the first thing to do, G. 2. 475, where as here 'primum' seems an adverb.

438.] 'Canere' of a sacred utterance, as frequently of prophecy. So "carmen" of a religious form. The notion is Roman, as is the spirit of the direction itself, Juno being always the object of peculiar worship at Rome. Comp. 12. 840. 'Libens' is a very common word in paying vows; see passages and inscriptions in Forc. An English reader may be reminded of the Antiquary's "Agricola Dicavit Libens Lubens." Comp. also 8. 275, "date vina volentes;" 10. 577, 'volens vos Turnus adoro.' 'Dominam' of a goddess v. 113.

439.] "Supplicibus supera votis" 8. 61, where this passage is partially repeated. Some MSS. have 'votis' here. 'Victor' as perhaps in 8. l. c. is explained by 'supera.'

440.] 'Metire,' the reading of some copies, is plausible: but 'mittere' is evidently right. 'You will have a good passage from Sicily to Italy.' Pal. has 'misere' corrected into 'miscere,' which

Huc ubi delatus Cumaeam accesseris urbem
Divinosque lacus et Averna sonantia silvis,
Insanam vatem aspicies, quae rupe sub ima
Fata canit foliisque notas et nomina mandat.
Quaecumque in foliis descripsit carmina virgo,
Digerit in numerum atque antro seclusa relinquit.
Illa manent inmota locis neque ab ordine cedunt;
Verum eadem, verso tenuis cum cardine ventus
Impulit et teneras turbavit ianua frondes,
Numquam deinde cavo volitantia prendere saxo,
Nec revocare situs aut iungere carmina curat:
Inconsulti abeunt, sedemque odere Sibyllae.
Hic tibi ne qua morae fuerint dispendia tanti,

last is the first reading of Gud. 'Denique,' as the first voyage was disconcerted by the storm in A. 1.

441.] ['Cumaeam' Pal. and Med. corrected, 'Cymaeam' Med. originally and Serv.—H. N.]

442.] 'Divinos' seems to answer nearly to the modern notion of "haunted," as Prop. 1. 18. 25 uses it of springs, being under the protection of some god or nymph. 'Lacus et Averna' is a hendiadys. 'Sonantia silvis,' sounding with woods, not sounding among the woods, as the lake would be stagnant and not affected by the wind. With the scenery comp. 6. 238.

443.] 'Insanus' of the prophetic afflatus, like 'furens' 2. 345. Comp. the derivation of μάντις and μαίνομαι. The word perhaps would be more appropriate in the mouth of an ordinary person than in that of Helenus, himself a prophet. 'Rupe sub ima,' the "antrum inmane" of 6. 11.

444.] 'Fata canit' 8. 499., 10. 417. 'Notas et nomina' G. 3. 158. Here it seems merely a poetical expression for written characters, "marks and words." 'Foliis mandat' 6. 74. Leaves would be among the earliest materials for writing. ["In foliis palmarum Sibyllam scribere solere testatur" Varro.—H. N.]

445.] 'Carmina' like "Cumaei carminis" E. 4. 4. ['Describsit' Med. Pal. —H. N.]

446.] 'Digerit' of predictions, 2. 182. Here the notion is that of regular succession in order of time. ['Degerit' Med. "'In numerum,' in ordinem." Serv. —H. N.]

447.] This line merely makes a contrast with what follows. There is no intention to dwell on the state of rest; all that is meant is that she leaves the writing so that the first opening of the door disturbs it. 'Locis' probably with 'manent.'

448.] 'Eadem' may refer either to 'Sibylla,' or to "carmina," vv. 445, 451. In either case it has the force of "tamen." Though she has written them out and left them, she takes no further care of them.

449.] 'Impellere' of setting in motion G. 4. 305 &c. The door is said to do what the wind does when the door is opened.

450.] 'Numquam deinde,' never for the time to come. "Gentis Manliae decreto cautum est, ne quis deinde M. Manlius vocaretur," Livy 6. 20.

452.] Helenus is giving the reason why the oracle is in bad repute. ['Inconsulti' probably means 'without advice,' 'consulo' being used in the sense of "moneo," and taking the acc. Comp. Varro R. R. 3. 2. 1. "Opinor, inquam, non solum quod dicitur 'Malum consilium consultori est pessimum,' sed etiam bonum consilium *qui consulit et qui consulitur* bonum habendum." Gloss. Amplon. p. 284. "*Consuluit*, admonuit." Henry and Conington take 'inconsulti' to mean 'helpless.'—H. N.] Comp. "consulta petis" 6. 151 note.

453.] 'Dispendia morae' may either be explained 'dispendia temporis morando,' or 'loss consisting in delay.' 'Tanti' is followed by 'quin,' as elsewhere by "ut." ['Do not think so much of any

Quamvis increpitent socii, et vi cursus in altum
Vela vocet possisque sinus implere secundos,
Quin adeas vatem precibusque oracula poscas
Ipsa canat, vocemque volens atque ora resolvat.
Illa tibi Italiae populos venturaque bella,
Et quo quemque modo fugiasque ferasque laborem,
Expediet, cursusque dabit venerata secundos.
Haec sunt, quae nostra liceat te voce moneri.
Vade age, et ingentem factis fer ad aethera Troiam.
Quae postquam vates sic ore effatus amico est,
Dona dehinc auro gravia sectoque elephanto

loss that delay may involve, as to prevent,' &c.—H. N.]

454.] 'However good the time for sailing.' There is no real difficulty in 'vi cursus in altum vela vocet,' which is merely one of those varieties which Virg. loves, the voyage being said to invite the sails into the deep, as we might say that the assurance of a favourable passage was an inducement to set sail.

455.] ['Vocent' Med. and Pal., both corrected. 'Inplere' Pal.—H. N.] 'Secundus,' elsewhere an epithet of the wind, is here applied to the sail which the wind fills.

456, 457.] A consideration of the structure of the passage, and a comparison of the parallel 6. 76, "Ipsa canas oro," will, I think, show that Wakef., Bothe, and Jahn are right against the majority of editors in removing the stop after 'poscas,' so that the words will run 'precibusque poscas ipsa canat oracula.' On the other side comp. "poscere fata" 6. 45, where however the oracles are demanded not of the Sibyl but of the god. The objection that the manner in which the oracles were to be given has nothing to do with the delay, might be met by saying that the Sibyl might require greater pressure to make her speak than to make her write, the latter being her usual mode of prophesying: but it is more satisfactory to say that Virg., like every other poet, chooses occasionally to include more in a sentence than the exactness of logical simplicity would require. 'Volens' is applied to the Sibyl with the same feeling with which it is used of the gods in such phrases as "volens propitiusque," as Serv. remarks. Compare θέλων. We should say 'graciously.' 'Volens resolvat' will then = "velit resolvere." 'Ora resolvat' G. 4. 452.

459.] This line is substantially repeated 6. 892, where it is Anchises that expounds to Aeneas his future in Italy. Heyne remarks that the Sibyl's exposition 6. 83 foll. hardly comes up to the fulness of Helenus' promise here: but perhaps we might say that by taking Aeneas to Anchises she becomes absolved of part of her duty, if it were not more probable that the discrepancy is to be explained by supposing that this book (see Introduction to it) was composed independently of the others. 'Que' is disjunctive. He would hear all about the means of avoidance and endurance, according as either might be applicable.

460.] 'Dabit' v. 85. 'Venerata,' duly besought, like "venerata Ceres" Hor. 2 S. 2. 124.

461.] 'Liceat:' comp. v. 379 above. The subj. seems to be on the analogy of such expressions as "haec habui quae dicerem." Comp. Martial 10. 47. 1, "Vitam quae faciunt beatiorem . . . haec sunt," though there some MSS. have "faciunt."

462.] 'Ingentem' seems to be proleptic, as Gossrau remarks. 'Factis,' not with 'ingentem,' as Wagn. thinks, but with 'fer ad aethera,' like "famam extendere factis" 10. 468. 'Fatis,' which some MSS. give and Heyne prefers, would be admissible, but not so good.

463—471.] 'Helenus then bestows magnificent presents on me and my father.'

463.] ['Posquam' Ribbeck, from fragm. St. Gall.—H. N.]

464.] 'Dehinc' follows 'postquam,' like "tum" v. 194. For the disyllable comp. G. 3. 167. 'Heavy with gold and carved ivory' seems to mean that the presents were massy, some of gold and some of ivory. For the lengthening of the short syllable, which is very rare in the case of

Imperat ad navis ferri, stipatque carinis
Ingens argentum, Dodonaeosque lebetas,
Loricam consertam hamis auroque trilicem,
Et conum insignis galeae cristasque comantis,
Arma Neoptolemi. Sunt et sua dona parenti.
Addit equos, additque duces;
Remigium supplet; socios simul instruit armis.
Interea classem velis aptare iubebat
Anchises, fieret vento mora ne qua ferenti.

a vowel (see v. 91), Gossrau comp. Tibull. 1. 7. 61, "Te canet agricola, magna cum venerit urbe," where however Weber's insertion of "e" seems plausible. Lachm. on Lucr. 2. 27 conj. 'a sectoque' but not very confidently. [Servius says "'a' finalitatis ratione producitur, sed satis aspere; nam in nullam desinit consonantem, ut 'Omnia vincit Amor, et nos cedamus Amori,' 'At tibi, Thymbre, caput Evandrius abstulit ensis.'"—H. N.] 'Secto elephanto' is Homer's πριστοῦ ἐλέφαντος (Od. 18. 196., 19. 564). Mr. Long thinks it merely refers to pieces of ivory, which was chiefly used by the ancients for inlaying.

465.] 'Stipat carinis argentum' like "vina cadis onerarat" 1. 195. ["'Stipat' denset; unde stipatores dicuntur qui in navibus componunt (?), a stipa." Serv. So Isid. 19. 27. 2, whose note is fuller. 'Carinis,' in the hold, the lower part of the hull.—H. N.]

466.] 'Ingens argentum' 1. 640. 'Dodonaeos lebetas:' the oracle at Dodona, according to Serv., contained brazen vessels which used to sound all at once at a single touch. Wagn. supposes that Virg. took the epithet from some Greek poet who represented Helenus as having settled at Dodona (see on v. 296). ['Dodoneos' the uncials.—H. N.]

467.] "The Roman 'hastati' wore cuirasses of chain-mail, i. e. hauberks or habergeons. . . . Virgil several times mentions hauberks in which the rings, linked or hooked into one another, were of gold. . . . A. 3. 467., 5. 259., 7. 639." Dict. A. 'Lorica.' "The poets apply 'trilix,' which in German has become 'drillich,' to a kind of armour, perhaps chain-mail, no doubt resembling the pattern of cloth which was denoted by the same term." Ib. 'Tela.' Cloth was called "bilix" or "trilix," as is explained in the latter article, according as the number of leashes employed in weaving it was two or three. On a comparison of 7. 639 it seems better to couple 'hamis' with 'consertam,' 'auro' with 'trilicem,' here and in 5. 259, than to connect 'hamis auroque' with 'consertam,' leaving 'trilicem' as an epithet.

468.] For "galeam insignem cono cristisque comantibus."

469.] "'Sua,' congrua meritis, apta aetati," Serv. ['Parentis' Pal.—H. N.]

470.] Of Serv.'s two interpretations of 'duces,' grooms or drivers for the horses, and guides for the voyage, Wagn. seems right in preferring the latter. 'Addit,' as he remarks, would have little force with the former interpretation: 10. 574, which Heyne quotes, only proves that a warrior in a car could be called "dux" in relation to his horses: and Dion. Hal. 1. 32 speaks of guides as having sailed with Aeneas from Epirus.

471.] ['Remigium supplet': Serv. says "bene verbo militiae usus est, ut supplementum diceret; nam multos in Creta perdiderat." Ti. Donatus, "quicquid remigiis deerat, ipse complevit." Wagn. would take 'remigium' in its ordinary sense, but Serv. is probably right, considering the context.—H. N.] 'Socios simul instruit armis' will refer in any case to armour given by Helenus to Aeneas' companions, not to the equipment of the vessels. The present of arms to the Trojans generally as well as to Aeneas is parallel to the entertainments vv. 352 foll.

472—491.] 'He bids farewell to Anchises, and Andromache loads Ascanius with gifts.'

472.] 'Classem velis aptare' like "biremis remigio aptat" 8. 80. Anchises takes the same part as in v. 9 above.

473.] 'Vento ferenti:' see on G. 2. 311. [Pal. originally had 'furenti.'—H. N.] "Facere moram alicui" for delaying a person has already occurred E. 10. 11, 12, so that the expression here is parallel to that in v. 481 below (note).

Quem Phoebi interpres multo compellat honore:
Coniugio, Anchisa, Veneris dignate superbo,
Cura deum, bis Pergameis erepte ruinis,
Ecce tibi Ausoniae tellus; hanc arripe velis.
Et tamen hanc pelago praeterlabare necesse est;
Ausoniae pars illa procul, quam pandit Apollo.
Vade, ait, o felix nati pietate. Quid ultra
Provehor et fando surgentis demoror austros?
Nec minus Andromache, digressu maesta supremo,
Fert picturatas auri subtegmine vestes
Et Phrygiam Ascanio chlamydem, nec cedit honori,

474.] 'Multo compellat honore:' "honor verborum" occurs Tac. H. 4. 4. Agric. 40.

475.] [The MSS. are divided between 'Anchisa' and 'Anchisae' = 'Anchise.' So are those of Quint. 8. 6. 42, who quotes the line. But Serv. here and on 1. 335, Nonius p. 281, Gellius 15. 13. 10 all agree in reading 'Anchisa,' which Serv. defends as a Greek vocative, on the analogy of "Atrida" in Hor. 2. S. 3. 187. He remarks further "nominativum ipsum in *a* mutant et recipiunt Latinam declinationem, ut 'Atrides' 'Atrida,' 'Scythes,' 'Scytha.'" Conington, who seems not to have noticed the reading of Gellius, Nonius, and Serv., printed 'Anchise' adding that in 6. 126, 348 the preponderance of MS. authority is very decidedly for "Anchisiade."—H. N.]

476.] 'Cura deum' is exemplified by what follows. For Anchises' first escape comp. 2. 642. ['Erepta' Pal.—H. N.]

477.] Helenus points to the coast of Italy in the direction of Epirus: in this verse however he is thinking of Italy generally; in the next 'hanc' is used specially of that particular part which lies nearest. "Arripere tellurem" occurs again 10. 298 of gaining the shore. Comp. also 9. 13., 11. 531.

478.] 'Et tamen,' as if he were correcting himself. For the sense see above vv. 396 foll. ['Necessest' Med.—H. N.]

479.] 'Pandit' of oracular declaration, as in v. 252 above.

481.] 'Why do I delay the rising gales?' is a poetical variety for 'why do I delay you from sailing while the wind is favourable?' See on v. 473. For 'demoror' comp. 2. 647 note.

482.] 'Digressus' of departure, v. 492, each going his own way.

483.] 'Ascanio' of course belongs to this as well as to the next clause. 'Subtegmen' properly means the woof, while 'Phrygia chlamys' is an embroidered mantle (Forc. s. v. 'Phrygiones'), so that a doubt has been raised whether the 'vestes' and the 'chlamys' are meant to be distinguished as tapestry and needle-work, or to be classed together as embroidery, 'subtegmen' being used vaguely of thread. Wagn. thinks the latter the more probable view, referring to Sil. 7. 39, "acu subtemen fulvo." ['Subtemine' Med. corrected and Pal. So Servius, and Charis. Exc. p. 554 (Keil), Script. de Id. Generum ap. Gramm. Lat. vol. 4 p. 584 (Keil). 'Subtegmine' Med. originally, fragm. St. Gall., Ti. Donatus: the old Bernese MS. of Horace Epod. 13. 15, and the two best manuscripts of Catullus 64. 327. In Plautus Mercator 518, the MS. D has 'subtegmen': so the best MS. of Valerius Flaccus 6. 227, 8. 234. The MSS. of Vitruv. 10. 1. 5 on the other hand have 'subtemen.'—H. N.] 'Picturatas' i. q. 'pictas.' Lucr. 2. 35 has "textilibus picturis."

484.] The difficulty of the words 'nec cedit honori' is well known. Serv. and Ti. Donatus suppose the meaning to be that Andromache does not yield to the honour of Ascanius, does not give him less than his due; Heyne, that Andromache does not yield to the liberality of her husband. Wagn. thinks that 'chlamys' is the subject of 'cedit,' the mantle does not yield to the beauty of the other embroidered robes. Others have adopted 'honore,' the reading of Pal., Gud. a m. pr., and another MS., which Serv. mentions as approved by Terentius Scaurus. Sil. 12. 412 has "nec cedet honore Ascraeo famave seni," but the general sense is not very parallel. Retaining 'honori,' I would suggest that the words

Textilibusque onerat donis, ac talia fatur:
Accipe et haec, manuum tibi quae monumenta mearum
Sint, puer, et longum Andromachae testentur amorem,
Coniugis Hectoreae. Cape dona extrema tuorum,
O mihi sola mei super Astyanactis imago.
Sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat;
Et nunc aequali tecum pubesceret aevo.
Hos ego digrediens lacrimis adfabar obortis:
Vivite felices, quibus est fortuna peracta

may possibly mean, "nor does she flag in the work of honouring him," give way to honour, as if she were contending with it,—a poetical equivalent to the prosaic "nec cessat honorare," as in Hom. we might have *οὐδὲ κάμεν τlουσα.* I do not remember any precisely parallel expression in Virg. or elsewhere: but the language, so interpreted, seems admissible in itself and suited to the context (comp. 'onerat' immediately following). [Another possibility has occurred to me, that 'honori' may mean 'the dignity' of Helenus. 'She does not yield to her husband, though he is king, though he is "honoratus."' So Livy says (37. 58. 6) "L. Scipio, qui ne cognomini fratris cederet" (= "fratri Africano cognominato") "se Asiaticum vocari voluit": Juv. 1. 110 "sacro nec cedat honori Nuper in hanc urbem pedibus qui venerat albis." In A. 5. 541 ("praelato invidit honori,") 'honor' may perhaps in the same way stand for "vir honoratus."—H. N.]

485.] Henry understands 'onerat,' loads by putting them on his shoulders, comp. Ter. Phorm. 5. 6. 4, "umerum hunc onero pallio:" but it seems simpler to suppose the reference to be merely to the abundance of the presents. "Oneravit limina donis" occurs 10. 620.

486.] 'Et haec' is probably to be explained with reference to the gifts of Helenus to Anchises: though we might understand it as said by Andromache after she had already given part of the presents to Ascanius. The passage is imitated from Od. 15. 125 foll., where Helen gives a robe to Telemachus, with the words *Δῶρόν τοι καὶ ἐγώ, τέκνον φίλε, τοῦτο δίδωμι Μνῆμ' Ἑλένης χειρῶν*, so that Virg. may have used 'accipe et haec' loosely, from a recollection of Homer. With 'manuum . . . amorem' comp. 5. 538, 572, "monumentum et pignus amoris." ['Monimenta' Pal. and Nonius p. 239. —H. N.]

487.] 'Longum' closely connected with 'testentur,' 'may long be a record of affection,' though the word is still to be understood as an epithet of 'amorem.'

488.] 'Hectoreae' 2. 543 note. 'Tuorum,' of us, your kinsfolk.

489.] "'Super' quae superes" (Heyne), a use analogous to the Greek combination of an adverb with the article. The sense is unmistakable, in spite of the objections of Gossrau. "Solus" is joined with "superabat" 5. 519, with "superstes" Ov. M. 1. 351.

490.] So Menelaus of Telemachus' resemblance to Ulysses Od. 4. 149, *Κείνου γὰρ τοιοίδε πόδες, τοιαίδε τε χεῖρες, Ὀφθαλμῶν τε βολαί, κεφαλή τ', ἐφύπερθέ τε χαῖται.* 'Ferre' of ordinary movement, like "magna se mole ferebat" 8. 199.

491.] Heyne comp. Eur. Ion 354, *σοὶ ταὐτὸν ἥβης, εἴπερ ἦν, ελχ' ἂν μέτρον*, which Virg. may have imitated, though his undoubted imitations of passages in Greek tragedy are so few that mere similarity of expression is not in itself a proof of imitation.

492—505.] 'I bade them both farewell, contrasting their permanent condition with my unsettlement, and hoping that our respective posterities might always remain brother Trojans in heart.'

493.] 'Vivite felices' Tibull. 3. 5. 31. Helenus and Andromache are congratulated on having their fortune accomplished, i. e. on having done with chance and change. Here, as in the next line, fortune and fate are looked upon not as the constituents of human life, but as disturbing agencies. Or we may say that Helenus and Andromache are spoken of as having attained while living the happiness which in general is only predicated of the dead, and so comp., with Forb., 4. 653, "Vixi, et quem cursum dederat Fortuna peregi;" Lucan. 4. 361, "turba haec sua fata peregit." 'Est' is used rather than 'sit,' which we might have

Iam sua; nos alia ex aliis in fata vocamur.
Vobis parta quies; nullum maris aequor arandum,
Arva neque Ausoniae semper cedentia retro
Quaerenda. Effigiem Xanthi Troiamque videtis,
Quam vestrae fecere manus, melioribus, opto,
Auspiciis, et quae fuerit minus obvia Grais.
Si quando Thybrim vicinaque Thybridis arva
Intraro gentique meae data moenia cernam,
Cognatas urbes olim populosque propinquos,
Epiro, Hesperia, quibus idem Dardanus auctor
Atque idem casus, unam faciemus utramque

expected, as Virg. chooses to describe their condition rather than expressly assign a reason for their happiness. For 'sua,' "vestra" would have been more strictly correct: but the third person generalizes the proposition—'you are persons who have accomplished their destiny.' Cerda and others punctuate 'Vivite! Felices quibus' &c., an ingenious way of getting rid of the harshness of expression, but less like Virg.'s manner.

495.] 'Parta' 2. 784. 'Maris aequor arandum' 2. 780.

496.] Comp. 5. 629., 6. 61. Here, as Forb. thinks, Aeneas may specially refer to Helenus' intimation that they are not to land on that part of Italy which lies immediately before them.

499.] For 'fuerit' Med., Pal., Gud., and others have 'fuerint,' which might be understood of 'auspicia;' but 'fuerit' is neater and better, and the error explains itself. 'Minus obvia' merely means less accessible, as we might say, lying less directly on the road from Greece.

500.] 'Thybridis,' with 'vicina,' which is constructed both with gen. and dat.: see Forc.

501.] 'Data:' see above, v. 255.

502.] The early copyists and editors misunderstood the sentence, not seeing that the apodosis began at 'cognatas.' Thus some MSS., and probably Serv., give 'cognatasque,' while 'Epiro' was supposed to refer to 'propinquos,' 'Hesperia' being related to the following clause. The sense is, we will make the kindred nations one Troy in mind. All that Aeneas need mean by this expression is an engagement of amity and alliance: but Virg. is likely enough to have intended a special reference to some historical relations between Rome and Epirus, and the words 'maneat nostros ea cura nepotes' are too pointed to be passed over lightly. Such relations have been found by the commentators in the founding of Nicopolis by Octavianus (Serv.), and the establishment of a Roman colony in Buthrotum (Forb.). The former seems more likely to have been intended, as the event was recent, and the compliment one which Virg. would be glad to pay, while the transaction itself would be more flattering to the national vanity of the Epirotes, who were spoken of, Serv. tells us, in the charter of the city as kinsmen of the Romans, than the mere establishment of a Roman colony among them. 'Olim' may go with 'cognatas,' kinsmen of old: but it is perhaps better to take it with 'faciemus,' we will one day form. 'Propinquos' may be explained either like 'cognatos' of relationship, or of actual proximity.

503.] 'Epiro' and 'Hesperia' must be taken as local ablatives. Med., Gud. a m. pr., and fragm. St. Gall., read 'Hesperiam,' which the commentators regard as unintelligible, except in pointing to an original variant 'Epirom, Hesperiam.' But 'Epiro Hesperiam' might very well be understood 'Epiro (cognatam et propinquam) Hesperiam,' so as to produce the same sense as if both nouns had been put into the accusative. Viewed in this way, the reading is very plausible, as it is not easy to see how it can have arisen, while it is sufficiently recondite to present temptations to a tampering transcriber. 'Hesperia' however was read by Serv. Meanwhile 'Epirum' is actually found in one MS.

504.] 'Idem casus,' as we should say, the same history. Both had shared in the great national tragedy of the sack of Troy, and in the subsequent expatriation

Troiam animis; maneat nostros ea cura nepotes.
  Provehimur pelago vicina Ceraunia iuxta,
Unde iter Italiam cursusque brevissimus undis.
Sol ruit interea et montes umbrantur opaci.
Sternimur optatae gremio telluris ad undam,
Sortiti remos, passimque in litore sicco
Corpora curamus; fessos sopor inrigat artus.
Necdum orbem medium Nox horis acta subibat:
Haut segnis strato surgit Palinurus et omnis

of the Trojans. 'Utramque' refers back to 'cognatas urbes.' ['Faciamus,' fragm. St. Gall.—H. N.]

505.] "'Animis' hoc est, foedere et affectione, quoniam revera eas natura non sinit iungi." Serv. The word is to be taken with 'faciemus' rather than with 'unam,' though the expression may be illustrated by the compound 'unanimus.' For 'maneat—nepotes,' which Serv. explains as thrown in "quoniam occurrebat humanae brevitas vitae," see on v. 502.

506—520.] 'We set sail: night comes on: we land, and sleep till midnight, when we are aroused by Palinurus our pilot, and put to sea again.'

506.] 'Pelago' on or along the sea, as in 2. 179. 'Ceraunia' G. 1. 332. 'Vicina:' near to Buthrotum, though it might be referred to 'iuxta,' near to us.

507.] Wund. rightly removes the comma after 'Italiam,' so as to make the whole line a single proposition. 'Undis' by or along the water, qualifying 'iter' and 'cursus,' one of those constructions which are more usually found with verbs than with substantives. With the former part of the verse Forb. comp. 6. 542, "Hac iter Elysium nobis."

508.] Imitated from Od. 3. 487, Δύσετό τ' ἠέλιος, σκιόωντό τε πᾶσαι ἀγυιαί. 'Opaci,' as Forb. remarks, belongs closely to 'umbrantur.' [Henry would take 'opacus' here to mean 'shaded with trees,' comparing "ruris opaci" G. 1. 156.—H. N.]

509.] Ἦμος δ' ἠέλιος κατέδυ, καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἦλθεν, Δὴ τότε κοιμήθημεν ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης, Od. 9. 168. 'Optatae' may be put down as one of Virg.'s pieces of indirect narrative, suggesting the notion of hard labour during the day. But it may conceivably refer to the choice of ground for a bivouac.

510.] 'Sortiti remos' ["quia remigium suppletum erat. Et 'sortiti' per sortem divisi ad officia remigandi, quis esset proreta, quis pedem teneret." Serv.—H. N.] The custom of dividing the rowing-benches among the crews by lot is mentioned by Apoll. R. 1. 395 foll. (comp. Prop. 4. 21. 12. "Remorumque pares ducite sorte vices," and Paley's note): but it is not easy to see why Virg. should make this take place on their disembarking at night, not on their starting upon their voyage. On the other hand, the various ways of avoiding the difficulty that have been proposed fail to commend themselves. 'Sortiti remos' would be a harsh expression for 'casting lots who was to remain on board,' even if it were established that such was the custom, while Henry's former notion that they cast lots for the oars, to be used as tent-poles, introduces a detail for which no authority is quoted but a passage in Rutilius Namatianus (Itin. 1. 345 foll.), and which consequently we should have expected to be mentioned in full, if Virg. really intended it, not briefly indicated. Still more violence would be done to language by accepting Heyne's view, that 'sortiti remos' can mean 'having cast lots for the oars at starting (and rowed hard all day),' an impropriety of expression as far as possible removed from the real art with which Virg., as was remarked in the last note, frequently implies rather than declares his meaning. 'Passim' 2. 364 note.

511.] 'Corpora curamus' G. 4. 187 note. 'Inrigat:' A. 1. 692 note. ['Fessus' Med.—H. N.]

512.] Night is said to be driven along by the hours, as the parts of time make up the whole. It matters little whether we take the metaphor as it stands or turn it into a regular personification, supposing the Homeric Ὧραι to act as propelling agents (charioteers or horses) of Night's car.

513.] Palinurus rises before midnight,

Explorat ventos, atque auribus aëra captat;
Sidera cuncta notat tacito labentia caelo,
Arcturum pluviasque Hyadas geminosque Triones,
Armatumque auro circumspicit Oriona.
Postquam cuncta videt caelo constare sereno,
Dat clarum e puppi signum; nos castra movemus,
Temptamusque viam et velorum pandimus alas.
Iamque rubescebat stellis Aurora fugatis,
Cum procul obscuros collis humilemque videmus
Italiam. Italiam primus conclamat Achates,
Italiam laeto socii clamore salutant.
Tum pater Anchises magnum cratera corona
Induit inplevitque mero, divosque vocavit
Stans celsa in puppi:

that being the time when the wind was likely to change.

514.] 'Tries to catch the air with his ears' is only a poetical way of saying 'listens for a gale.'

515.] 'Notat,' watches and distinguishes. The notion of distinction is kept up by the enumeration in the following lines. Virg. imitates Od. 5. 272 foll., where Ulysses on his raft sees the Pleiades, Bootes, and the Wain.

516.] Repeated from 1. 744. We need scarcely inquire whether these accusatives belong to 'notat' or to 'circumspicit.'

517.] 'Armatum auro,' χρυσάορα, 'auro' referring to the belt and sword. The quantity of 'Oriona' is singularly accommodating, the first and third syllables being indifferently long or short, while the second is shortened in the form "Oarion." Virg. here follows Homer's Ὠρίωνα.

518.] 'When he sees everything uniform in the clear sky,' 'When he sees the clearness of the sky unbroken.' For this use of 'constare' Forb. comp. Livy 39. 34, "Adeo perturbavit ea vox regem, ut non color, non voltus constaret." In Lucr. 4. 460, which as Heyne remarks, Virg. probably had in his mind, "Et sonitus audire, severa silentia noctis Undique cum constent," the meaning of the word is not so strongly brought out.

519.] 'Clarum signum,' a blast of the trumpet, not, as Serv. thinks, a lighted torch. So v. 239, "dat signum specula Misenus ab alta Aere cavo." The passage is imitated by Lucan 10. 399, which Forb. comp., "haud clara movendis, Ut mos, signa dedit castris, nec prodidit arma Ullius clangore tubae." 'Castra movemus' is probably to be understood metaphorically, with Henry, the military image being suggested by the trumpet.

520.] Henry seems right in supposing that the whole verse contains a metaphor from flying, as against Heyne, who understands 'velorum alas' of the ends or corners of the sails. [Serv. however quotes a fragment of Sallust, not printed in Dietsch's edition, "et parvis modo velorum alis remissis," which makes in favour of Heyne's view.—H. N.] 'Temptare' of an unknown sea E. 4. 32.

521—547.] 'As the day dawned, we caught our first view of Italy, and raised a shout of welcome, while my father made a prayer to heaven. We put to shore in a harbour overlooked by a temple of Minerva. Four white horses are seen grazing, an omen which Anchises interprets as significant of both war and peace. We pay our devotions to Pallas and Juno with our heads covered, as Helenus enjoined us.'

521.] 'Iamque—cum,' as in 2. 730 &c.

523.] Wagn. compares the cry of Xenophon's companions on first seeing the sea, Anab. 4. 7. "Tautologia usus est ad exprimendum affectum navigantium," Serv.

525.] See on G. 2. 528.

527.] Anchises stands on the stern, which was the sacred part of the vessel, containing representations of its tutelary gods. So 10. 171, "aurato fulgebat Apolline puppis." These are not to be confounded with the παράσημα, or figure-

Di maris et terrae tempestatumque potentes,
Ferte viam vento facilem et spirate secundi.
Crebrescunt optatae aurae, portusque patescit
Iam propior, templumque apparet in arce Minervae.
Vela legunt socii, et proras ad litora torquent.
Portus ab Euroo fluctu curvatus in arcum;
Obiectae salsa spumant aspargine cautes;
Ipse latet; gemino demittunt bracchia muro
Turriti scopuli, refugitque ab litore templum.

heads, which were placed on the prow. For 'celsa' Ribbeck reads 'prima,' which is found [in fragm. St. Gall. and] as a variant in Gud., and is doubtless the first reading of Pal., where the word is 'ima.' In 8. 680, where the words recur, Priscian quotes 'prima.' There is something to be said for the change, as MSS. are fond of assimilating to each other passages already similar in part (see 1. 668), but the external evidence for it seems hardly sufficient.

528.] This comprehensive enumeration seems intended to include all the gods. Those who question the propriety of 'et terrae' may accept Serv.'s explanation, "ad quam iturus sum." 'Tempestatumque potentes' G. 1. 27 note.

529.] 'Ferte' in the sense of 'date,' perhaps with an allusion to the use of 'ferre' of a wafting or carrying wind. 'Vento' apparently as in 1. 307., 2. 25., 4. 46, an instrumental or modal ablative. Altogether the expression is a harsh one, and could hardly be justified except by a reference to Virg.'s practice of alluding to one form of words while he uses another.

530.] 'Patescit:' the opening grows wider to the eye. Comp. 411, "rarescent claustra Pelori." The harbour was called "Portus Veneris," the place "Castrum Minervae."

531.] It is a question whether 'Minervae' belongs to 'arce' or to 'templum.' If it were established that the place was called "Arx Minervae" as well as "Castrum," the former would be the more natural construction; otherwise probability would seem in favour of the latter. ['Proprior' Pal.—H. N.]

532.] ["'Vela legunt': hoc verbum nautis est familiare; nam funes et vela cum colligunt, vel aliqua loca transeunt, 'legere' appellant." Ti. Donatus.—H. N.]

533.] The action of the east wind on the water is said to have hollowed out the harbour. For 'Euroo,' a rare adjective, seemingly occurring only in Priscian, Periegesis, v. 871, the old reading was 'Eoo:' but the great majority of MSS. support the word in the text.

534.] 'Adspergine,' was the reading before Heins; but 'aspargine,' the older form, has the authority of Velius Longus and Nonius p. 405, as well as of Med., Pal., and Gud.

535.] 'Latet' is not inconsistent with 'patescit' above. The harbour is retired and in fact concealed between the rocks on each side of it: but as the ships approach a way is seen between the barriers. Aeneas is giving a general account of the haven, not describing its features as they broke upon him gradually. The supposed inconsistency however may have given rise to an unmetrical reading 'late patet,' which Serv. attributes to Aelius Donatus. Wagn. thinks Donatus' reading was 'patet.' 'late patet' being added as an explanation. Forb. thinks 'latet' refers to a later point in the approach than 'patescit,' the rocks impeding the view as the voyagers drew nearer; but this seems less natural. 'Bracchia' and 'muro' are two metaphors to express the same thing, the rocks which form the two sides of the haven. Comp. 2. 481, "ore fenestram." 'Bracchia' however has the further propriety of being used for a line of wall in fortification: see Forc. Ov. M. 11. 230 has the same metaphor, "Est sinus Haemoniae curvos falcatus in arcus; Bracchia procurrunt," probably imitating this passage. There is a similar picture in Od. 10. 89 foll. The general features are not unlike those of the harbour in A. 1. 162 foll. as the commentators remark. ['Dimittunt' Pal., which might stand, and so Ribbeck: 'demittunt' Med.—H. N.]

536.] 'Turriti' is apparently to be understood metaphorically, crowned as with

Quattuor hic, primum omen, equos in gramine vidi
Tondentis campum late, candore nivali.
Et pater Anchises: Bellum, o terra hospita, portas;
Bello armantur equi, bellum haec armenta minantur.
Sed tamen idem olim curru succedere sueti
Quadrupedes, et frena iugo concordia ferre:
Spes et pacis, ait. Tum numina sancta precamur
Palladis armisonae, quae prima accepit ovantis,
Et capita ante aras Phrygio velamur amictu;
Praeceptisque Heleni, dederat quae maxima, rite
Iunoni Argivae iussos adolemus honores.
Haut mora, continuo perfectis ordine votis
Cornua velatarum obvertimus antemnarum,

towers. 'Refugit:' the eminence on which the temple is placed slopes downwards, so that, as the ships approach, the building appears to recede. Germ. comp. Prop. 5. 6. 15, "Est Phoebi fugiens Athamana ad litora portus."

537.] 'Primum omen:' the first object which meets us, regarded consequently as an omen. Comp. generally 1. 442 (note), where a horse is similarly interpreted as symbolical, and for 'primum' 7. 118 note.

539.] For Anchises' power of interpreting omens see on 2. 687. 'Hospita:' see on v. 377. 'Portare' as of a messenger. 'Yours is a message of war.' Comp. Ter. Haut. 4. 1. 12, "Nescio quid peccati portat haec purgatio."

540.] 'Bello,' for war. 'Armenta' of horses G. 3. 286 note.

541.] ['Set' Med.—H. N.] 'Olim' is used generally. 'Yet the time comes when these same beasts are trained to put their shoulders to the car.'

542.] 'Iugo' seems to be an instrumental or modal abl. Horses are yoked together, and thus made jointly amenable to the bit. The concord thus produced is a symbol of peace, besides conducing to peaceful arts, such as ploughing.

543.] Serv.'s reading was 'spes est pacis.'

544.] 'Armisonus' is a rare word, perhaps only used by Claudian, Rape of Proserpine, 3. 67, where it is an epithet of a cave. Here the reference to Pallas' martial character is in keeping with the previous lines.

545.] See on v. 405. 'Phrygio' may either mean 'embroidered' (see on v. 483 above), so as to correspond to 'purpureo' v. 405, or merely designate the custom as a Trojan one, in the spirit of vv. 408, 409. ['Capite' Pal. originally.—H. N.] A reading 'capute' leads Wagn. to suggest that Virg. may have written 'caput,' as in 5. 309 &c. Pal. and Gud. a m. pr. have 'aram.'

546.] 'Praeceptis,' a sort of instrumental ablative. So "legibus et institutis" Cic. de Sen. 11. See Madv. § 255. 'Dederat quae maxima,' which he had given as the greatest, as we should say, on which he had insisted most, referring to vv. 433 foll.

547.] 'Argivae' is not, as Heyne thinks, an ornamental epithet, but points out the reason why Juno is to be propitiated, as the patroness of the enemies of Troy. 'Adolemus' E. 8. 65 note. 'Honores' 1. 49.

548—569.] 'Setting sail again, we pass by Tarentum, and come within sight of Aetna. We avoid Charybdis, but are tossed by the waves, till at last at evening we land in the Cyclops' country.'

548.] 'Ordine' = "rite," as in 5. 53.

549.] 'Cornua' 5. 832, κεραίαι, the extremities of the 'antemnae.' 'Velatarum,' covered with sails ("vela"). "The horns of the 'antemnae,' and indeed the whole 'antemnae,' are necessarily, when the vessel sets sail, turned, not like the prows toward the sea, but exactly the opposite way, i. e. towards the land, such being the effect of the fair wind (i. e. of the wind blowing from the land), viz. to force or belly out the sails towards the sea, and of course cause the retaining 'antemnae' and their horns to point exactly in the same proportion toward land." Henry. This explanation coin-

Graiugenumque domos suspectaque linquimus arva.
Hinc sinus Herculei, si vera est fama, Tarenti
Cernitur; attollit se diva Lacinia contra,
Caulonisque arces et navifragum Scylaceum.
Tum procul e fluctu Trinacria cernitur Aetna,
Et gemitum ingentem pelagi pulsataque saxa
Audimus longe fractasque ad litora voces,

cides virtually with that ordinarily given, the question being merely whether Virg. uses the word 'obvertimus' with reference to the direction of the sail generally, or of the 'cornua' in particular. Henry perhaps refines too much when he sees in 'cornua obvertimus' the image of a beast retiring with his horns to the enemy.

550.] Above v. 398. "Graiugena" occurs Pac. Fr. inc. 12: see on v. 359 above.

551.] 'Hinc' of time, not of place, as the bay of Tarentum could not be seen from the Castrum Minervae. Henry. 'Herculei:' the local legend attributed the founding of Tarentum to Taras, son of Poseidon. [But the colony was supposed to have been largely increased by a body of settlers under the Lacedaemonian Phalanthus, a descendant, according to Servius here, from Hercules in the eighth degree. Hence the epithet 'Herculei.'—H. N.] Heyne, in an Excursus, collects the various notices which connect the name of Hercules with Tarentum, doubting however whether they do not belong to a later time, after Tarentum had been colonized from Lacedaemon, so that he supposes Virg.'s actual authority to be some story, now lost, of the foundation of Tarentum by Hercules. He remarks that the southern coast of Italy was full of memorials of Hercules. Virg.'s 'si vera est fama' may be meant to point to the fact that there were other and opposing legends.

552.] The Lacinian promontory had a celebrated temple of Juno, some pillars of which are still standing, and give the spot its modern name, 'Capo delle Colonne' or 'Capo di Nau.' Serv. gives various legends accounting for the name of the promontory, two of them connecting the foundation of the temple with Hercules, who, according to one story, built it to commemorate the death of the robber Lacinus, while another represents it as built by a king Lacinius, who refused hospitality to Hercules, and signalized the affront to the stepson by a temple to the stepmother. This latter tale would give some point to 'attollit se contra,' the temple being supposed to rise in defiance. The temple and the goddess are identified, as in v. 275 above.

553.] For 'Caulonis' there appears from Serv. to have been a reading 'Aulonis,' which is still found under the form 'Aulones' in the MS. known as the first Rottendorphian. Strabo 6. p. 261 B says that the place was originally named Aulonia, afterwards Caulonia, the change being doubtless due, as Heyne suggests, to some dialectic peculiarity. ["The coins of the place, many of which are very ancient, all bear the name Caulonia." Dict. Geogr. s. v. 'Caulonia.'—H. N.] Horace's "amicus Aulon fertili Baccho" (2 Od. 6. 18), to which Serv. refers, is a different place. It is not easy to say whether 'arces' are rocks or towers. 'Navifragum' active, like "mare naufragum" Hor. 1. Od. 16. 10. The shore about Scylaceum is said not to be rocky, so that the epithet refers to the gales which blow about that part of Italy. ['Scyllacaeum' Med. originally. The town (now Squillace) had two names, Σκολλήτιον and Σκολάκιον; Pliny 3. 95 "Scolagium, Scylletium Atheniensibus, cum conderent, dictum." The form 'Scy̆lăcēum' is not quoted from any author earlier than Virgil. Ov. M. 15. 702 has an adj. "Scy̆lăcēus." Velleius 1. 15. 4 has 'Scylacium,' Mela. 2. 4. 68 'Scyllaceum,' 'Scyllaceus.' An inscription of 143 A.D. gives 'Scolacium,' C. I. L. 10. 103; where see Mommsen. The Virgilian form may be due to metrical necessity.—H. N.]

554.] 'E fluctu' rising out of the water, not constructed with 'cernitur.' Comp. v. 270 above, "Iam medio apparet fluctu nemorosa Zacynthos." 'Cernitur,' by its smoke, Heyne thinks; but why not by its general appearance?

555.] 'Gemitus' of the sea, in 9. 709 of the earth.

556.] "The structure is not 'fractas ad

Exultantque vada, atque aestu miscentur harenae.
Et pater Anchises: Nimirum haec illa Charybdis:
Hos Helenus scopulos, haec saxa horrenda canebat.
Eripite, o socii, pariterque insurgite remis.
Haut minus ac iussi faciunt, primusque rudentem
Contorsit laevas proram Palinurus ad undas;
Laevam cuncta cohors remis ventisque petivit.
Tollimur in caelum curvato gurgite, et idem
Subducta ad Manis imos desedimus unda.
Ter scopuli clamorem inter cava saxa dedere:
Ter spumam elisam et rorantia vidimus astra.
Interea fessos ventus cum sole reliquit,

litora,' but 'voces ad litora:' the voices or sounds were not broken on or against the shore, but there were at the shore broken sounds." Henry. Serv. comp. "fractos sonitus" G. 4. 72. Med. a m. sec. and others have 'ab litore.'

557.] The waters at the bottom boil up, and surf and sand are mingled together. With the former part of the line comp. 1. 125 "imis stagna refusa vadis," with the latter ib. 107 "furit aestus harenis" (note). 'Exultant' as in 7. 464 "Exultantque aestu latices." [Exsultant' Med.—H. N.] The passage seems to be modelled on Homer's description of Charybdis (Od. 12. 240 foll.)—

ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἀναβρόξειε θαλάσσης ἁλμυρὸν ὕδωρ,
πᾶσ' ἔντοσθε φάνεσκε κυκωμένη, ἀμφὶ δὲ πέτρη
δεινὸν ἐβεβρύχει· ὑπένερθε δὲ γαῖα φάνεσκε
ψάμμῳ κυανέῃ.

558.] 'Haec illa,' ἥδε or αὕτη ἐκείνη. Med. and Pal. have 'hic.'

560.] "'Eripite,' de periculis: et deest 'nos.'" Serv. Perhaps we had better supply 'vos;' comp. 2. 289, "Heu fuge, nate dea, teque his, ait, eripe flammis." Heyne remarks, "Vulgaris orationis taedium excutit poeta et in hoc, quod pronomina omittit, interdum ad nostros sensus satis duriter." 'Pariter' of rowing 5. 142. 'Insurgite remis' 5. 189.

561.] See on v. 236. Palinurus takes the lead, as in 5. 833. 'Rudentem' of the sound of the prow in the water. We have just had 'gemitus' used of the sea; and we may remember that in 7. 15 foll. both words are applied to lions. The love of variety leads the Roman poets to characterize by the same word sounds which to us suggest very different associations. Some MSS., not understanding 'rudentem' here, change it into 'rudentis' or 'rudente.'

563.] 'With oars and sails.' "Vento petere" 2. 25. "Ventis remisque" or "velis remisque" is a regular phrase for 'using every effort.' "Ventis, remis in patriam omni festinatione properavi," Cic. Fam. 12. 25. "Res . . . . omni contentione, velis, ut ita dicam, remisque fugienda," Id. Tusc. 3. 11. These passages may lend some support to the original reading of Med., 'ventis remisque:' Plaut. Asin. 1. 3. 5 however has "Remigio veloque, quantum potis es, festina et fuge."

564.] 'Curvato gurgite' G. 4. 361 note. With the general sense comp. A. 1. 106 foll.

565.] Before Heins. the reading was 'descendimus.' Burm. and Heyne read 'desidimus' from one or two MSS.; but the perf. has a rhetorical force. 'Ad Manis imos' of extreme depth, like "in Tartara" G. 2. 292. See note on G. 1. 243.

566.] 'Cava saxa' are the rocks at the bottom of the sea, opposed to 'rorantia astra.' Comp. generally vv. 421 foll. above, and notes there. 'Ter' however has no reference to the three ingurgitations of Charybdis there mentioned.

567.] They see the sky through the medium of foam, so that the metaphor is not so extravagant as would appear from Heyne's remark, "Rorantia astra, aqua in altum sublata roris instar guttatim destillante, probasse videtur saeculi Augustei genius. Nostris hominibus vix placeant!"

Ignarique viae Cyclopum adlabimur oris.
Portus ab accessu ventorum inmotus et ingens
Ipse; sed horrificis iuxta tonat Aetna ruinis,
Interdumque atram prorumpit ad aethera nubem,
Turbine fumantem piceo et candente favilla,
Attollitque globos flammarum et sidera lambit;
Interdum scopulos avolsaque viscera montis

569.] "Curetum adlabimur oris" v. 131.

570—587.] 'We found a safe and spacious harbour; but we were disturbed all night by the sight and sounds of Aetna, which we could not see for the darkness. Legends attribute the convulsions of the mountain to the movements of the giant Enceladus, whom Jupiter placed beneath it.'

570.] From Od. 9. 136, ἐν δὲ λιμὴν εὔορμος. Virg.'s 'Cyclopum orae' are however not the same as Hom.'s γαῖα Κυκλώπων, which was not on the east coast of Sicily near Aetna, but by Drepanum and Eryx. 'Ab accessu ventorum inmotus' may possibly be an attempt to combine the two expressions 'ventis inmotus' and 'ab accessu ventorum remotus.' The similarity between 'inmotus' and 'remotus' of course amounts nearly to a jingle; but those who have followed Virg. in his plays on the different senses of the same word in poetical combinations will hardly think it impossible that he may have used one compound with the intention of reminding his readers of another, though the two are really heterogeneous. 'Ingens' is complained of as harsh by some of the later editors, who do not see how the size of the haven should point a contrast with Aetna, as 'ipse' shows that it is meant to do; Virg. however evidently intends to say that so far as the haven went, it was commodious, being sheltered and large, but that the neighbourhood of Aetna was a drawback.

571.] The following description is more or less parallel to one in Pind. Pyth. 1. 34 foll. Gell. 17. 10 reports a criticism on the two passages by Favorinus the philosopher, very unfavourable to Virg., who is blamed for confusing night and day (see on v. 575), confounding smoke and flame, and generally exaggerating Pindar's simple truth. Later critics have defended Virg.; but Heyne (Excursus 15) thinks he has studied poetical ornament rather than physical accuracy. 'Ruina' is commonly used of a downfall; here it stands for an eruption or throwing up, just as 'ruit' is said of sending up G. 2. 308. Forc. remarks that 'ruina' sometimes means merely violent motion forward, and quotes Val. Fl. 4. 694, "e mediis sequitur freta rapta ruinis," of Tiphys escaping through the Symplegades. See on G. 1. 105. ['Set' Med.—H. N.]

572.] 'Prorumpit' active, 1. 246. Virg. follows Lucr. 6. 690, "longeque favillam Differt, et crassa volvit caligine fumum," a line which he also had in his mind in writing G. 2. 308. In the earlier passage he applies to an ordinary conflagration words borrowed from a description of an eruption; coming afterwards to write of an eruption, he recurs not only to the description in Lucr., but to the use which he had himself made of that description. Precisely the same thing may be traced lower down, v. 577, "fundoque exaestuat imo," where we shall not doubt that he was thinking of his own words in a simile about a storm, G. 3. 240, "ima exaestuat unda," words which form part of a sentence obviously imitated from a line in this same description in Lucr., "Saxaque subiectare et harenae tollere nimbos." A criticism like this, which professes to detect what was passing in the poet's mind is of course liable to make discoveries which have no real existence; but when cautiously applied, it can hardly be out of place in dealing with an author like Virg., where expressions are at once so studied and so borrowed.

574.] "Flammarumque globos, liquefactaque volvere saxa" G. 1. 473. Lucr. l. c. has "extollere flammam."

575.] Virg. distinguishes eruptions of smoke, fire, and cinders from eruptions of rocks and lava: Pindar, the smoke by day from the fire by night. 'Viscera' gave the hint to Sir Richard Blackmore for the description, quoted in the Treatise on the Bathos, where the mountain is represented as 'torn with inward gripes,'

Erigit eructans, liquefactaque saxa sub auras
Cum gemitu glomerat, fundoque exaestuat imo.
Fama est Enceladi semustum fulmine corpus
Urgeri mole hac, ingentemque insuper Aetnam
Impositam ruptis flammam expirare caminis;
Et fessum quotiens mutet latus, intremere omnem
Murmure Trinacriam, et caelum subtexere fumo.
Noctem illam tecti silvis inmania monstra
Perferimus, nec, quae sonitum det causa, videmus.
Nam neque erant astrorum ignes, nec lucidus aethra

though the 'inbred storms of wind,' to which the 'torturing pain' is attributed, look as if he had been to school to Lucretius. ['Avulsa' Pal.—H. N.]

576.] For 'erigit' a few MSS. give 'egerit,' which Burm. prefers; but the common reading is supported by 7. 529., 9. 239, as Heyne remarks, and by the Lucretian word 'extollere,' while it is well adapted to express the labour of upheaving masses of rock into the air. 'Eructans' is Pindar's ἐρεύγονται.

577.] 'Cum gemitu,' σὺν πατάγῳ, Pind. l. c., as 'fundo imo' is from ἐκ μυχῶν. Henry refines too much when he says that 'glomerare' means not 'to form into a ball,' but 'to form a body by successive additions,' as it is evident that both notions enter into the word, though the latter may be the more prominent here.

578.] The name of the giant who was supposed to be placed under Aetna was variously given in the legends. Pindar l. c. and Aesch. Prom. 354 make it Typhoeus or Typhon, Callim. in Del. 143 Briareus. In A. 9. 716, following (though misinterpreting) Hom., Virg. places Typhoeus under Inarime or Pithecusa. 'Semustum' is found here in most of the MSS., including Med., which has the same form in 11. 200.

580.] Comp. 1. 44, "expirantem transfixo pectore flammas" (note). Here the mountain is made to breathe out the flames which have pierced Enceladus. 'Ruptis caminis:' "The sense is . . . that Aetna, while it was yet a solid mountain, was placed on the top of Enceladus, and that the flames proceeding from him burst a passage through it, 'rumpebant caminos,' burst and flamed through the sides of the mountain as the fire sometimes bursts and breaks out through the sides of a stove. The image is the more correct, inasmuch as the eruptions of Aetna, as well as of other volcanoes, are apt not to follow the track of previous eruptions, but to make new openings for themselves through the solid sides of the mountain." Henry. ['Inpositam,' 'exspirare,' Med.—H. N.]

581.] For 'mutet' some cursives give 'motet' or 'motat' which Serv. prefers. We have already had the variety E. 5. 5, where we saw reason to adopt 'motantibus.' Here 'muto' seems the better word, as containing a more distinct notion of relief, not to mention that the frequentative 'moto' would be inconsistent with 'quotiens.' In Stat. Theb. 3. 594, "aut ubi temptat Enceladus mutare latus," evidently an imitation of the passage, the MSS. do not vary, except that one of them gives "versare." 'Mutare latus' also occurs Ov. M. 13. 937, where there can be no doubt about the word, as it is coupled with "moveri." It is stronger than 'motare latus,' expressing not only stirring, but turning from side to side. In any case the subj. seems to be required by the oratio obliqua, though 'mutat' is the first reading of Pal. and Med.

582.] 'Caelum subtexere fumo' is apparently modelled on expressions in Lucr., "subtexunt nubila caelum" (5. 466), "subtexit caerula nimbis" (6. 482).

583.] 'Nocte illa' is read by some MSS., while some insert 'in' before 'silvis.' The Trojans disembark, like Ulysses under similar circumstances Od. 9. 150 foll., and pass the night on the land. Monstra, are the terrible and unaccountable phenomena. 'Monstra pati' occurs 7. 21, of suffering a monstrous transformation. ['Mostra' Ribbeck, from Med. —H. N.]

585.] The two clauses, as usual, mean the same thing, 'nec' being not dis-

Siderea polus, obscuro sed nubila caelo,
Et Lunam in nimbo nox intempesta tenebat.
Postera iamque dies primo surgebat Eoo,
Umentemque Aurora polo dimoverat umbram:
Cum subito e silvis, macie confecta suprema,
Ignoti nova forma viri miserandaque cultu
Procedit supplexque manus ad litora tendit.
Respicimus. Dira inluvies inmissaque barba,
Consertum tegumen spinis; at cetera Graius,

junctive but copulative, as in G. 4. 198. Virg. has taken this circumstance also from Ulysses' landing in the Cyclops' territory, Od. 9. 144, Ἀὴρ γὰρ παρὰ νηυσὶ βαθεῖ' ἦν, οὐδὲ σελήνη Οὐρανόθε προὔφαινε· κατείχετο δὲ νεφέεσσιν. Henry refers to a similar description in Apoll. R. 4. 1694 foll. [Serv. makes a distinction between 'aethra' and 'aether' as follows: "aether est ipsum elementum, aethra vero splendor aetheris." There is some ground for this as far as Virgil is concerned (see on 12. 247), but Lucr. 6. 467 seems to use 'aethram' as = "aethera." The abl. 'aethra siderea' is probably instrumental.—H. N.]

587.] Imitated from Enn. A. 1. fr. 64, "Cum superum lumen nox intempesta teneret." For 'nox intempesta' see on G. 1. 247.

588—612.] 'In the morning we see a ragged and emaciated man, evidently a Greek, advancing towards us. He begs us to take him with us or kill him. We reassure him, and ask his story.'

588.] The incident that follows is apparently Virg.'s own. ["Arguitur in hac Achemenidis descriptione Vergilius neglegentiae Homericae narrationis; Ulixes enim inter initia erroris sui ad Cyclopas venit; quemadmodum ergo Aeneas post septimum annum, quam a Troia profectus est, socium Ulixis invenit? praesertim cum eum tribus mensibus in regione Cyclopum dicat moratum, et mox Aeneas de Sicilia ad Africam venisse dicatur." Serv. —H. N.] Ovid borrows the story in his account of Aeneas' wanderings, Met. 14. 160 foll. It enables Virg. to introduce a description of the Cyclops' cave without involving the Trojans in any particular adventure, at the same time that it furnishes a sort of counterpoise to the story of Sinon in Book 2, from which one or two circumstances are taken. 'Eous' (properly the morning star, ἑῷος ἀστήρ) here stands for the morning, as the parallel passage 11. 4 shows. So probably 5. 42, "Postera cum primo stellas Oriente fugarat Clara dies." For the position of 'iamque' comp. 5. 225.

590.] This advance of Achemenides from the woods to the shore (below v. 598) has been thought to show that the Trojans could not have spent the night in the woods (above v. 583). We need however only suppose that they had risen and were on the shore again, a circumstance which Virg., more suo, tells by implication, as indeed there was no occasion to specify it. 'Suprema,' the last extremity. So Caes. B. G. 1. 31 talks of "summus cruciatus." "Extremus" and "ultimus" are similarly used: see Forc.

591.] 'Forma viri' like "forma dei" 4. 556, "forma tricorporis umbrae" 6. 289, 'forma' in each case expressing external appearance. 'Miseranda cultu' i. q. "miserando cultu." So "aspera cultu" 5. 730, though 'cultus' there refers to social habits, here to dress.

593.] 'Respicimus:' the Trojans were apparently turned towards the sea, attending to their ships, when the approach of the stranger leads them to look back. The description of Achemenides may possibly be modelled, as the commentators think, on a passage in one of the Latin dramatists quoted by Cic. Tusc. 3. 12, where Aeetes is described—

"Refugere oculi: corpus macie extabuit:
Lacrimae peredere umore exsanguis genas
Situ liventis (?): barba paedore horrida atque
Intonsa infuscat pectus inluvie scabrum."

For 'inmissa' two or three MSS. give 'dimissa' (= 'demissa'). 'Inmissa barba' however is found Ov. M. 12. 251.

594.] 'Consertum tegumen spinis' is alluded to by Ov. M. 14. 166, who speaks of Achemenides when under Aeneas' protection as "spinis conserto tegmine

Et quondam patriis ad Troiam missus in armis.
Isque ubi Dardanios habitus et Troia vidit
Arma procul, paulum aspectu conterritus haesit,
Continuitque gradum; mox sese ad litora praeceps
Cum fletu precibusque tulit: Per sidera testor,
Per superos atque hoc caeli spirabile lumen,
Tollite me, Teucri; quascumque abducite terras;
Hoc sat erit. Scio me Danais e classibus unum,
Et bello Iliacos fateor petiisse Penatis.
Pro quo, si sceleris tanta est iniuria nostri,
Spargite me in fluctus, vastoque inmergite ponto.
Si pereo, hominum manibus periisse iuvabit.

nullis," and perhaps, as Forb. thinks, by Tac. Germ. 17, "Tegumen omnibus sagum, fibula, aut, si desit, spina consertum." The commoner form 'tegmen' is found in some MSS., and was the old reading. We need hardly ask how Achemenides is known to be a Greek—whether by the remnants of his dress, or, as Serv. thinks, by his language and gait.

595.] 'Et,' as Wagn. remarks, has the force of "et quidem." Burm. read 'ut,' from one MS., but Heyne rightly brought back the old reading. The words do not necessarily imply that he was then wearing the armour of a Greek (Forb.) but only that he was a Greek who had fought at Troy—a fact which they may have recognized as he drew nearer, though at first he was 'vir ignotus,' or which may be mentioned in anticipation of his confession v. 602. ['At' for 'ad,' Pal. and originally Med.—H. N.]

599.] 'Testor' has here the sense of 'oro,' like 'obtestor' and μαρτύρομαι. Forc. does not mention this use. The common notion is that of adjuring, which applies equally to a witness and to a person entreated.

600.] For the identification of light and air see G. 2. 340., 4. 220. "Per caeli iucundum lumen" 6. 363, which seems to show that Ribbeck is wrong in reading 'numen' here, from Med. (first reading,) and perhaps Pal. a m. p. which has 'nomen.' ['Sperabile' Med. originally. "'Spirabile' . . . est sermo Ciceronis, quamquam ille 'spiritale' dixit in libris de natura deorum (2. 6)." Serv. No instance of 'spirabilis' is quoted from any writer earlier than Cicero.—H. N.]

601.] 'Tollere' of taking on board, 6. 370, as in Hor. 2 S. 6. 42 of giving a lift in a carriage. [Med. originally had 'adducite terris.'—H. N.]

602.] 'Scio' seems to mean 'I am aware who I am when I make the request,' so that it almost = 'I admit.' This use is imitated by Val. Fl. 1. 196, where Jason says, addressing Neptune, "Da veniam: scio me cunctis e gentibus unum Inlicitas temptare vias, hiememque mereri." We may comp. the use of 'sciat' G. 3. 474 note, though we should hardly be justified in founding a special meaning of the word on these passages, as the original sense prevails in all, though a certain novelty is imparted in each case by the context. Serv. says "'scio:' modo confiteor." For the quantity of 'scio' see on E. 8. 43. 'E classibus' = "e militibus in classe profectis." [Unless we prefer to take it in its ancient sense of 'armies:' see on 7. 716.—H. N.]

603.] ['Fateor petiisse' like "negat discernere" v. 201 above.—H. N.]

604.] 'Sceleris iniuria nostri' like "nostrae iniuria caedis" above v. 256. 'Nostri' is better taken in the sense of 'mei' than extended, as Forb. suggests, to the whole Greek army.

605.] 'Spargite me in fluctus' is explained by 4. 600, "Non potui abreptum divellere corpus et undis Spargere?" ["'Spargite me in fluctus,' in partes scilicet divisum." Ti. Donatus.—H. N.] Schirach's notion, that spargere has reference to 'vasto ponto,' 'throw me into the boundless deep, to welter there,' is possible, but scarcely so likely. Virg. seems to combine in the two clauses the two thoughts of being thrown piecemeal into the waves and drowned there. ['Immergite' Pal.—H. N.]

606.] "Ostendit male vivere: nam 'si

Dixerat, et genua amplexus genibusque volutans
Haerebat. Qui sit, fari, quo sanguine cretus,
Hortamur; quae deinde agitet fortuna, fateri.
Ipse pater dextram Anchises, haut multa moratus,
Dat iuveni, atque animum praesenti pignore firmat.
Ille haec, deposita tandem formidine, fatur:
Sum patria ex Ithaca, comes infelicis Ulixi,
Nomine Achemenides, Troiam genitore Adamasto

pereo' dixit et non 'cum periero:'" Ti. Donatus, who is right in calling attention to the mood and tense, though the meaning seems rather to be 'if I die, as I am on the point of dying, either by the hands of the Cyclops, or by those of my natural enemies.' 'Manibus hominum' was the reading before Heins. The early editors used to point before 'periisse.'

607.] The structure of the sentence obliges us to take 'genibus' with 'volutans,' not with 'haerebat.' The abl. will then be local. Some MSS. have 'volutus,' but the intransitive use of the participle is sufficiently Virgilian, and the frequentative is very forcible here. 'Genibus' or 'genua advolvi' is frequent in prose: see Forc.

608.] Comp. 2. 74, 75. Some MSS. give 'quis sit.' See on E. 1. 19.

609.] 'Deinde' is not unfrequently used by Virg. out of its place (see on 1. 195, so that Jahn and Forb. may be right in connecting it here with 'fateri.' But a very good meaning may be extracted from it as it stands, not by connecting it, as Wagn. does, with 'quae' in the sense of 'quae iam,' a sense which Forb. rightly denies to be supported by 5. 741., 9. 781., 12. 888 (where see notes), but by referring it to 'agitet Fortuna.' Achemenides is asked what is his birth, and what have been his subsequent fortunes. 'Agitet' is used because the present is inquired about as well as the past, and is indeed the more prominent object of curiosity. The word might be understood in a neutral sense, Fortune being said 'agitare' a person, as a person is said himself 'agitare aevum,' 'vitam,' &c. (a conversion of subject and object not unusual in Virg.), but it is better taken in its less favourable acceptation, as they would naturally assume that Achemenides had been persecuted by Fortune.

610.] ['Haud' Med.—H. N.]

611.] "'Dat iuveni:' ut evitaret tenuem voculam 'ei.'" Heyne. 'Iuveni' has a force of its own, as contrasted with 'pater.' 'Praesenti' seems to mean 'taking effect at once,' as 'praesens pecunia' is money paid down at once, ready money, 'praesens debitum' a debt that has to be discharged immediately. Anchises' action was an earnest of something further, but it brought immediate comfort. 'Animum firmat' G. 4. 386.

612.] We have had this line already 2. 76, though its genuineness there is doubtful.

613—654.] 'His name, he said, was Achemenides: he had been at Troy with Ulysses, and on his voyage home had been accidentally left in the cave of the Cyclops. He described to us the death of his comrades and the vengeance Ulysses took, and advises us to fly at once, as there were many other giants besides the one who had been blinded. He himself had been three months in the island, subsisting as he could, and only wished to be removed from it.'

613.] It signifies little whether 'patria' is regarded as a substantive, or with Wund. as an adjective. 'Infelicis' answers to the Homeric πολύτλας.

614.] 'Nomen' was found by Pierius in all the ancient MSS. which he consulted, and Heins. speaks of it as the reading of 'potiores membranae nostrae.' 'Nomine' however is the reading of Med., Gud., and some others. Rom. and fragm. Vat. are deficient, and Pal. illegible. Either would be in accordance with Latin usage, while 'nomen' would perhaps be the more liable to alteration. On the whole I have preferred 'nomine,' contrary to the opinion of the modern editors, Ribbeck excepted, on account of its external authority. Those who support 'nomen' are not agreed on its construction, some making it a nom., some an acc. 'Achemenides,' not 'Achaemenides,' is the reading of Med., supported by the Greek Ἀχημενίδης. 'Genitore Adamasto' is not constructed with 'profectus,' but

Paupere—mansissetque utinam fortuna!—profectus.
Hic me, dum trepidi crudelia limina lincunt,
Inmemores socii vasto Cyclopis in antro
Deseruere. Domus sanie dapibusque cruentis,
Intus opaca, ingens. Ipse arduus, altaque pulsat
Sidera—Di, talem terris avertite pestem!—
Nec visu facilis nec dictu adfabilis ulli.
Visceribus miserorum et sanguine vescitur atro.
Vidi egomet, duo de numero cum corpora nostro
Prensa manu magna medio resupinus in antro
Frangeret ad saxum, sanieque exspersa natarent
Limina; vidi atro cum membra fluentia tabo
Manderet, et tepidi tremerent sub dentibus artus.

taken absolutely, like "patre Benaco" 10. 205. The clause however is equivalent to saying that his father sent him to Troy.

615.] So Sinon's father is 'pauper' 2. 87. Here, as there, poverty is the reason why the soldier's calling is chosen, 'mansisset' &c. being tantamount to 'Would I had been content with my lot!' 'Mansissetque utinam fortuna' like "fecissentque utinam" 2. 110. So "et" is used in a parenthetical sentence, 11. 901.

616.] Virg. takes up Hom.'s story of Ulysses and the Cyclops. 'Hic' followed by 'in antro,' quasi-epexegetically: see on E. 1. 53. ['Linquunt' Med.—H. N.]

618.] 'Sanie dapibusque cruentis' goes with 'domus,' as an abl. of quality or circumstance, though, as the words apparently are to be taken as a predicate, we should have expected them to be constructed with an adj. or participle. 'Cruenta' is found in a single inferior copy, the Codex Wittianus.

619.] 'Pulsat sidera' stronger than 'tangit,' like Horace's "Sublimi feriam sidera vertice" (1 Od. 1. 36).

620.] "Di, talem avertite casum" above v. 265.

621.] Virg. may have thought of Od. 9. 230, *οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔμελλ' ἑτάροισι φανεὶς ἐρατεινὸς ἔσεσθαι*, ib. 257, *δεισάντων φθόγγον τε βαρύν, αὐτόν τε πέλωρον*. Macrob. Sat. 6. 1 says that Virg. has followed a passage in the Philoctetes of Attius, "Quem neque tueri contra nec adfari queas." The exact meaning of 'visu facilis' seems to be 'conformable in respect of being looked on.' 'Facilis' is more commonly used of disposition or manner, but the transference to external appearance is not difficult. See on G. 2. 223., 4. 272. For 'adfabilis' there is a variant 'effabilis,' which was in Serv.'s copy, and is found in Pal., Gud., and others.

622.] ["Viscera proprie carnes sunt." Serv.—H. N.]

623.] 'Vidi egomet:' comp. 2. 499. ['Vidi cum frangeret,' &c. = "vidi frangentem, mandentem." See on 8. 353, "se vidisse Iovem cum saepe concuteret."—H. N.] 'Corpora:' see on 2. 18. In Hom.'s account the Cyclops seizes two on three several occasions.

624.] The Cyclops in Homer is on his feet when he seizes the companions of Ulysses, 9. 288 foll., so that Burm. may be right in explaining 'resupinus' of the giant's bending back to gain a spring. 'Medio in antro' however is slightly in favour of supposing him to be lying down.

625.] In Hom. it is the brain that sprinkles the floor (v. 290); but we need hardly compare the details. 'Adspersa' is the reading of most MSS., including Med., but Serv. asserts 'exspersa' to be the true word, adding the critical remark that 'adspersa natarent' would combine a *ταπείνωσις* with a hyperbole. 'Exspersa' is likely enough to have been altered as a rare word, though found in Lucr. (5. 371), while it is certainly the more forcible of the two. We may translate 'splashed and swimming with gore.'

627.] As in G. 1. 296, the MSS. vary between 'tepidi' and 'trepidi,' the latter of which is found in Med., though with a mark indicating that the 'r' is to be omitted, and is the second reading of Pal. The sense is clearly in favour of 'tepidi,' as 'trepidi' would be merely a tautology with 'tremerent,' not, as Jahn thinks, a fresh stroke of horror. Ovid's

Haut inpune quidem; nec talia passus Ulixes,
Oblitusve sui est Ithacus discrimine tanto.
Nam simul expletus dapibus vinoque sepultus
Cervicem inflexam posuit, iacuitque per antrum
Inmensus, saniem eructans et frusta cruento
Per somnum commixta mero, nos, magna precati
Numina sortitique vices, una undique circum
Fundimur, et telo lumen terebramus acuto,
Ingens, quod torva solum sub fronte latebat,
Argolici clipei aut Phoebeae lampadis instar,
Et tandem laeti sociorum ulciscimur umbras.
Sed fugite, o miseri, fugite, atque ab litore funem
Rumpite.
Nam qualis quantusque cavo Polyphemus in antro

words "elisi trepident sub dentibus artus" (M. 14. 196) prove nothing.

628.] 'Haut inpune quidem' may remind us of Od. 9. 317, εἴ πως τισαίμην, δοίη δέ μοι εὖχος Ἀθήνη, 'nec talia passus Ulixes' of ib. 475, Κύκλωψ, οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλες ἀνάλκιδος ἀνδρὸς ἑταίρους Ἔδμεναι ἐν σπῆϊ γλαφυρῷ κρατερῆφι βίηφι. With 'Ulixes—Ithacus' comp. v. 162, 'Delius —Apollo,' though here 'Ithacus' seems to be a second nominative.

630.] 'Vino sepultus' 2. 265. The description is copied from Od. 9. 371 foll. in all its loathsome details. We need not however blame Virg., as some critics have done, for introducing such things into an after-supper speech. Writing of Homeric events, he naturally adopts the Homeric manner.

631.] 'Cervicem posuit' like "pone caput" 5. 845. ['Iacuit:' Servius quotes from Varro "in lectu temulentos iacere, sobrios cubare consuescere."—H. N.]

632.] Some copies have 'immensum' (Pal.) or 'immensam,' the former of which is supported by Serv. The old reading was 'ac frusta,' which Heyne retained. ['Frustra' Pal. and originally Med., just as "proprius" is often written for "propius."—H. N.]

634.] Hom. (vv. 331 foll.) makes them cast lots for four who should take part with Ulysses. Virg. apparently means that they settled by lot which part of the work should fall to each, all being assumed to share in it. ['Nomina' Med. originally.—H. N.]

635.] Ti. Donatus preferred 'tenebramus,' a reading mentioned by Serv., which has a certain superficial plausibility in connexion with 'lumen.' But this poetical prettiness would be out of place here. 'Terebramus' expresses a process which Hom. describes in several lines (vv. 382 foll.), the rest forcing the stake into the eye, while Ulysses from above twirls it about, as a ship-carpenter bores a hole in a plank. The 'telum' is doubtless the stake.

636.] 'Latebat' seems to express the appearance of the eye as he lay, sunken, and overshadowed by the huge brow and lashes, not as Serv., "dormienti scilicet." Here again, as in v. 535 above, Serv. represents Aelius Donatus as reading unmetrically 'late patebat;' but these words look more like an attempt at explanation founded on an etymological blunder, "latebat, i. e. late patebat," like the derivation of 'oculus' from "occulo" given by Isid. 11. 1. 36. It does not appear that 'patebat' existed as a various reading, but one copy has 'iacebat.'

637.] The point of the comparison lies, as Henry remarks, in the fact that the various objects were huge, round, and glaring. The Argive shield was round, and protected the whole body. The comparison to the shield is from Callim. Hymn to Artemis, v. 53 (speaking of the Cyclops), τοῖσι δ' ὑπ' ὀφρὺν Φάεα μουνόγληνα, σάκει ἶσα τετραβοείῳ, Δεινὸν ὑπογλαύσσοντα. ["'Phoebeae' autem derivatio est vel a luna, vel a sole;" Serv. The former is probably right here. Pal. has 'Phoobaeae.'—H. N.]

638.] See on v. 628.

641.] 'Qualis quantusque:' see on 2. 591.

Lanigeras claudit pecudes atque ubera pressat,
Centum alii curva haec habitant ad litora volgo
Infandi Cyclopes et altis montibus errant.
Tertia iam Lunae se cornua lumine complent,
Cum vitam in silvis inter deserta ferarum
Lustra domosque traho, vastosque ab rupe Cyclopas
Prospicio, sonitumque pedum vocemque tremesco,
Victum infelicem, bacas lapidosaque corna,
Dant rami, et vulsis pascunt radicibus herbae.
Omnia conlustrans hanc primum ad litora classem
Conspexi venientem. Huic me, quaecumque fuisset,
Addixi: satis est gentem effugisse nefandam.
Vos animam hanc potius quocumque absumite leto.
  Vix ea fatus erat, summo cum monte videmus

642.] Virg. has not previously spoken of Polyphemus' shepherd habits: here he introduces them incidentally, the whole line being a poetical synonyme for "est," as Heyne remarks.

643.] 'Volgo' = "passim," as in 6. 283, E. 4. 25, G. 3. 363, 494, comp. by Wund. and Wagn. ['Vulgo' Med.—H. N.]

644.] Some copies (including the second readings of Pal. and Med.) have 'atque altis,' evidently from a mistake about the quantity of "Cyclopes."

645.] With the construction Forb. comp. Prop. 3. 12. 21, "Septima iam plenae deducitur orbita lunae, Cum de me et de te compita nulla tacent." ['Conplent' Pal.—H. N.]

646.] 'Deserta,' forsaken or unfrequented, not of course by the beasts themselves, but by men. "Inter silvas, inter deserta ferarum" occurs 7. 404, 'deserta' being there a substantive.

647.] Heyne and Henry seem right, after Cerda, in connecting 'ab rupe' with 'Cyclopas.' The Cyclops live on the mountain-tops (Od. 9. 113), and Achemenides sees them skulking among the woods on the low ground. So immediately below, v. 655, 'summo monte' belongs not to 'videmus' but to 'moventem.' 'Ab rupe' may either mean 'in the direction of the cliff,' like "vicino ab limite" E. 1. 53, or 'coming down the cliff.' The singular furnishes no objection, as Achemenides may well be thinking of a single occasion when he saw and heard a Cyclops on a cliff. 'Prospicio' however, as Mr. Long remarks, is in favour of supposing Achemenides to have mounted a rock for observation, as he apparently does v. 651. [Henry would now take 'rupe' to mean Etna, comparing Catullus 68. 55 (68[b]. 13) "Trinacria rupes."—H. N.]

648.] 'Tremesco' is the spelling of Med. and most other MSS. The construction with acc. occurs again 11. 403.

649.] Comp. G. 2. 500, "Quos rami fructus, quos ipsa volentia rura Sponte tulere sua, carpsit," which gives the more pleasing side of the picture. 'Infelicem' like "infelix lolium" E. 5. 37, i. q. 'silvestris,' though with a further rhetorical force. 'Lapidosa corna' G. 2. 34. ['Corona' Pal.—H. N.]

650.] 'Vulsis radicibus,' their roots torn up from the soil, a variety for 'vulsae a radicibus.' The words are constructed with 'herbae,' not with 'pascunt.' So "ruptis radicibus" above v. 27.

651.] 'Primum' almost = "tandem" here: see on E. 1. 44. ['Primo ab litore' Nonius p. 335.—H. N.]

652.] Med. and two or three others have 'prospexi,' which may be right, though it seems likely to have come from 'prospicio' v. 648. For the tense of 'fuisset' see on 2. 94.

653.] 'Addixi' expresses total surrender, and so prepares us for the language of self-abandonment which follows.

655—691.] 'As he spoke, the blind monster Polyphemus appeared from the mountain with his sheep, and advanced into the water, which did not reach to his sides. We put to sea quickly, while he strode after us: but finding we outstripped him, he called out, and his giant-brethren

Ipsum inter pecudes vasta se mole moventem
Pastorem Polyphemum et litora nota petentem,
Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.
Trunca manu pinus regit et vestigia firmat;
Lanigerae comitantur oves; ea sola voluptas
Solamenque mali.
Postquam altos tetigit fluctus et ad aequora venit,
Luminis effossi fluidum lavit inde cruorem,

thronged to the shore. We hurried away, not knowing whither, though anxious to avoid Scylla and Charybdis. A breeze sprung up from the north and carried us along, Achemenides being our guide.'

655.] 'In monte' is the first reading of Gud., the second of Pal.

657.] 'Nota' shows how he made his way in spite of his blindness.

658.] Key (Lat. Gr. § 973) would connect 'ingens' with 'lumen,' comp. v. 636, and referring to other places in Virg. where the relative stands in the same part of the verse, preceded by a spondee in the same clause. But "Monstrum horrendum, ingens" 4. 181 is in favour of the old pointing, and there is more force in making the line consist of four attributes of Polyphemus, dreadfulness, hideousness, vastness, and blindness. 'Monstrum ingens' too seems intended as a translation of καὶ γὰρ θαῦμα τέτυκτο πελώριον Od. 9. 190. Another novelty is proposed by Henry, who understands 'lumen' not of the eye, but of the light of day,—a view supported by Ov. M. 14. 197, where Polyphemus says "Quam multum aut leve sit damnum mihi lucis ademptae!" (comp. v. 200 "inanem luminis orbem.") Verg. perhaps did not distinguish the two meanings as sharply as we do: but the use of 'lumen' vv. 635, 663 confirms the old interpretation, as does the fact that elsewhere he uses 'cassus lumine,' 'spoliatus lumine' of the darkness not of the blind but of the dead. [Lucr. 3. 1033 "lumine adempto animam moribundo corpore fudit." This passage favours Henry's interpretation, which he also confirms by quoting Ov. M. 3. 337, and other passages from Ov.—H. N.]

659.] The Cyclops in Hom. (vv. 319 foll.) has a huge club of pine-wood, as long and thick as a mast, τὸ μὲν ἔκταμεν ὄφρα φοροίη αὐανθέν. This is doubtless intended here by 'trunca manu pinus,' where 'manu' expresses personal exertion (see on G. 2. 156). There is another reading 'manum,' which though not supported by the oldest extant MSS. (Med. has it from a correction), is as old as Quintilian, who says (8. 4), "Nam quod illud corpus mente concipiam, cuius trunca manum pinus regit?" But it is difficult to see how the staff guides the hand, though it is the instrument by which the hand guides the steps. Burm. however adopted 'manum,' [as Henry now does.] Serv. read 'manu,' though he curiously enough understood it of the pine, connecting 'regit' with 'lumen ademptum'—"cuius caecitatem manu pinus regit." Whether the object of 'regit' is Polyphemus or his footsteps matters little. Comp. 6. 30, which favours the latter view.

660.] Ulysses and his companions had carried off the rams, but left the ewes. With 'ea sola voluptas,' which awakens our sympathy for the blind monster, comp. his playful address to his pet ram Od. 9. 447 foll.

661.] Pal., Gud., and some others fill up the hemistich with the words 'de collo fistula pendet,' or as one or two give it, 'pendebat' or 'dependet fistula collo.' The variety would itself excite suspicion, being what we find in other places where later copyists have amused themselves by filling up 'lacunae' (see e. g. 2. 767., 3. 340), while the detail belongs to Theocritus' Polyphemus, not to Hom.'s. Thus the presence of the words in Pal. merely proves that they are of earlier date than most of the Virgilian interpolations. Heins. however seems to have been the first to omit them. [The words are unknown to Servius and Ti. Donatus.—H. N.]

662.] There is no difficulty in 'altos,' though 'ad aequora venit' must be taken as a ὕστερον πρότερον.

663.] For 'effossi' Med. has 'effusi,' the original reading (a m. pr.) having been 'effuso.' ['Ecfossi' Nonius p. 447.—H. N.] 'Fluvidum' is the spelling of

Dentibus infrendens gemitu, graditurque per aequor
Iam medium, necdum fluctus latera ardua tinxit.
Nos procul inde fugam trepidi celerare, recepto
Supplice sic merito, tacitique incidere funem ;
Verrimus et proni certantibus aequora remis.
Sensit, et ad sonitum vocis vestigia torsit.
Verum ubi nulla datur dextra adfectare potestas,
Nec potis Ionios fluctus aequare sequendo,
Clamorem immensum tollit, quo pontus et omnes
Contremuere undae, penitusque exterrita tellus

Med. and most other MSS.; but the word so spelt is supposed to be long, as in Lucr. 2. 464. 'Inde,' "de fluctibus," according to Serv.'s first explanation. Comp. the Homeric λούεσθαι ποταμοῖο, which shows that we need not press the words here with Forb., as if they meant that he takes up some of the water in his hand to bathe his eyes with.

665.] For 'fluctus' there is an old variant 'fluctu,' supported by Serv. (who however mentions 'fluctus'), Pal., Gud. a m. p., and a correction in Med. For 'tinxit' some give 'texit' (the first reading of Med.), others 'strinxit.'

666.] Partly from Od. 9. 471 foll., partly from 10. 126 foll., where Ulysses escapes from the Laestrygons.

667.] 'Merito' is rightly taken by the later editors as a participle, not as an adverb. "Sic meritae" is similarly used by Val. Fl. 2. 145.

668.] 'Vertimus' is the reading of Med., Pal., Gud., and others. In itself it might stand well enough, as it is frequently used of ploughing, while "versare" is said of rowing by Val. Fl. 1. 450. But we have already had "verrere" of rowing vv. 208, 290 above, and we shall find it used elsewhere, 5. 778., 6. 320 ("vertunt" being given by Pal. in the latter place), after the example of Ennius, A. 14. fr. 1, quoted by Gell. 2. 26, "Verrunt extemplo placidum mare." ['Verro' in such passages means not to sweep over, but to tear or plough up: the word properly being = "trahere."—H. N.] Whether "versus" in 5. 141., 10. 208 comes from "verto" or from "verro" is doubtful: see on the former passage. 'Proni' of the action of rowing compared with the action of driving 5. 147.

669.] ['Sentit' Pal. originally. 'At' Med. for 'ad.'—H. N.] It signifies little whether 'vocis' be understood of the κέλευσμα or of the plashing of the oars (comp. v. 556 above "fractasque ad litora voces"); but the latter seems simpler, and agrees better with 'taciti' v. 667. The pleonasm 'sonitum vocis' need hardly trouble us.

670.] 'Dextram adfectare' is the reading of fragm. Vat., Pal. (corrected), Gud., and others, supported by Med., a m. pr. 'dextrum.' ['Serv. supports 'dextram,' explaining 'adfectare' as = "intendere," "inicere," and quoting the phrase "adfectare viam," which he says means "intendere viam." Ti. Donatus read "dextra."—H. N.] But the words 'dextram adfectare' would have no meaning, as "adfectare aliquid" is to aim at a thing. The change was probably made by those who thought the object of 'adfectare' ought to be expressed. 'Potestas adfectare' = "potestas adfectandi:" see on G. 1. 213.

671.] 'Potis' [est] = "potest," sc. Polyphemus. The meaning seems to be rightly given by Wund.: 'he cannot move as fast as the waves carry the ship along.' The old interpretation, 'he cannot keep in his depth if he goes farther,' would be hardly consistent with vv. 664, 665, which seem to show that he could ford the ocean. Wund. comp. 10. 248 "ventos aequante sagitta."

672.] The cry of the Cyclops and the consequent gathering of his brethren are partly from Od. 9. 399, where the Cyclops cries in the agony of his wound, partly from Od. 10. 11., foll., where Antiphates calls the Laestrygons.

673.] Wagn. and Ribbeck are perhaps right in preferring the reading of Med. 'contremuere' to 'intremuere,' the reading of fragm. Vat., Pal., &c., on the ground that the former is the stronger word: but the case is very doubtful. 'Exterrita' stands for a finite verb. [The rhythm closely resembles that of 7. 514–5. "quo protinus omne Contremuit nemus et silvae insonuere profundae."—H. N.]

Italiae, curvisque immugiit Aetna cavernis.
At genus e silvis Cyclopum et montibus altis
Excitum ruit ad portus et litora conplent.
Cernimus adstantis nequiquam lumine torvo
Aetnaeos fratres, caelo capita alta ferentis,
Concilium horrendum: quales cum vertice celso
Aëriae quercus, aut coniferae cyparissi
Constiterunt, silva alta Iovis, lucusve Dianae.
Praecipitis metus acer agit quocumque rudentis
Excutere, et ventis intendere vela secundis.
Contra iussa monent Heleni, Scyllam atque Charybdim

674.] ['Inmugiit' Med.—H. N.] The effect extends from Sicily to Italy. Some copies however give 'Trinacriae.' For 'curvit' see on 2. 748. [Milton may have thought of these lines when he wrote "Hell trembled at the hideous name, and sighed From all her caves, and back resounded 'Death'!"—H. N.]

675.] The 'silvae' seems to be distinct from the mountains (see on v. 647); but it is not easy to say. Med., Gud. a m. p., and others have 'e montibus.'

676.] Some MSS. have 'conplet,' but Virg. doubtless changed the number for variety's sake, though Wagn. thinks the plural may possibly have been introduced to agree with 'litora.' ['Complent' Med. —H. N.]

677.] 'Adstantis:' G. 3. 545 note. 'Nequiquam:' "quia nocere non poterant," Serv.

678.] 'Caelo:' "ad caelum," as in 2. 186. 'Capita alta ferentis' 1. 189. 'Aetnaeos' is merely a local epithet, not, as some have thought, intended to designate their size.

679.] 'Cum' must be the conjunction, not, as Heyne, who generally writes 'quum,' appears to have considered it, the preposition. 'Vertice celso' then will be not the tall tops of the trees, but the high mountain on which they stand—a more striking picture. This gives more force to 'cum'—'as when trees are planted together on a mountain-top.'

680.] In using the epithet 'coniferae' Virg. was doubtless thinking of Catull. 64. 105, "Velut in summo quatientem bracchia Tauro Quercum, aut conigeram sudanti cortice pinum."

681.] Serv., whose notions of metre sometimes seem peculiar, says, "'Constiterunt:' metri causa pro 'consistunt.'" The perf. seems to be aoristic, there being no definite time in comparisons. As Serv. remarks, the oaks are the 'silva alta Iovis,' the cypresses, 'lucus Dianae,' she being regarded as an infernal goddess, while the cypress was sacred to Pluto. 'Constiterant' fragm. Vat. corrected and others.

682.] 'Rudentis excutere:' note on v. 267 above. With the general sense comp. v. 269, "Quo cursum ventusque gubernatorque vocabat."

684—686.] [To save space I venture to abridge Conington's note on these difficult lines, as something has to be added to it. Servius says "Antiqui 'ni' pro 'ne' ponebant, qua particula plenus est Plautus, 'ni mala ni stulta sis?'" (Menaechmi 1. 2. 1) "Sensus ergo talis est: timor cogebat, ut quocumque navigaremus et ventum sequeremur, non iudicium; sed occurrebat praeceptum Heleni, vitare Scyllam et Charybdin. Quare placuit, ne cursus teneant, hoc est agantur et inpellantur inter utramque viam modico mortis interstitio, id est Scyllae et Charybdis, retro dare lintea; quod dum cogitamus, prosperior nobis flare coepit Boreas." From this it would seem as if a line might have dropped out after 'Charybdin,' beginning with "vitare" or some such word, Serv. evidently regarding 'inter utramque viam'—'retro' as a separate clause. Daniel's Servius continues "non nulli 'Scyllam atque Charybdin Inter' distinguunt, ut sit ordo 'inter Scyllam et Charybdin utramque viam leti discrimine parvo ni teneant cursus, certum est dare lintea retro.' Alius ordo est 'contra iussa monent Heleni ne inter Scyllam et Charybdin cursum teneant.'" Ti. Donatus paraphrases "timori Cyclopum cedendum fuerat quacunque ratione, sed huic consilio iussa Heleni e diverso veniebant, ne nos aut laniaret Scylla aut Charybdis voraret. Istorum malorum

Inter, utramque viam leti discrimine parvo,
Ni teneant cursus; certum est dare lintea retro.
Ecce autem Boreas angusta ab sede Pelori
Missus adest. Vivo praetervehor ostia saxo
Pantagiae Megarosque sinus Thapsumque iacentem.
Talia monstrabat relegens errata retrorsus

consideratione turbati sententiam fiximus ut inter geminum metum vel transiremus medii vel retrorsum navigia duceremus." There is no doubt that both commentators understood 'ni' as standing for "ne," and that they were right in doing so. Further consideration of the passage has led me to reject Madvig's emendation 'contra ac' (see notes at the end of vol. iii.), and to suppose the general sense to be that, remembering Helenus' admonitions about avoiding Scylla and Charybdis, they determine to put back to shore ('dare lintea retro') when a north wind springs up and carries them southward. The chief difficulty lies in v. 685. Conington, virtually adopting the third explanation suggested by Servius, translated 'On the other hand, the injunctions of Helenus warn us not to hold on our way between Scylla and Charybdis—either passage a hair's breadth remove from death; so we resolve,' etc. 'Utramque viam' he took as in apposition to 'cursus' or as a cognate accusative expressing the effect of 'teneant cursus,' and 'utramque viam' as perhaps the two passages, the one nearer to Scylla, the other to Charybdis, both of which were taken by Ulysses. The construction 'leti discrimine parvo' he thought was fixed by the parallel 9. 143 ("leti discrimina parva"), and by the similar expression "tenui discrimine leti" 10. 511: so that it would be a descriptive ablative. Would it be possible to take 'inter utramque viam leti' together, and to render 'the commands of Helenus warn us that our course should not make for Scylla and Charybdis, there being but a narrow line between either way of death'? The difficulty involved in the third person pl. 'teneant' would thus disappear. 'Utramque viam leti' might be paralleled by "nodum leti" 12. 603, if not by Horace's "calcanda semel via leti." There is no reason, with Heyne and Wagner, to suspect the genuineness of the lines, though the difficulty of translating them satisfactorily, taken together with Serv.'s two first explanations, almost makes me believe that a verse has been lost between vv. 684 and 685. Ribbeck reads 'Scylla atque Charybdis' from fragm. Vat., and transposes vv. 685, 686. With 'dare lintea retro' Conington comp. Hor. 1 Od. 34. 3 "retrorsum vela dare": with 'leti discrimine parvo' Apoll. R. 4. 831 ἀλλ' ἔχε νῆα Κεῖσ', ὅθι περ τυτθή γε παραίβασις ἔσσετ' ὀλέθρου, where the subject is, as here, the passage between Scylla and Charybdis.—H. N.]

687.] Comp. v. 411. The wind is said to blow from the headland, as elsewhere from the mountains. Heyne refers to Markland's Epist. Crit. p. 46. The reading before Heins. was 'a sede.'

688.] The mouth of the little river Pantagias is enclosed with rocks, which form a natural harbour. "Vivoque sedilia saxo" 1. 167. ['Pantagyae' the uncials. The spelling perhaps arose from an etymology mentioned by Servius "Pantagias quasi *pantacuos* (παντάκοος?) dictus est, quasi ubique sonans."—H. N.]

689.] 'Megaros,' an unusual adjective from "Megara," like "Ithacus" from "Ithaca."

690, 691.] These lines are also rejected by Wagn. on internal grounds, this time with the slight external support of the Codex Wittianus, which places them in the margin. There is however nothing un-Virgilian in their language. 'Talia' does not stand simply for "haec," but has its usual sense, 'these and others like these:' 'relegens' and 'retrorsus' are undoubtedly ἅπαξ λεγόμενα in Virg., but they occur in other Augustan writers, and there is nothing in the last of them, as Forb. once thought, foreign to the Epic style: nor is it strange that Aeneas should call Ulysses 'infelix,' speaking of him in connexion with the partner of his wanderings, and for the moment sympathizing with him as a fellow-sufferer with himself. It may be true that the places mentioned here find no place in Hom.'s account of Ulysses' voyage: but Virg. evidently intends to accommodate Ulysses' journey, as he has done Aeneas', to his own views of geography, as we have just seen in the case of *his* territory of the Cyclops, which, though

Litora Achemenides, comes infelicis Ulixi.
Sicanio praetenta sinu iacet insula contra
Plemurium undosum; nomen dixere priores
Ortygiam. Alpheum fama est huc Elidis amnem
Occultas egisse vias supter mare; qui nunc
Ore, Arethusa, tuo Siculis confunditur undis.
Iussi numina magna loci veneramur; et inde
Exsupero praepingue solum stagnantis Helori.
Hinc altas cautes proiectaque saxa Pachyni

not the same as Hom.'s, is still represented as that which Ulysses visited. The intimation that Achemenides informed Aeneas of the names of the places, or (as the words may well mean) acted as his guide, was not necessary indeed, but cannot be called out of place. The construction of the words is not quite clear, as 'litora' may be connected either with 'errata,' or with 'talia,' or again with both: but the last seems the most probable view. 'Errata litora' then may be compared with "erratas terras" Ov. F. 4. 573, though the meaning here is not so much 'wandered over' as 'passed by in his wanderings.' For 'retrorsus' some MSS. give 'retrorsum.' It is noticeable that these verses also have the support of Priscian (11. 5. 21). ["'Relegens,' renavigans." Serv.—H. N.]

692—715.] 'We pass by Plemyrium, Helorus, Pachynum, Camarina, Gela, Acragas, Selinus, Lilybaeum, and Drepanum. At the last of these places I lose my father Anchises—a most heavy and unlooked-for blow. Sailing thence, I was driven on your coast by the storm.'

692.] The 'Sicanian bay' is that which afterwards formed the great harbour of Syracuse. With 'praetenta' comp. 6. 60 "praetentaque Syrtibus arva," though there the construction is different (see note).

693.] Plemyrium is known to the readers of Thucydides (7. 4) as to the height which the Athenians fortified after the arrival of Gylippus: *τῷ δὲ Νικίᾳ ἐδόκει τὸ Πλημμύριον καλούμενον τειχίσαι· ἔστι δὲ ἄκρα ἀντιπέρας τῆς πόλεως, ἥπερ προύχουσα τοῦ μεγάλου λιμένος τὸ στόμα στενὸν ποιεῖ.* The spelling 'Plemmyrium' is more usual in Greek: here however Med. and Rom. agree in 'Plemyrium,' which Wagn. consequently restores, comparing "Parnasus," "Lyrnesus." Ribbeck rightly prefers 'Plemurium,' the spelling of fragm. Veron., Pal., and Gud. Longus in the Verona Scholia says "Plemurium fuit, emendatum Plemyrium." The name is of course from *πλημμυρίς*, so that 'undosum' is one of those epithets which are in fact Latin translations of Greek significant appellatives—a class of which there are several specimens in this paragraph. See on 1. 298.

694.] With the construction 'nomen dixere Ortygiam' comp. above v. 18. For Arethusa and Alpheus see on E. 10. 4. ['Alphhaeum' Rom.—H. N.]

695.] 'Vias' is merely for 'viam,' as 'nunc' seems to show that Alpheus, having once accomplished his journey, was afterwards allowed to mingle with Arethusa. ['Subter' Med.—H. N.]

696.] 'Ore tuo' seems to be a local abl., 'Siculis undis' being constructed with 'confunditur.' Comp. G. 3. 439 note. Pind. Nem. 1. 1 calls Arethusa *ἄμπνευμα σεμνὸν Ἀλφείου.*

697.] 'Iussi' apparently by Anchises, who throughout the book directs the religious observances of the Trojans; it may however be an unexpressed precept of Helenus. Serv. suggests another alternative, Achemenides. 'Numina' are apparently Alpheus and Arethusa. Gossrau sees here a proof of the prophetic power of Anchises, whom he supposes to foresee the greatness of Syracuse, and thence to infer that the spot is under high supernatural protection—a notion with which he comp. 8. 347 foll. Some MSS. read 'Numina magna loci iussi veneramur:' but Pierius defends the order in the text, comparing 7. 724, E. 2. 53, where the rhythm is similar.

698.] 'Exsupero' of passing by, like "supero" 1. 244, E. 8. 6, where as here the place passed is the mouth of a river. 'Stagnantis' translates 'Helori' ((Ἕλωρος, ἕλος).

699.] 'Proiecta saxa,' *προβλῆτες σκόπελοι*, of which it may be intended as a translation. Heyne. Macrob. Sat. 6. 4

Radimus, et fatis numquam concessa moveri
Apparet Camerina procul campique Geloi,
Inmanisque Gela fluvii cognomine dicta.
Arduus inde Acragas ostentat maxima longe
Moenia, magnanimum quondam generator equorum;
Teque datis linquo ventis, palmosa Selinus,

notes this as an old use of 'proiecta,' and quotes Sisenna and Lucr.; but other instances are given by Nonius p. 373 from Cic.

700.] 'Fatis,' by the oracle, which is preserved by Serv., *μὴ κίνει Καμάριναν, ἀκίνητος γὰρ ἀμείνων*, words which in modern days have passed into a proverb against meddling even with admitted evils. The story is that the place was surrounded by a marsh, which the inhabitants drained in spite of the oracle, thus making the spot accessible to the enemy, who took it. It is not known to what period of history this story refers, though Thuc. says (6. 5) that the place was three times founded, the inhabitants having been twice expelled. In any case Serv. is doubtless right in saying that Aeneas in making this and other allusions is speaking in the poet's language rather than in his own. Comp. 2. 21 note.

701.] 'Camerina' is the reading of the uncials; though the Greek is *Καμάρινα*.

702.] Thuc. 6. 4 says of Gela *καὶ τῇ μὲν πόλει ἀπὸ τοῦ Γέλα ποταμοῦ τοὔνομα ἐγένετο, τὸ δὲ χωρίον, οὗ νῦν ἡ πόλις ἐστί καὶ ὃ πρῶτον ἐτειχίσθη, Λίνδιοι καλεῖται.* The meaning of 'inmanis' is much disputed, some referring it to the size of the place, which however is not known to have been very large, others to the tyrants who ruled it, while the later editors understand it as a genitive, not very probably, and refer it to the dangerous character of the river. In lengthening the final syllable of 'Gela' Virg. has followed the Greek (see Lachm. on Lucr. 6. 971). Silius Italicus on the contrary, in a similar enumeration of Sicilian cities (14. 218), has "Venit ab amne trahens nomen Gela." A difficulty has been made about 'fluvii,' the "ii" in the genitive being said not to be found in Virg. Lachm. however, in his elaborate treatment of the whole subject on Lucr. 5. 1006, allows it in hexameters in the case of trisyllables, comparing "apii" in the Moretum, v. 89, "Latii" in Gratius, Cyn. 18. 38, "spatii" in Germanicus, v. 531. Porson conjectured 'fluvio,' regarding 'cognomine' as an adj., as in 6. 383; but the omission of the proposition would be harsh, and the attempt to supply it by reading 'a fluvio' (Martin) produces a very un-Virgilian line. There is no difficulty in making 'cognomen' = "nomen," as in 12. 845, which Forb. comp. With the repetition 'campique Geloi, Gela' Lachm. comp. Il. 2. 711, *παραὶ Βοιβηΐδα λίμνην, Βοίβην καὶ Γλαφύρας.*

703.] 'Arduus' again seems to be an etymological explanation of 'Acragas,' the Greek name of Agrigentum, as if it came from *ἄκρος*. 'Acragas' is the reading of Rom. and a few others, including Verona fragm.; Pal. has 'Agragas' and Med. a m. p. 'Agragans.'

704.] 'Magnanimum' is the single instance in which Virg. has admitted a crasis in the genitive of an adj. of the second declension. The form occurs again 6. 307. G. 4. 476. Agrigentum was famous for breeding horses, which were not only taken care of while living, but honoured with sepulchres when dead, Pliny 8. 155. Theron, whose Olympic victories Pindar celebrates, was of Agrigentum. 'Quondam' comes in strangely, as it can hardly mean anything but 'at a future time.' The only supposition seems to be that Virg., who throughout this paragraph lets Aeneas speak as he himself would have spoken (see on v. 700 above), here forgets himself, or rather his hero, so completely as to point a contrast between the time of the narrative and the time of the poem. A poet with his mind full of the literary and historical interest of his subject is perhaps not unlikely to allow the expression of that feeling to escape him even at the most inappropriate time. We may remember how gladly he avails himself of the prophetic power of Anchises in Book 6 to contrast the small beginnings of Italy with its subsequent greatness (6. 766), and how readily in the later books of the Aeneid he introduces a reference to his own time (12. 134).

705.] For 'Selinus' again the best MSS. have 'Selinys;' but the Greek is

Et vada dura lego saxis Lilybeia caecis.
Hinc Drepani me portus et inlaetabilis ora
Accipit. Hic, pelagi tot tempestatibus actus,
Heu genitorem, omnis curae casusque levamen,
Amitto Anchisen. Hic me, pater optime, fessum
Deseris, heu, tantis nequiquam erepte periclis!
Nec vates Helenus, cum multa horrenda moneret,
Hos mihi praedixit luctus, non dira Celaeno.
Hic labor extremus, longarum haec meta viarum.
Hinc me digressum vestris deus appulit oris.
Sic pater Aeneas intentis omnibus unus

Σελινοῦς, and Longus in the Verona Scholia says "Selinus, quasi Opuns, Amathus, unde et Selinuntii." [' Palmosus' abounding in palms, that is in the "palma agrestis" or dwarf palm, *Chamaerops humilis*. This plant is not to be confounded with the date palm, though, as the name 'palma' is often applied to both in Latin authors this has sometimes been done. The dwarf palm (χαμαιῤῥιφής) is described and distinguished from the date palm by Theophrastus Hist. Plant. 2. 6, 11, who says it was common in Crete and still commoner in Sicily. Hehn, *Culturpflanze und Hausthiere* pp. 237—8, to whom I am indebted for the above remarks, says that the "palma agrestis" is still common about the site of the ancient Selinus.—H. N.]

706.] Heyne apparently takes 'dura' as if it referred to the physical hardness of the stony bottom; but it is far more like Virg. to explain it with Gossrau of the danger and difficulty of navigation.

707.] "'Inlaetabilis' propter patris amissionem." Serv. Heyne may perhaps be right in supposing the epithet also to refer to the character of the coast, which is said to be a barren salt marsh. Wund. comp. the Homeric ἀτερπὴς χῶρος (Od. 11. 94).

708.] ['Accepit' Rom.—H. N.] There is a question of reading between 'actis' (Rom., Pal., Gud.) and 'actus' (Med.). The former is supported by the majority of MSS., and was read by Serv. If we adopt it, the sense will be that after surmounting so many storms Anchises at last died in harbour, the feeling being like that of v. 711. 'Actus' on the other hand will express the same feeling as 'fessum' v. 710, Aeneas having sustained his trials by his father's help, and now being left alone just when he could bear it least. Or we may vary the thought slightly, and say that he means to represent this blow as the crowning evil of many, which is Wagn.'s view. Comp. 1. 240, "Nunc eadem fortuna viros tot casibus actos Insequitur." "Tempestatibus acti" occurs also 7. 199. On the whole I have followed Med., with Heins., who however doubts between the two, and subsequent editors, except Ribbeck. A single MS. gives 'actum,' which had occurred to myself.

709.] So Aeneas says of his father again 6. 112, "Ille meum comitatus iter maria omnia mecum Atque omnis pelagique minas caelique ferebat."

710.] The death of Anchises was fixed in different places by different authorities. His tomb is still shown at Drepanum; Eustathius however represented him as buried in Mount Ida, Theon in Pallene, Conon on the Thermaic gulf, the Arcadians in Arcadia, while Cato and others made him land in Italy with Aeneas. Had Virg. followed this last legend, his story would have been embarrassed by the presence of Anchises at Carthage, as Serv. and later critics remark.

712.] Virg. may have thought of Il. 17. 410 foll. Δὴ τότε γ' οὔ οἱ ἔειπε κακὸν τόσον ὅσσον ἐτύχθη Μήτηρ, ὅττι ῥά οἱ πολὺ φίλτατος ὤλεθ' ἑταῖρος.

714.] Aeneas calls the death of Anchises his 'last agony,' losing in his sense of it all recollection of the subsequent shipwreck, which is barely glanced at in the next line. Thus Virg. consults the natural feeling of his hero, at the same time that he avoids tiring the reader with anything like repetition.

715.] Apparently from Od. 7. 276, ὄφρα με γαίῃ Ὑμετέρῃ ἐπέλασσε φέρων ἄνεμός τε καὶ ὕδωρ. 'Deus appulit oris' above v. 338.

716—718.] 'So ended Aeneas.'

Fata renarrabat divum, cursusque docebat.
Conticuit tandem, factoque hic fine quievit.

717.] 'Fata divum' like "fata deum" 2. 54., 6. 376, the decrees of heaven, as exemplified in his own and his countrymen's sufferings. Wund. comp. θεῶν συντυχίαι Soph. Ant. 158. 'Renarrabat' is rightly explained by Henry of retrospective narration, like 'referre.' ['Cursu' Pal.—H. N.]

718.] It seems idle to attempt to clear this line of tautology, by making minute distinction between 'conticuit' and 'quievit.' No doubt the two may be said to represent the same thing as regarded in slightly different aspects: but that is no more than might be urged in any case of admitted repetition, such as those in Homer. Virg. is fond of saying the same thing two or three times, partly from an imitation of epic simplicity, partly owing to his own love of variety in expression. To understand 'quievit' of 'retiring to rest' with Wund. is less natural: but the word may fairly be said to *suggest* that notion, and thus to prepare us for Dido's broken slumbers at the beginning of Book 4.

P. VERGILI MARONIS

AENEIDOS

LIBER QUARTUS.

On the fourth Book of the Aeneid little remains to be added to what has been already said in the general Introduction. Its subject has made it the most attractive, perhaps the most celebrated, part of the poem: it has provoked much controversy, and that of a kind which has an interest, not only for the scholar, but for the general reader; much of it has been supposed to be borrowed from a particular Greek writer, whose work happens to be preserved: it is the most dramatic portion of the Aeneid, and as such may be viewed in relation to the masterpieces of Greek dramatic art. These are all points which appear to belong to the sphere of Virgilian criticism in general, whether aesthetic or antiquarian; and it seemed natural to discuss them in that connexion. For the questions then of Aeneas' treatment of Dido, of Virgil's obligations to Apollonius Rhodius, and of his relations, general and special, to the Greek drama, I must refer my readers to what I have said already.

Naevius, as has been remarked in the general Introduction, is supposed to have preceded Virgil in the anachronism of bringing Aeneas and Dido together.* As this fact is itself a matter of inference, we cannot of course tell whether he made their parting tragical or otherwise. All that we know connecting Naevius with the story of this book is that he mentioned Anna, Dido's sister, who appears now in Virgil for the first time. How this personage came to be complicated with the legendary history of Rome is not clear; her name however, which is Carthaginian, like Hanno, Hannibal, &c., led to her identification with Anna Perenna, the Roman goddess of the year, and Ovid (Fasti, 3. 523 foll.) recounts or invents a story of her following Aeneas to Italy. In Virgil she is merely the confidante of the heroine, a character which has become a stock one at certain periods of the history of the drama, especially since the chorus came to be excluded from the action. In other respects Virgil would seem simply to have taken the traditional story of Dido, and modified it as was required by the necessity of blending her destiny with that of Aeneas. According to the most detailed accounts, as epitomized in the Dictionary of Biography, Dido's early history up to the time of her landing in Africa coincides substantially with that narrated by Venus to Aeneas in Book 1; afterwards she is persecuted by her neighbour, King Iarbas, who demands her hand; she resolves to avoid him by death, erects a funeral pile under the pretence of a sacrifice to propitiate her former husband, and kills herself there. Virgil turns the loveless queen into a passionate lover, keeping however the groundwork of the character, devotion to the memory of her murdered lord, which is only overcome by Venus' express agency, and even then

* [See however p. lvii. foll.—H. N.]

from time to time struggles and resists. Iarbas is naturally made to recede into the distance; his anger contributes to darken the prospect of Dido's desolation, but is in no sense the motive cause of her death. The mode of her death is borrowed from the traditional story, and the fact of her resorting to a pretext to conceal her purpose; but as the reason for her death is different, the pretext is different also. In filling up the picture which he has sketched Virgil is indebted partly to Apollonius, though, as I have remarked elsewhere, not to such an extent as to deprive him of the praise of originality, partly perhaps to the Ajax of Sophocles.

Virgil's power is nowhere more conspicuously shown than in the lines describing the horrors which drive Dido to her fatal purpose (vv. 450—473.) Some remarks on the details of the description will be found in the Commentary.

At regina gravi iamdudum saucia cura
Volnus alit venis, et caeco carpitur igni.
Multa viri virtus animo, multusque recursat
Gentis honos; haerent infixi pectore vultus
Verbaque, nec placidam membris dat cura quietem.
Postera Phoebea lustrabat lampade terras

1—7.] 'The queen could not rest for thinking of her illustrious guest. After an unquiet night, she addresses her sister.'

1.] Wund. seems substantially right in saying that 'at' contrasts the restlessness of Dido with the rest of Aeneas and the others. The same opposition is drawn out more sharply below vv. 522 foll. ['Cura' of love, as in Plautus Epid. 1. 2. 32., Virg. A. 6. 444, &c. 'Iamdudum,' Ribbeck, from the first reading of Pal.—H. N.]

2.] Henry insists that 'volnus' is *the* wound and 'igni' *the* fire, referring to the mention of Dido's passion towards the end of Book 1: but this seems refining. The wound is said to be nourished, as it is kept alive and unhealed. So below, "vivit sub pectore vulnus" v. 67, "alitur vitium vivitque tegendo" G. 3. 454. So in Greek a person is said βόσκειν a disease which exhausts the vital powers, Aesch. Supp. 620, Soph. Phil. 312. 1167. 'Venis' is doubtless an instrumental abl., as Heyne explains it—'nourishes it by her veins,' allows it to suck her blood. So Heracles says of his poisoned tunic, Soph. Trach. 1055, *πνεύμονός τ' ἀρτηρίας Ῥοφεῖ συνοικοῦν, ἐκ δὲ χλωρὸν αἷμά μου Πέπωκεν ἤδη.* We may either suppose Virg. to have changed his metaphor in 'igni,' or with Heyne imagine a reference to the fiery arrows of Love, as Apollonius says of Medea (3. 286), *βέλος δ' ἐνεδαίετο κούρῃ Νέρθεν ὑπὸ κραδίῃ, φλογὶ εἴκελον.*

3.] 'Multa' and 'multus' seem rightly understood by Heyne and Jahn as qualifying 'recursat,' so that they nearly = "saepe." [Sall. Iug. 96. 2. "in agmine atque ad vigilias multus adesse."—H. N.] 'Recursat' 1. 662.

4.] 'Gentis honos' may be either the glory of Aeneas' ancestry, or that of his nation, opposed in either case to his personal merits. The former is perhaps more like Dido's feeling, though the latter enters into Anna's thoughts below, 8. 48. 'Haerent,' &c.: the same thought is dwelt on more at length by Apoll. 3. 453 foll.—

προπρὸ δ' ἄρ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔτι οἱ ἰνδάλλετο πάντα,
αὐτός θ' οἷος ἔην, οἵοισί τε φάρεσιν ἕστο,
οἷά τ' ἔειφ', ὥς θ' ἕζετ' ἐπὶ θρόνου, ὥς τε θύραζε
ἤιεν. οὐδέ τιν' ἄλλον ὀίσσατο πορφύρουσα
ἔμμεναι ἀνέρα τοῖον· ἐν οὔασί δ' αἰὲν ὀρώρει
αὐδή τε μῦθοί τε μελίφρονες οὓς ἀγόρευσεν.

['Voltus' Pal.—H. N.]

5.] 'Dat;' love is said not to give what it does not allow a person to receive. The words partially recur 10. 217.

6.] Here and in the similar passages v. 607 below, 7. 148, 'lustro' seems to mean to traverse or survey, as there appears no authority for giving it the sense of "inlustro." So Lucr. 5. 693 "Sol . . . obliquo terras et caelum lumine lustrans;" ib. 1436, "mundi magnum versatile templum Sol et luna suo lustrantes lumine circum;" while ib. 79 the sun and moon

Umentemque Aurora polo dimoverat umbram,
Cum sic unanimam adloquitur male sana sororem :
Anna soror, quae me suspensam insomnia terrent!
Quis novus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes,
Quem sese ore ferens, quam forti pectore et armis!
Credo equidem, nec vana fides, genus esse deorum.
Degeneres animos timor arguit. Heu, quibus ille

are said "cursus lustrare perennis." 'Aurora' is virtually equivalent to the rising sun, so that we need not ask why the goddess of the dawn has the torch of god of day in her hand.

7.] 3. 589. ['Demoverat,' fragm. Vat. —H. N.]

8.] ['Tum,' Rom.—H. N.] It is not easy to choose between 'unanimem,' the first reading of Med., found also in two of Ribbeck's cursives, and 'unanimem.' [Serv. and Ti. Donatus read 'unanimem.' —H. N.] The same question recurs in other parts of Virg. about this and other compounds of "animus." Wagn. thinks Virg. was decided in each case by euphony. Virg. has followed Apollonius in making Dido's confidante her sister: Naevius however, as we learn from Serv., had already spoken of Anna as Dido's sister.

9—30.] 'She spoke of her disturbed rest and the hold which the stranger had taken on her imagination, owned that if she could think of a second marriage, it would be with him, but vowed that she would remain faithful to the memory of her first lord, and ended by bursting into tears.'

9.] Nothing has been said of dreams, but Virg. doubtless intended, more suo, that his readers should supply the narrative in vv. 3 foll. from Dido's words here. Henry plausibly suggests that the visions may have represented her angry husband, threatening her if she should entertain the thought of another love, as Aeneas is haunted by visions of his father vv. 351 foll. Another reading 'terret' is mentioned by Serv., 'insomnia' being understood as "vigilia." Virg. translates Apoll. 3. 636, δειλὴ ἐγών, οἷόν με βαρεῖς ἐφόβησαν ὄνειροι, and perhaps also, as Burm. suggests, Eur. Hec. 69, τί ποτ' αἴρομαι ἔννυχος οὕτω δείμασι, φάσμασι, where αἴρομαι answers to 'suspensam.' He thought of Catull. 64. 176, "in nostris requiesset sedibus hospes," as Ursinus observes.

10.] 'Successit' as in 1. 627.

11.] 'Quem sese ore ferens' like "talem se laeta ferebat" 1. 503. 'Quam forti pectore et armis' is not to be constructed with 'ferens' but with 'hospes,' being a qualifying ablative. 'Fortis' is read by a few MSS. and adopted by Wakef., while several critics conj. 'quem' for 'quam.' 'Armis' is generally taken from 'arma' ('fortibus armis' occurs in this sense 10. 735); but Forb., after Valesius, seems right in explaining it of the shoulders (comp. 11. 644, where "armos" is used of a man, and see on 11. 640). Dido speaks first of Aeneas' personal appearance, afterwards, v. 13, of his prowess. So we have seen that Aeneas appears "Os umerosque Deo similis" 1. 589. Comp. also the appearance of Agamemnon Il. 2. 478, ὄμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἴκελος Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ, Ἄρεϊ δὲ ζώνην, στέρνον δὲ Ποσειδάωνι. The meaning then will be that Dido can well believe from Aeneas' mien and stature that his mother was a goddess. With 'forti' thus used comp. "forte latus" Hor. 1. Ep. 7. 26. Since the above was written (1859) I have been pleased to observe a confirmation of this view in a passage in Mr. Tennyson's Idylls of the King, where Enid, looking at her husband as he lies asleep, breaks out into the exclamation 'O noble breast and all-puissant arms!' a coincidence which will, I trust, show that similar language may be attributed to Dido without involving any imputation of coarseness. [Comp. Val. Fl. 2. 490—2, "neque enim tam lata videbam Pectora, Neptunus muros cum iungeret astris, Nec tales umeros pharetramque gerebat Apollo." 4. 265 (of Pollux boxing) "vigil ille metu cum pectore et armis Huc alternus et huc, semper cervice reducta," &c.—H. N.]

12.] 'Nec vana fides,' nor is my belief unfounded. 'Genus' = "proles," as in 6. 793. 'Genus deorum:' see on 6. 322.

13.] 'Degener' is used not only of those who degenerate from illustrious ancestry, but of those whose ancestry is mean or disgraceful (Wagn. comp. Val.

Iactatus fatis! quae bella exhausta canebat!
Si mihi non animo fixum inmotumque sederet,
Ne cui me vinclo vellem sociare iugali,
Postquam primus amor deceptam morte fefellit;
Si non pertaesum thalami taedaeque fuisset,
Huic uni forsan potui succumbere culpae.
Anna, fatebor enim, miseri post fata Sychaei
Coniugis et sparsos fraterna caede Penates,
Solus hic inflexit sensus, animumque labantem
Impulit. Adgnosco veteris vestigia flammae.
Sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat,
Vel Pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras,
Pallentis umbras Erebi noctemque profundam,

Fl. 6. 86), and such is probably its sense here, though we might preserve the ordinary meaning by supposing Dido to say, 'His appearance proves him to be of god-like origin, nor is he unworthy of it, as his dauntless spirit shows.'

14.] 'Iactatus' of Aeneas' sufferings 1. 3., 6. 693. Ribbeck removes the stop after 'fatis,' so as to avoid taking 'iactatus' as a finite verb. "Exhausta pericula" 10. 57, like the Greek ἀντλεῖν. 'Canebat' of measured utterance (comp. 3. 438). Virg. may have been identifying the narrative of Aeneas with his own heroics.

16.] "Vincla iugalia" below v. 59. This line is in fact the subject of 'sederet.'

17.] Since my first passion played me false, and allowed death to cheat me.' Rom. and fragm. Vat. give 'decepta morte,' which Heins. rather prefers. The expression might perhaps be just admissible on the principle which in Greek sometimes turns a cognate accusative into the subject of a passive verb or participle (see my note on Aesch. Cho. 843); but it would be extremely harsh.

18.] ['Fuissent," Pal. Med. and fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

19.] 'Potui' expresses that the thing had all but actually taken place: see on G. 2. 133, and comp. v. 603 of this book. ['Forsam' Pal. and Rom., and so Ribbeck.—H. N.]

20.] 'Fatebor enim' E. 1. 32.

21.] Comp. 1. 348 foll. 'Fraterna caede' is explained by Forb. after Servius, not 'the blood shed by my brother,' but 'a brother's blood,' referring to Sychaeus as Pygmalion's brother-in-law. [So Henry, rightly.—H. N.] Comp. "Pyrrhi de caede" 2. 526.

22.] Terentianus Maurus, p. 1657, reads 'solus hicc',' supposing 'hicce' to be necessary, and imagining that the first foot might be a cretic. For similar fancies, critical and metrical, see on 2. 664, E. 8. 78. 'Inflexit sensus' like "animum flexere hymenaei" G. 4. 516 note. 'Labantem' is rightly taken by Wagn. and Forb. with 'impulit,' "impulit ut labaret." That her spirit was not already tottering before Aeneas gave the impulse is evident from the context. [Ter. And. 266 (1. 5. 31) "dum in dubio est animus, impellitur."—H. N.]

23.] Comp. 1. 721. ['Agnosco' Rom. —H. N.]

24.] A translation of the Homeric τότε μοι χάνοι εὐρεῖα χθών, which may perhaps show that 'ima' qualifies 'dehiscat.' 'May earth yawn to its foundations.' ['Set' fragm. St. Gall.—H. N.]

25.] 'Adigat' 6. 594. ['Abigat' fragm. Vat., and so Ribbeck.—H. N.]

26.] 'Erebo' is supported by fragmm. Vat. and St. Gall., and Pal. originally; 'Erebi' by Med. a m. p. 'Erebo' is adopted by Ribbeck, and defended by Jahn. and Wund. Wagn. thinks that it could not well stand either as the abl. for "in Erebo," or as the dat., "adigat Erebo." The former however might be maintained from 7. 140, "duplices caeloque Ereboque parentes," which seems sufficiently parallel. But the genitive is more natural. Serv. acknowledges both. 'Noctem profundam' (6. 462) seems rightly understood by Thiel as 'the night of the depth' (i. e. of the lower world), not 'the depth of night.'

Ante, Pudor, quam te violo, aut tua iura resolvo.
Ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores
Abstulit; ille habeat secum servetque sepulchro.
Sic effata sinum lacrimis inplevit obortis.
Anna refert: O luce magis dilecta sorori,
Solane perpetua maerens carpere iuventa,
Nec dulcis natos, Veneris nec praemia noris?

27.] This pleonastic use of 'ante' :er 'prius' is probably an imitation of)mer's πρὶν—πρὶν ἤ. It is found hower elsewhere in the Latin poets, e. g. op. 2. 25. 25, "Aut prius infecto descit praemia cursu, Septima quam ›tam triverit ante rota." Markland geniously but needlessly conj. 'Sancte idor.' 'Violo' and 'resolvo' are suprted by the older MSS. (all Ribbeck's cept one cursive, the Cod. Minorauɔnsis), 'violem' and 'resolvam' by the er. The grammatical question is a fficult one: perhaps however we may y that the subj. would naturally mean at the judgment of heaven is to interpose prevent her breaking the law (comp. ɔr. 3 Od. 27. 53. "Antequam turpis icies decentis Occupet malas . . . spesa quaero Pascere tigris"), intimating nsequently, what Dido would not wish intimate, that she is in danger of eaking it. Madv. § 360 obs. 3 cites other passage to show that the present licative is put with "antequam" and riusquam," even to express a thing that e wishes to avoid, that is not to happen, Dabo operam ut istuc veniam antequam animo tuo effluo" (Cic. Fam. 7. 14). iere however "effluam" would be the tural word, so that the account of ffluo" seems to be that the writer ıyfully supposes that the thing he sires to prevent has already begun to te place. ['Iura,' bonds, ties, as in ch phrases as "iura consanguinitatis" d the like. "Graiorum sacrata revere iura" 2. 157.—H. N.]

28.] ['Primum' Pal. originally and gm. Vat.—H. N.]

29.] 'Abstulit,' has carried them with n to the grave. Forb. comp. Lucan 1. 2, "taedas Abstulit ad Manis Parcam Iulia saeva Intercepta manu." We ıy comp. also Soph. Oed. R. 971, τὰ δ' ' παρόντα συλλαβὼν θεσπίσματα Κεῖται ' Ἅιδῃ Πόλυβος ἄξι' οὐδενός. The ɔught is the same as in Moore's wellown line "Her heart in his grave is lying." ['Sepulcro' Pal., fragm. St. Gall.—H. N.]

30.] 'Sinum,' Dido's own, not, as some have thought, her sister's. Both views may be supported by parallel instances; but the absence of any mention of Anna in the line is decisive. Δεῦε δὲ κόλπους Ἄλληκτον δακρύοισι is said of Medea by Apoll. 3. 804. Her tears, as Henry remarks, show that her passion is strong in spite of her oath. ['Implevit' Med. —H. N.]

31—53.] 'Anna replied, talking of the evils of the unmarried state, urging that she might refuse others yet accept Aeneas, dwelling on the political advantages of the alliance, and finally suggesting that Aeneas should be asked to stay for the present at all events.'

31.] The old pointing referred 'sorori' to 'refert.' Wagn. rightly remarks "'dilecta sorori,' i. e. 'mihi:' sed blandius illud: similiter infra 435, "miserere sororis.'" It is in fact equivalent to 'o soror, mihi luce magis dilecta.' With 'luce magis dilecta' comp. 5. 724. "Nate, mihi vita quondam, dum vita manebat, Care magis." ['Delecta' fragm. Vat. and originally Med.—H. N.]

32.] Henry's proposal to join 'iuventa,' an instrum. abl., with 'carpere' is very plausible, if only there were any authority for giving 'iuventa' the rhetorical sense of celibacy. Failing this, we must throw the stress on 'sola maerens.' 'Are you to waste away, pining in loneliness, all through the springtide of life?' In any case we may accept Henry's punctuation, which places a comma after 'iuventa,' so as to combine this line with the next, and also his quotation from Shakspeare, "Withering on the virgin thorn."

33.] 'Dulcis natos' 2. 138. 'Veneris praemia' may be the same thing as 'dulcis natos' (comp. Lucr. 1. 147, "Non radii solis neque lucida tela diei," and Munro's note): but it seems better to understand the words of the joys of wedded love, as δῶρ' Ἀφροδίτης is used

Id cinerem aut Manis credis curare sepultos?
Esto, aegram nulli quondam flexere mariti,
Non Libyae, non ante Tyro; despectus Iarbas
Ductoresque alii, quos Africa terra triumphis
Dives alit: placitone etiam pugnabis amori?
Nec venit in mentem, quorum consederis arvis?
Hinc Gaetulae urbes, genus insuperabile bello,
Et Numidae infreni cingunt et inhospita Syrtis;
Hinc deserta siti regio, lateque furentes

Il. 3. 54. 'Praemia' like "praemia vitae" Lucr. 3. 899 virtually = "dona." 'Noris' is not "noscere cupis" (Forb.), but the future of "novi."

34.] 'Cinerem' and 'Manis' are coupled again v. 427. [There are several passages in Latin writers where 'Manes' seems to stand for the material part of what survives after death: Livy 31. 30 "omnium nudatos manes, nullius ossa terra tegi;" Prop. 5. 5. 3 "nec sedeant cineri manes": 3. 5. 30, "inde ubi suppositus cinerem me fecerit ardor, Accipiat manes parvula testa meos." Pers. 1. 38, "nunc non e manibus illis, Nunc non e tumulo fortunataque favilla Nascentur violae?"—H. N.] 'Sepultos' is a significant epithet: 'they are underground: how should they care for what goes on above?'

35.] 'Esto' refers to what follows, so that it had best be distinguished only by a comma. 'Aegram' expresses the state which prevented Dido from entertaining former proposals of marriage, not the effect of 'flexere.' Its position in the verse gives it a rhetorical emphasis, Anna being anxious to show that she understands the past history of her sister's feelings. The sense of desolation had been too strong for such weak inducements as former suitors had to offer. 'Flexere': see on v. 22, to which this is an answer. 'Mariti' might be explained on the principle mentioned on 2. 344, E. 8. 1, 18; but the separation which this would involve between 'nulli' and 'mariti' would be harsh, so that we had better say that 'mariti' rhetorically = "proci."

36.] 'Libya' is the first reading of Pal. [and is mentioned by Serv.]. 'Iarbas' vv. 196 foll.

37.] 'Africa terra' may be either a pleonasm or a return to the old mode of expression, when, as Forb. says, all distinctive names of countries were adjectives. Comp. Enn. Sat. fr. 10, "Lati campi quos gerit Africa terra politos." 'Triumphis dives,' as in 1. 339 the "fines Libyci" are called "genus intractabile bello." ['Triumphos' Rom.—H. N.]

38.] 'Placito' like "placitam Paci" G. 2. 425. With 'pugnabis' Henry comp. Catull. 62. 59, "At tu ne pugna cum tali coniuge, virgo."

39.] The dangerous neighbourhood of Carthage has been already adverted to 1. 339, 563, &c. ['Consideris' Rom. and originally Gud.—H. N.]

40.] Comp. 1. 339. Rom. reads "intractabile' here. ['Getulae' Med. Pal. and originally fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

41.] 'Infreni' refers to the habit of the Numidians of riding without bridles, for which Forb. comp. Sil. 1. 215, "Numidae, gens nescia freni;" but it is hard to avoid suspecting that Virg. intended the epithet to have a further symbolical application. Perhaps it would not be going too far to translate 'the Numidians, unbridled as their own horses.' 'Cingunt' is not to be pressed, as Virg. is expressly speaking of Dido's neighbours on one side only. 'Inhospita Syrtis' again may be meant to have a double reference—primarily to the Syrtes as unfriendly to ships, secondarily to the tribes near as barbarous to strangers—the latter being of course that which constitutes the real point of the words, as part of Anna's argument. See on the next verse. Comp. generally 1. 540, "hospitio prohibemur harenae."

42.] 'Deserta siti regio' is rather pointless, as Anna's meaning is that the aid of the Trojan alliance is necessary against barbarous neighbours: but we must suppose that having launched into the enumeration of the discomforts of their position, she includes dangers of more kinds than one. We may say, if we please, that the mention of the Syrtes paved the way for the confusion. Some inferior MSS., with Jerome and Isidore quoted on v. 43, have 'lateque vagantes.'

Barcaei. Quid bella Tyro surgentia dicam,
Germanique minas?
Dis equidem auspicibus reor et Iunone secunda
Hunc cursum Iliacas vento tenuisse carinas.
Quam tu urbem, soror, hanc cernes, quae surgere regna
Coniugio tali! Teucrum comitantibus armis
Punica se quantis attollet gloria rebus!
Tu modo posce deos veniam, sacrisque litatis
Indulge hospitio, causasque innecte morandi,
Dum pelago desaevit hiemps et aquosus Orion,

43.] ['Barcaei.' Virg. cannot mean the inhabitants of Barca, a Greek city in the Pentapolis far away to the east of Carthage. Serv. says, "Barcaei ... prope sunt a Carthagine: unde addidit 'late furentes.' Hi secundum Titianum in chorographia Phoenicen navali quondam superavere certamine. Barce autem civitas est Pentapoleos," &c. This looks as if Serv. meant to distinguish between 'Barcaei' and the inhabitants of Barca. Jerome, in his letter to Marcellinus and Anapsychia (126 *b* Migne), speaks of "impetus barbarorum de quibus tuus dicit Vergilius 'lateque vagantes Barcaei' Aegypti limitem . . . percurrit ad instar torrentis." Ribbeck says that Jerome wrote 'Baccaei': before this point can be decided we must have a critical edition of Jerome: but it is very important to observe that Isidore (9. 2. 107) quotes this line with 'Vaccaei,' which he erroneously explains of the Spanish tribe. There was a town of the Numidians called Vacca (Sall. Iug. 29 and elsewhere), or Vaga, scanned "Văga" by Sil. 3. 259. Was there then a Libyan tribe with the Latinized name "Vaccaei"? If so, the geography of this passage is intelligible: for Vacca was not very far west of Carthage. The Gaetuli (south), Numidae (west), and the Syrtis Minor (south-east) form an outer circle: the 'deserta siti regio' is not, as Serv. says, Xerolibya, but the desert between the Lake Tritonis and Byzacene, in which, "inter ingentes solitudines," as Sall. says (Iug. 89), was the oasis of Capsa. This, with the Vaccaei to the west, forms an inner circle. I am much inclined to suppose that 'Barcaei' is corrupt, and that we should read "Vaccaei."—H. N.]

45.] Juno is doubtless mentioned both as the patroness of Carthage and as the goddess of marriage. ["Hoc dicit: Di, qui sunt auspices matrimonii, Aeneam huc venire fecerunt." Serv. 'Diis' Pal. —H. N.]

46.] For 'hunc' inferior MSS. give 'huc,' which was once the common reading. The two come to the same thing, but 'hunc' is the more poetical. We have had the same variety 1. 534.

47.] 'What a change you will see in this your city!'

48.] 'Coniugio tali' seems to be an abl. of circumstance, belonging both to 'quam tu urbem hanc cernes' and 'quae surgere regna.'

49.] 'Quantis rebus' = 'quantis opibus,' 'quanta fortuna.'

50.] 'Tu' giving force to a precept G. 4. 106 note. Perhaps Forb. may be right in supposing a contrast here with 'Dis auspicibus' v. 45. 'Posce deos veniam,' to avert the anger portended by the ill-omened dreams of v. 9. Anna assumes that the gods will be easy to reconcile. 'Litare' with acc. is found elsewhere in poetry, as in Ov. M. 14. 156 [Prop. 4 (5) 1. 24: but the lexicons quote no instance of this usage earlier than Virg. and Propertius.—H. N.]

51.] 'Give the rein to hospitality,' Forb. after Wund., finds a peculiar beauty in 'innecte,' Dido being supposed to weave her chains round Aeneas. This may very probably be the case, though the word also contains the notion of stringing together excuses for delay. Comp. 9. 219, "causas nequiquam nectis inanis." [Tac. A. 12. 14 has a variation on the phrase, "nectere moras." 'Hospitio et causas innecte,' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

52.] 'Desaevit,' rages his fill, as in 10. 569, not ceases to rage, as the next line shows. 'Aquosus Orion' like "nimbosus Orion" 1. 535. [Virg. again shortens the first syll.] "Piscis aquosi" G. 4. 235.

Quassataeque rates, dum non tractabile caelum.
His dictis incensum animum flammavit amore,
Spemque dedit dubiae menti, solvitque pudorem.
Principio delubra adeunt, pacemque per aras
Exquirunt; mactant lectas de more bidentis
Legiferae Cereri Phoeboque patrique Lyaeo,

53.] 'Quassataeque rates:' comp. 1. 551. 'Non tractabile caelum:' comp. "brumae intractabilis" G. 1. 211 note. Ov. Her. 19. 71 has "est mare, confiteor, nondum tractabile nanti." [Ribbeck brackets the words, 'et non tractabile caelum,' remarking justly that after 'quassatas rates' we should expect some words hinting at repairs of the fleet. Peerlkamp conj. 'quassatasque rates et non tractabile caelum,' which no doubt he meant to be construed in apposition with 'causas.' I suspect that some words have dropped out, for Ti. Donatus paraphrases the line "(*dic*) quassatas rates *asperis interea flatibus non esse credendas*, motus caeli quoque esse contrarios." The words "asperis" . . . "credendas" correspond to nothing in our present text.—H. N.]

54—89.] 'Dido's scruples are soothed. She and her sister sacrifice: but what can sacrificing do for love? Her whole being is mastered; the day is spent in taking Aeneas round the city; the evening in banqueting and hearing more recitals about Troy; the night in lonely weeping. She forgets her empire: the works are all suspended.'

54.] For 'incensum' Serv. mentions a variant 'impenso,' the first reading of fragm. Vat. and apparently Pal., adopted by Ribbeck. The word might stand, though not found elsewhere in Virg.; but 'incensum' seems preferable, the meaning being that Anna added fuel to a fire already kindled. So Ti. Donatus and Serv., the latter of whom comp. the Horatian proverb "oleum adde camino." I have followed Ribbeck however in restoring 'flammavit' (fragm. Vat., Rom., Pal. originally) for 'inflammavit' (Med. Gud.). See on 3. 330. 'Amore' with 'flammavit,' 'his dictis' being an abl. of circumstance. It is just possible however that 'his dictis' may go with 'incensum,' as in v. 197 below.

55.] Dido's wishes were on one side, her fears and scruples on the other, so Anna, by removing fears and scruples, allowed her to hope. The expression 'solvit pudorem' apparently refers back to v. 27. Here of course it is in thought that the restraints of shame are broken.

56.] Dido acts on the advice given v. 50. 'Per aras' is rightly explained by the later editors of going from altar to altar. Comp. the contemptuous words of Lucr. 5. 1199, "omnis accedere ad aras." 'Pacem' G. 4. 535 note.

57.] 'Exquirunt' seems to be used because the notion of discovering the mind of the gods has to be combined with the ordinary one of gaining their favour. Here and in 6. 39., 8. 544, 'de more' seems to refer not simply to 'lectas,' but to the whole clause, 'mactant lectas bidentis,' as Forb. remarks; comp. 3. 369, "caesis . . . . de more iuvencis," to which add 5. 96., 7. 93. The precise meaning of 'bidens' is fixed by Henry in the following note. "The fact is, as I have satisfied myself by observation, that the sheep, until it has attained the age of one year, has a set of eight primary or milk teeth: when the age of one year has been attained, the two central of these eight teeth drop out, and are replaced by the first two teeth of the second or permanent set, which being very large and conspicuous among the six remaining milk teeth (originally much smaller, and now greatly diminished by use and absorption), the animal at first sight appears to have only two teeth (sheep never having any teeth at all in the upper jaw): hence the appellation 'bidens.' This condition of the teeth continues during the whole of the second year, at the end of which, i. e. when the sheep is two years old complete, two more of the milk teeth drop, and are replaced by two large permanent teeth exactly similar to, and one on each side of, the two first; so that from the completion of the second year till the beginning of the third the sheep appears to have a set of four large teeth, and is no longer 'bidens.'"

58.] [Ti. Donatus well says "primum Cereri legiferae, propterea quod populorum consensus nisi legibus teneri non possit; Phoebo, ut in futura prosperiora perficeret, quae optabantur: Libero patri, ut praestaret laetitiam sempiternam."—H. N.] Ceres, Apollo, and Bacchus are

Iunoni ante omnis, cui vincla iugalia curae.
Ipsa, tenens dextra pateram, pulcherrima Dido
Candentis vaccae media inter cornua fundit,
Aut ante ora deum pinguis spatiatur ad aras,
Instauratque diem donis, pecudumque reclusis

propitiated on this occasion as having to do with marriage, as Henry appears to establish by a reference to the Pervigilium Veneris v. 43, where all three are named, Stat. 1 Silv. 2. 219 foll., of Bacchus and Apollo, and Himerius, Orat. 1. 3, of Apollo. Possibly they may also be invoked as gods of the new colony, to further the political union between the Carthaginians and the Trojans. The epithet 'legiferae' (a translation of θεσμοφόρος, a title of Demeter, Hdt. 6. 91 &c.) points that way: Apollo again is to have been celebrated as the founder of cities (Dict. B. 'Apollo'), and Dionysus like Demeter was called θεσμοφόρος (Orph. H. 41. 1). Heyne goes farther, and attempts to show that these three divinities, like Juno, had a special relation to Carthage. Serv. accumulates a number of heterogeneous reasons for their introduction here, which are not worth quoting: he has preserved however two lines of Calvus, which illustrate the mention of Ceres:

"Et leges sanctas docuit, et cara iugavit
Corpora conubiis, et magnas condidit urbes."

There is a tantalizing passage in Macrob. Sat. 3. 12, where one of the speakers asks another whether he does not think Virgil has committed a great mistake here, in first saying 'mactant—Lyaeo,' and then as it were recollecting himself and adding 'Iunoni—curae,' a question which is followed by no answer or explanation of any sort, so that there is evidently a lacuna. For 'legiferae' Rom., fragm. Vat. a m. pr., and other MSS. give 'frugiferae,' which would seem to be a correction by some one who knew nothing of Ceres the Lawgiver.

59.] We need not press the attribute here given to Juno, as if the other deities were not invoked for the same reason, any more than we need suppose that Juno is invoked only as the goddess of marriage, and not also as the patroness of Carthage. Ζυγία and Γαμηλία were titles of the Greek Hera.

60.] Dido's own part in the ceremony is described more in detail, as Wagn. remarks.

61.] 'Fundit pateram' like "fundit carchesia" 5. 78. 'Fundit vinum' is doubtless the more usual expression; but that is no reason for restricting 'pateram' to 'tenens' and supplying 'vinum' here. The libation was preliminary to the sacrifice: comp. 6. 244. Serv. on the latter passage says this was done to try the fitness of the victims—"ut, si non stupuerint, aptae probentur." In Hom. the wine seems to have been poured either on the burning flesh of the victims (Il. 1. 462., 11. 775) or on the ground (3. 295, 300). Lersch Antiqq. Vergg. p. 170) thinks the cow was offered specially to Juno, citing Tab. Fratr. Arval. 13, "Iovi O. M. bovem marem, Iunoni vaccam," and Livy 27. 37.

62.] 'Aut,' as Wagn. says, merely distinguishes different parts of the same scene. Whether there is any special propriety in making Dido walk majestically before the altars does not appear. Serv. says that Roman matrons when about to sacrifice performed a sort of slow dance before the altar with torches in their hands; and the early editors follow him, referring to Hor. A. P. 232, "Ut festis matrona moveri iussa diebus," and to a passage in Prop. (2. 2. 7), "Aut cum Dulichias Pallas spatiatur ad aras," which unfortunately is 'obscurum per obscurius.' 'Pinguis aras' 7. 764. Comp. below v. 202, "pecudumque cruore Pingue solum." The statues of the gods, being in the temple, are of course supposed to be looking on. So v. 204, "media inter numina divom."

63.] Wagn. seems more successful in his attempt to fix a ceremonial sense in 'instaurare' than in the case of 'reponere' (see on G. 3. 527), with which he couples it. The account of this peculiar meaning would appear to be that stated recurrence is a notion so inseparably connected with anything ritual, that recurring celebration comes to be talked of when nothing more than mere celebration is meant. It is nevertheless true that in many of the passages where it is used of observances there is a more distinct pro-

Pectoribus inhians spirantia consulit exta.
Heu vatum ignarae mentes! quid vota furentem,
Quid delubra iuvant? Est mollis flamma medullas

priety in the notion of renewal, as in v. 145 note, 5. 94, where it is explained by "inceptos," 7. 146., 8. 283, where a second feast is spoken of. Thus Stat. Theb. 2. 88, borrowing the words "instaurare diem" from Virg., applies them to a feast which had been interrupted by a brawl. So in Livy 25. 16, when the sacrifice has been disturbed by a portent, it is said "Id cum haruspicum monitu sacrificium instauraretur." It would be possible to give it some such reference here, Dido being said as it were to revive the flagging solemnities of the day as it wore on by ordering new sacrifices; but this would be too artificial. It is however countenanced by Ti. Donatus, "Saepius hoc faciebat, ut produceret diem, volens diutius habere praesentem quem amabat." Serv. says, much less plausibly, "quia iam supra (1. 632) sacrificaverat." Ladewig supposes Dido to order one sacrifice after another, a reference to which he sees in 'pinguis aras,' in the hope of obtaining a favourable manifestation, and then, when all fail, to throw the blame on the prophet or priests, v. 65; an exceedingly ingenious view, but one which an attentive consideration of the context will, I think, scarcely warrant. Dido, as the queen, would naturally be at the cost of the public sacrifices, like Clytaemnestra Aesch. Ag. 87 foll. Comp. 1. 632 note.

64.] 'Inhians' of attentive gazing, as in Val. Fl. 5. 468 of attentive listening. Macrob. Sat. 3. 5 (closely followed by Serv. on v. 56 above) quotes Trebatius "libro primo de religionibus" as distinguishing between two kinds of sacrifices, those made for the sake of consulting the will of the gods, called "consultoriae," and those where there is simply an offering of the victim's life, called "animales." Virg., he says, has mentioned both, the former here, the latter in v. 57. But surely a question may be raised whether the latter did not include the former. 'Spirantia' of palpitation; see Forc. s. v., where instances are given of its use 'de vivente sed morti proximo.' [Henry remarks "It was only the still living, not the quite dead, body that afforded any prognostic at all: compare Sil. 1. 119 'tum nigra triformi Hostia mactetur, divae, *raptimque* recludit *Spirantes* artus poscens responsa sacerdos, Ac *fugientem* animam *properatis* consulit extis.' Also Ov. M. 15. 136 'Protinus ereptas *viventi* pectore fibras Inspiciunt, mentesque deum scrutantur in illis.'"—H. N.]

65.] 'Vatum' has been [as now by Henry] connected with 'ignarae,' as in 8. 627, in the sense of 'ignorant of the future'—a view which might be plausibly supported from v. 464 below. But the ordinary interpretation, 'vatum mentes,' is clearly right, confirmed as it is by Apuleius, Met. 10. 2, "Heu medicorum ignarae mentes," where the reference is to the powerlessness of physic in the case of love, and by Sil. 8. 100, "Heu sacri vatum errores," also an imitation of this passage (both quoted by Forb.). There is however some room for doubt as to the sentiment intended; Heyne thinks the prophets are censured as ignorant of the terrible future of Dido's love; Gossrau supposes Dido and Anna to be the 'vates;' while Ladewig, as we have seen, understands the words as the expression of Dido's impatient despair. Probably Henry's former interpretation was right (after Serv. and Ti. Donatus): "Dido's soothsayers little knew the state of Dido's mind—that she was beyond all help—that hers was no case for sacrifice or propitiation of the gods—that their art was thrown away upon her." He goes on to say, "'Est mollis flamma medullas *Interea:*' so little good is she likely to derive from sacrificing, that even *while* she is sacrificing, the internal flame is consuming her." The hint of the words he seems right in tracing to a curious passage in Apoll. R. 3. 932, where an oracular raven is heard ridiculing a prophet for his ignorance of the ways of a woman in love. The early critics raised aesthetic objections to this exclamation, saying that an epic poet ought not to obtrude his personality, and that Homer never does so. Heyne replies that this is no real obtrusion of personality, but merely an expression of the poet's sympathy with his subject: he might have added that Hom.'s Οὐδὲ σέθεν, Μενέλαε, θεοὶ μάκαρες λελάθοντο (Il. 4. 127: comp. ib. 147) is an interposition of just the same kind.

66.] 'Mollis' might go with 'flamma,'

Interea, et tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus.
Uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur
Urbe furens, qualis coniecta cerva sagitta,
Quam procul incautam nemora inter Cresia fixit
Pastor agens telis, liquitque volatile ferrum
Nescius; illa fuga silvas saltusque peragrat
Dictaeos; haeret lateri letalis harundo.
Nunc media Aenean secum per moenia ducit,
Sidoniasque ostentat opes urbemque paratam;
Incipit effari, mediaque in voce resistit;

not in the modern sense of "the tender passion," but expressing the subtle penetrating nature of the flame, and so harmonizing with 'tacitum volnus.' It seems better however to take it with 'medullas,' which is strongly supported by Catull. 45. 16, "Ignis mollibus ardet in medullis," a passage possibly imitated by Virg. Probably 'mollis' does not express the ease with which Dido's vitals become a prey to love, as Forb. thinks, but by calling attention to a characteristic of the 'medullae,' makes the image appear more real. So we might say 'drinks her warm blood,' meaning to express no more than 'drinks her very blood.' See on 2. 173.

67.] 'Vivit;' see on v. 2. 'Sub pectore vulnus' 1. 36. 'Tacitum vulnus,' as she was not herself conscious of the extent of her love, much less inclined to confess it to others. ['Volnus,' Pal.—H. N.]

68.] "Cum omnia frustra agerentur, ex nimio amore nullo in loco consistere poterat, et vaganti totius civitatis spatium non sufficiebat:" Ti. Donatus. It is the beginning of the restlessness which comes to a climax v. 300.

69.] Macrob. Sat. 5. 6 supposes Virg. to have imitated Il. 11. 475 foll.: there however the circumstances differ, the simile being taken from a wounded stag, which, escaping from the archer, sinks under the arrow, and falls a prey to savage beasts. 'Conicere' of a weapon reaching its mark, 9. 698., 12. 362.

70.] 'Cresia' is the spelling of the best MSS. for 'Cressia.'

71.] 'Agens' G. 3. 412 note, A. 1. 191 note. "Volatile telum" occurs Lucr. 1. 970. The epithet is not without force here; it is because the steel is 'volatile' that the archer cannot ascertain its fortunes and does not recover it. 'Volatile ferrum' is repeated 8. 694. ['Liquit': comp. Lucr. 4. 1137 "verbum iaculata *reliquit*. Quod cupido adfixum cordi vivescit ut ignis."—H. N.]

72.] "Quidam 'nescius' ad Aenean referunt, qui nescit amore suo volneratam reginam." Serv. The thought may have been intended by Virg., and we need not wonder that it should have found favour with modern critics; but perhaps a severer judgment would reject it in a passage where it is not supported by anything in the context. Why the archer's ignorance should have been introduced into the simile is obvious enough: it accounts for the doe being left to wander alone, bleeding to death; while it is itself accounted for by the fact that he is shooting among the trees. The early commentators however seem generally to have taken 'nescius' passively, unknown by his victim, so that it would be a virtual repetition of 'incautam.' 'Fuga' seems almost = 'rapide,' like "fuga secat ultima Pristis aequora" 5. 218. Comp. 'cursu' 2. 321 &c. Or we may say that 'fuga peragrat' = "fugit per," as "cursu tendit" = "currit." 'Saltus silvasque peragrat Dictaeos' is read by fragm. Vat. and some others.

74.] 'Moenia' for "urbs:" see on 2. 234. ['Aeneam' Rom.—H. N.]

75.] 'Urbem paratam' is of course an appeal to the weariness of those whose city was yet to seek. Comp. 1. 437, 557., 3. 493 foll., and the story of the burning of the ships in Book 5. 'Sidonias opes' may mean either generally the wealth of the Sidonian colony, or specially the wealth brought from Sidon, 1. 363, which latter is Serv.'s view.

76.] Among many parallels we may take Horace's "Cur facunda parum decoro Inter verba cadit lingua silentio?" (4 Od. 1. 35;) quoted by Servius. Comp. generally Apoll. R. 3. 683.

Nunc eadem labente die convivia quaerit,
Iliacosque iterum demens audire labores
Exposcit, pendetque iterum narrantis ab ore.
Post, ubi digressi, lumenque obscura vicissim
Luna premit suadentque cadentia sidera somnos,
Sola domo maeret vacua, stratisque relictis
Incubat: illum absens absentem auditque videtque:
Aut gremio Ascanium, genitoris imagine capta,
Detinet, infandum si fallere possit amorem.

77.] 'Eadem' probably with 'convivia,' as we might say 'the banquet of yesterday:' though it might be referred with Gossrau to Dido.

78.] 'Demens,' because a second recital was sure to increase her passion. 'Iliacos audire labores' as in 2. 11. Cerda quotes Ov. A. A. 2. 127, of Calypso and Ulysses, "Haec Troiae casus iterumque iterumque rogabat: Ille referre aliter saepe solebat idem."

79.] No earlier use of this metaphor 'pendere ab aliquo' is quoted: κρέμασθαι ἔκ τινος however occurs in Greek for absolute devotion to a thing.

80.] 'Digressi' 3. 482, 492. 'Lumen obscura vicissim Luna premit' clearly refers, as Henry has seen, to the moon setting in her turn, as the sun had previously set, 'labente die' v. 77.

81.] "Suadentque cadentia sidera somnos" 2. 9. Aeneas is there beginning his story: so that we may infer that the second banquet was not prolonged quite to the length of the first.

82.] ["'Sola,' sine eo quem amabat; nam regina sola esse non potest. Est autem Plauti, qui inducit inter multos amatorem dicentem quod solus sit; ut ipse alibi (Ecl. 10-48) 'me sine sola vides,' quam constabat Antonii castra comitatam." Serv.—H. N.] 'Domo' need only refer to the banqueting-hall, though there is nothing against supposing that Aeneas was lodged not in the palace but elsewhere. 'Stratisque relictis' has been variously explained—'the bed just left by herself,' i. e. she gets up from her couch and lies down again—in other words, she passes a restless night; 'her widowed bed,' left by Sychaeus (comp. Apoll. R. 3. 662): but the only natural interpretation is that suggested by Serv., 'the couch in the banqueting-hall which Aeneas had left,' Dido being supposed to throw herself on it when he is gone. This use of 'strata' is supported by Heyne from Ov. M. 5. 34.

83.] Of 'absens absentem' Serv. curtly remarks "unum suffecerat." He might have added that in logical strictness only one ought to have been used. But the poetry of the passage of course gains much from the iteration of the notion of absence. 'Him far away she sees and hears, herself far away.' With the general sense Taubm. comp. vv. 4, 5 above.

84.] Much difficulty has been found in this and the following line, as they are supposed to imply that Ascanius is left behind, so that the queen can fondle him after his father has retired. To obviate this, Peerlkamp and Gossrau would place them after v. 79, while Forb. connects them closely with what precedes, supposing them to come under 'absens'—'she fancies she is fondling Ascanius.' But the whole perplexity vanishes if we do not tie down Virg. to a narrative of the events of a single day. In saying 'Nunc . . . nunc' vv. 74, 77, he does not necessarily mean the morning and the evening of the day succeeding Aeneas' arrival, probable as it may be that such were the occupations of that day; and there is nothing to show that 'illum absens absentem auditque videtque' is to be restricted to the night after they have parted. The simple meaning is, that whenever they are separated, she has him always in her mind, and, when she can, solaces herself by the presence of Ascanius. "Genitoris imagine' like "Astyanactis imago" 3. 489, except that 'imago' here is not said of Ascanius, but of the appearance that he wears. We may observe as an instance of Virg.'s manner of indirect narration that he does not mention Ascanius' return in the place of Cupid, but only leaves us to infer that it has taken place.

85.] 'Holds him long in her lap,' coaxes him to stay with her. Comp. 1. 670, "tenet blandisque moratur vocibus."

Non coeptae adsurgunt turres, non arma iuventus
Exercet, portusve aut propugnacula bello
Tuta parant; pendent opera interrupta minaeque
Murorum ingentes aequataque machina caelo.
Quam simul ac tali persensit peste teneri
Cara Iovis coniunx, nec famam obstare furori,
Talibus adgreditur Venerem Saturnia dictis:
Egregiam vero laudem et spolia ampla refertis

'Infandum,' see on 2. 3. 'Si possit' 6. 78. For 'amorem' fragm. Vat. and others have 'amantem' from v. 296; Rom. has 'imago' from the previous line.

86.] As Serv. and Ti. Donatus say, Virg. means us to contrast this with the description of activity in 1. 423 foll., 504 foll.

87.] 'Exercere arma' a variety for "exercere se in armis." Comp. 3. 281, "exercent palaestras," with 6. 642, "Pars in gramineis exercent membra palaestris." So "exercere artem" and similar expressions in prose writers. 'Portus' 1. 427. There is as little reason with Forb. to understand 'propugnacula' especially of moles and breakwaters, so as to harmonize with 'portus,' as with one or two critics to change 'portus' into 'portas.' The making of harbours and fortifications is simply distinguished from military practice. ['Portis' Pal. originally.—H. N.]

88.] 'Opera' is taken by Henry in the technical sense of military works, which it might certainly bear (see Forc.): but perhaps the general is more poetical here. At any rate it is so far general as to include the two details that follow, the 'muri' and the 'machina.' ['Minae' Servius says = "eminentiae murorum, quas pinnas dicunt," and so Henry, who quotes instances of this use from Ammianus.—H. N.] But Heyne justly remarks that such a sense would be less poetical (comp. "formido" G. 3. 372 note), and that it seems confined to late writers. On the other hand the 'threatening of the walls' is a forcible and original expression, arising from the use of "minari" in such passages as 1. 162 note.

89.] 'Machina' has been variously understood of a pile of building (Heyne), a sense apparently founded on its use by Lucr. in such phrases as "moles et machina mundi," a turret on the wall (Wagn.) a military engine (Wund.), as in 2. 46, 151, 237, a scaffolding (Gossrau), and a crane, which is supported by Vitruv. 10. 1, "Machina est continens ex materia coniunctio, maximas ad onerum motus habens virtutes." I rather prefer this last, though it produces an awkwardness with 'pendent interrupta.' If the crane cannot be said 'pendere interrupta,' it nevertheless forms a natural part of the picture of incompleteness; while its magnitude shows the greatness of the works suspended. [Henry now takes 'machina' as meaning 'the ingenious structure of the walls,' joining it with 'murorum,' and quoting in support of this interpretation Val. Fl. 6. 383. "Tunc ruit, ut montis latus aut ut machina muri, Quae scopulis trabibusque diu, confectaque flammis, Procubuit tandem, atque ingentem prodidit urbem." 'Macchina' Pal."—H. N.]

90—104.] 'Juno, seeing Dido thus hopelessly entangled, proposes to Venus that she should be allowed to marry Aeneas, and that the Trojan empire should be set up at Carthage.'

90.] The suggestion of a dialogue between Juno and Venus is from Apoll. R. 3. 6. foll., a much longer passage, where Hera and Athene go to Aphrodite and beg her to inspire Medea with a passion for Jason. A hint too may have been taken from Hom. Il. 14. 188 foll. 'Peste' of Dido's passion 1. 712.

91.] Hera is called the φίλη ἄλοχος of Zeus Il. 15. 156, so that Wakef.'s 'clara' need not be considered. 'Famam,' her reputation, as in v. 170 below. ['Coniux' Rom.—H. N.] Rom. and one or two others have 'pudori.'

92.] 'Adgredi' of speaking first 3. 358 &c.

93.] It may be doubted whether 'vero' = 'sane,' qualifying 'egregiam' ironically, or has an adversative force, giving abruptness and consequently liveliness to Juno's opening. 'Nay, it is a splendid distinction that you are bearing away.' 'Ampla,' brilliant, like "amplissimus triumphus" Nepos, Cato 1.

Tuque puerque tuus, magnum et memorabile nomen,
Una dolo divum si femina victa duorum est.
Nec me adeo fallit veritam te moenia nostra
Suspectas habuisse domos Karthaginis altae.
Sed quis erit modus, aut quo nunc certamine tanto?
Quin potius pacem aeternam pactosque hymenaeos

94.] The best MSS. [and Ti. Donatus] give 'numen;' but others have 'nomen,' the reading of the early editions, which I prefer, as the simpler and more natural. Comp. 2. 583. 'Nomen referre' occurs in a somewhat similar sense 11. 688. The words are constantly confounded, as we shall see on 5. 768. Those who read 'numen' generally supply 'est:' 'your divinity becomes great and renowned'—as we might say, you will be worshipped more than ever. Thiel makes the words an apposition to 'puerque tuus,' which might be supported from Ov. M. 4. 452, "illa Sorores Nocte vocat genitas, grave et implacabile numen." [Serv. is silent.—H. N.]

95.] The words are chosen so as to be as sarcastic as possible; the triumph is of two over one, of gods over a mortal, and that not even a man but a woman. 'Si,' 'if, as I suppose is the case,' the hypothetical form perhaps implying a slight sneer.

96.] 'Nec me adeo fallit' is from Lucr. 1. 922, where the word is 'animi,' not 'adeo.' 'Adeo' seems to answer to our colloquial expression 'I am not so blind either,' where if called upon to complete the phrase we should supply 'as you think' or 'as I might be.' Comp. E. 2. 25, "Nec sum adeo informis." This, which is substantially Wund.'s view, seems better than with Forb. to understand 'adeo' as emphasizing 'me.' 'Me of all others.' 'Moenia' = 'urbem.' Wakef. reads 'numina' from one or two MSS. With the general sense comp. 1. 661, 671.

97.] 'Domos' as implying hospitality. 'Karthaginis altae' below v. 265. The epithet need be no more than one of the perpetual Homeric sort: but there is force in mentioning the grandeur of Carthage here. 'You feel that though Carthage is a fine city, and throws open its houses freely, you have a right to be jealous nevertheless.'

98.] "Ecquis erit modus" E. 10. 28. For 'certamine tanto' almost all subsequent editors have adopted 'certamina tanta,' the conj. of Heins., which would introduce a more usual construction, and might be supported by 9. 143, where the MSS. are divided between "discrimina parva" and "discrimine parvo." But I believe the ablative to be as admissible as the accusative in this construction, though it is apparently very rare. The only undoubted instance of it I have met with is in Suetonius' Life of Virg. § 43, where a parody on the first line of E. 1 is quoted, "Tityre, si toga calda tibi est, quo tegmine fagi" ("tegmina" conj. Heins.: but the parodist would naturally keep as close as he could to Virg.'s word). In Hor. 1 Ep. 5. 12, the best and most numerous MSS. give "Quo mihi fortuna si non conceditur uti?" and in Ov. 3 Am. 4. 41 one MS. has "Quo tibi formosa?" In expression of this sort the MSS. are apt to vary considerably, as will be seen by consulting the various readings on the two passages just quoted: "quid" is substituted for "quo," and the nominative for the acc. or abl.: e. g. "quo fortuna mihi?" "quo formosa tibi?" Thus when in Sen. N. Q. 1. 16 the MSS. are found to vary between "Quo nequitiam meam" and "quo nequitia mea," or in Mart. 5. 53. 2 between "Quo tibi vel Nioben, Basse, vel Andromachen," and "Niobe . . . Andromache," it is not clear whether we are to understand "nequitia," "Niobe," "Andromache" as intended for nom. or abl. I think then there is no reason for departing here from a reading which is found in all MSS., especially when we consider the infinitely few instances in which the combined testimony of those MSS. has been generally admitted to be in error. How the abl. is to be explained is another and a difficult question: but I suppose 'quo' to be = "quid opus," which is itself, it should be remembered, used in other constructions than that with the abl. Wakef. explains "quo tenditis cum tanto certamine?". Gossrau makes an aposiopesis "ne mali ominis vocabula proferrentur," the suppressed words being "exerceamus inimicitias." I am glad to see that Mr. Munro in the introduction to his recension of the text of Horace seems to consider the construction with the abl. satisfactorily established.

Exercemus? habes, tota quod mente petisti:
Ardet amans Dido traxitque per ossa furorem.
Communem hunc ergo populum paribusque regamus
Auspiciis; liceat Phrygio servire marito,
Dotalisque tuae Tyrios permittere dextrae.
 Olli—sensit enim simulata mente locutam,
Quo regnum Italiae Libycas averteret oras—
Sic contra est ingressa Venus: Quis talia demens
Abnuat, aut tecum malit contendere bello,

100.] 'Exercere pacem' may be comp. with "exercere inimicitias," "iurgia," "discordias," "simultates" (see Forc.), 'exercere hymenaeos' with "exercere choros" 1. 499.

101.] Serv. explains 'traxit furorem' on the analogy of "spiritum trahere:" Forb. cites Ov. M. 4. 675, "Vidit Abantiades . . . trahit inscius ignis," of Perseus catching love from the sight of Andromeda. But 'per ossa' seems to show that the chief notion present to Virg.'s mind was that of length or extension, the flame coursing through the bones, 'trahere' being used as a strong poetical expression for "tractim sentire." Comp. G. 3. 258, "Quid iuvenis magnum cui versat in ossibus ignem Durus amor?"

102.] "Communem' is a predicate, and so is coupled with 'paribus auspiciis,' expressing how Juno and Venus are to govern Carthage. In 'paribus auspiciis' the reference is to the phrase "auspicia habere," which signifies that Roman magistrates alone during their time of office had authority to take the auspices, so that the words here mean no more than 'with joint authority.' The words are repeated 7. 256, "paribusque in regna vocari Auspiciis," where they are to be constructed with 'regna' rather than with 'vocari'—'to be called by fate to an equal share of empire.' Lersch (Antiqq. Vergg. pp. 4, 5) rightly calls attention to the parallel between the proposed union of Carthage and Troy here and that nearly consummated between Latium and Troy in Book 12, suggesting that Virg. took the hint from the legendary union of the Sabines and the Romans. Serv. seems quite wrong in supposing the reference here to be magistrates appointed by equal auspices such as the consuls.

103.] Serv. calls attention to the sneer conveyed by 'servire' and 'Phrygio,' observing on the latter "ac si diceret exuli." He may also be right in supposing a reference to marriage by "coemptio" (Dict. Ant. 'Marriage, Roman') in 'servire'; ["quoniam coemptione facta mulier in potestatem viri cedit."]

104.] So Dido in Ov. Her. 7. 149 (evidently modelled on Virg.), "Hos potius populos in dotem, ambage remissa, Accipe, et advectas Pygmalionis opes." 'Permittere dextrae' on the analogy of "permittere fidei," "potestati," &c. Venus is said to receive into her power what Aeneas, her son, receives; and there may also be a notion, as Wund. thinks, of Venus becoming a tutelary goddess of Carthage.

105—114.] 'Venus, perceiving that it was a plot to transfer the predicted empire to Carthage, signifies her willing acquiescence, but doubts whether Jupiter will agree, and advises Juno to persuade him.'

105.] 'Simulata mente,' with an assumed feeling—making as though she desired nothing more than that she and her rival and the parties they favoured should come to terms. 'Enim,' as Wund. remarks, gives the reason why Venus does not speak sincerely—she repels craft by craft.

106.] Wakef. ingeniously reads 'Italia,' comp. 1. 38: but 'regnum Italiae,' the empire which in the designs of fate already belonged to Italy, is more forcible, especially in a Roman's mouth. [Serv. mentions a variant 'adverteret,' remarking "absolutior quidem est haec lectio, sed verior et figuratior illa est. . . . 'averteret.'"—H. N.]

107.] 'Ingredi' of beginning to speak, 6. 867.

108.] 'Who would rather have thee for an enemy than a friend?' There may be some stress on 'bello,' as if it were intended to be opposed to such a phrase as "contendere beneficiis," but it is simpler to understand the two words as equivalent to "pugnare." ['Mallit' Rom.—H. N.]

Si modo, quod memoras, factum fortuna sequatur?
Set fatis incerta feror, si Iuppiter unam
Esse velit Tyriis urbem Troiaque profectis,
Miscerive probet populos, aut foedera iungi.
Tu coniunx; tibi fas animum temptare precando.
Perge; sequar. Tum sic excepit regia Iuno:
Mecum erit iste labor. Nunc qua ratione, quod instat,
Confieri possit, paucis, adverte, docebo.
Venatum Aeneas unaque miserrima Dido
In nemus ire parant, ubi primos crastinus ortus
Extulerit Titan radiisque retexerit orbem.

109.] 'Si fortuna sequatur' occurs again 8. 15. The notion intended is that of a favourable result: but it is not easy to see whether it is meant to convey that notion through 'fortuna,' or 'sequatur,' or, what is perhaps most probable, through both. 'Sequi' in the two latter cases would have the force of its cognate "secundus," as Forb. remarks. Instances of 'sequi' with or without a case simply in the sense of an event happening are given in Forc. ['Quot' Pal.—H. N.]

110.] The choice lies between connecting 'fatis' with 'incerta,' the abl. being supposed to be used interchangeably with the genitive, a construction which might be supported by the analogy of 'peritus,' as Wund. remarks, and understanding 'fatis feror' in some such sense as 'I am led blindly by destiny.' Wund. says of 'feror' "statum rei durantem notat," but the instances he quotes (v. 376 below, "Heu furiis incensa feror," 10. 630 "Aut ego veri Vana feror") seem to show that being carried along is the notion intended. 'Si:' whether.

111.] 'Tyriis Troiaque profectis' 1. 732.

112.] 'Foedera' occurs 12. 191 in the parallel instance of the Trojans and Latins coalescing into one nation.

113.] 'Temptare precando' as in v. 413 below, as we might say, to assault or explore by entreaty.

114.] 'Excipere' of reply, one speaker taking the conversation from the hands of another, 9. 258.

115—128.] 'Juno then proposes to break up a hunting party on which Dido and Aeneas are going the next day with a storm which shall force the lovers to take refuge in a cave. Venus assents.'

115.] 'Mecum' = "apud me." Hand Turs. 2, p. 164, quotes a parallel from Livy 4. 32, "memores secum triumphos, secum spolia, secum victoriam esse."

116.] 'Confieri,' the reading of Rom., of Med. a m. sec., [which spells 'comfieri'] and a few other MSS., supported also by Serv., has been corrupted in the majority of copies into 'quod fieri,' 'quo fieri,' 'hoc fieri,' 'quid fieri,' 'an fieri.' The word is used several times by Lucr., and is found in Terence, Caesar, &c. Pal. is defective from this line to v. 162.

118.] For 'primos' Med. (a m. pr.) and Rom. give 'primus:' but their agreement cannot outweigh the awkwardness of 'primus' followed by 'crastinus.' 'Ortus extulerit Titan' like "Aurora ostenderit ortus" G. 4. 544.

119.] 'Titan' of the sun, note on 6. 725. Here and in 5. 65, where the words recur, 'radiisque retexerit orbem' is generally taken of the sun's rays removing the curtain of night from the world—an interpretation sufficiently supported by 9. 461, "iam rebus luce retectis." But it is worth considering whether, as has been suggested to me, 'retexerit' may not be from "retexo," 'orbem' being the orb of the sun, which having been unwoven at night is rewoven in the morning. The expression is likely enough to have been suggested by Lucr. 5. 389, "radiisque retexens aetherius sol," where the absorption of water from the sea by the sun is spoken of. Ov. M. 7. 531 has "Luna quater plenum tenuata retexuit orbem," where, though the sense of "retexo" is precisely opposite, that of unweaving, the expression is identical. Virg. himself (12. 763) has "retexunt orbis" of reweaving a circle, i. e. performing a circular movement a second time. The form "retexi" for "retexui" is supported by Manil. 4. 214. Perhaps however the context of 5. 65 is rather against this, as

His ego nigrantem commixta grandine nimbum,
Dum trepidant alae, saltusque indagine cingunt,
Desuper infundam, et tonitru caelum omne ciebo.
Diffugient comites et nocte tegentur opaca:
Speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem
Devenient. Adero, et, tua si mihi certa voluntas,
Conubio iungam stabili propriamque dicabo.
Hic Hymenaeus erit.—Non adversata petenti

is there Aurora, not Titan, that is ›oken of.

120.] There is no reason to doubt with ›rb. whether 'nigrantem' here is active neuter. Even if the use of 'nigro' tively were less rare than it is, an tive participle here would be awkward the last degree, as may be seen by bstituting any word which would at ce suit the metre and agree in sense th 'nigro,' such as "foedantem" or ›uscantem." 'Commixta grandine,' imbus' being a raincloud, so that it is shower of mingled rain and hail that is re meant.

121.] Gossrau, Ladewig, and Henry e, I think, right in following Serv. ainst the later editors, and explaining lae' as the 'alatores," who appear om Isid. Orig. 10. 283 quoted on G. 3. 3 and other old authorities to have en a distinct class of huntsmen, ["qui xtra et sinistra plagarum sublata voce ohibent feras exire," says Serv.] They e generally supposed to have been ounted like cavalry, of which the lae' of the Roman army originally conted: Mr Long however thinks that ey were beaters or drivers, so called om their position on the flank, the ople for whom the game was driven swering to the legions in the centre. he other interpretation, understanding of the red feathers with which the me was scared (see on G. 3. 372), is not Virg.'s manner, though it may suit a ore modern taste, dwelling as it does an unimportant circumstance, with the ject of producing a picturesque effect. he change of nom. at 'cingunt,' too, is objection to this view, though a slight e. A similar question has been raised the use of 'ala' in a passage in Silius alicus (2. 418), describing this very ene:

> Hinc et speluncam furtivaque foedera amantum
> Callaicae fecere manus: it clamor ad auras
> Latratusque canum, subitoque exterrita nimbo
> Occultant alae venantum corpora silvis."

There however the proprieties of the description, as well as the word 'silvis,' require that we should connect 'venantum' with 'alae,' the hunters being supposed to take shelter in the woods, not, as Heyne would have us think, behind the feathers of the net. 'Trepidant' then is to be understood of hurrying hither and thither. 'Indago' here and elsewhere seems to mean the process of catching wild beasts by stopping up the outlets of the woods with nets, men, dogs, &c. (see on E. 6. 56.)

123.] 'Tegentur' seems to imply not that the rest of the party are to be sheltered or hidden, but that they are to be shrouded so that they cannot see Dido and Aeneas. It would be possible of course to take 'tegentur' = "tegent se," but 'nocte opaca' is rather against this. ['Teguntur' Med. originally.—H. N.]

125.] 'Devenire' with acc. 1. 365. 'Tua si mihi certa voluntas' 7. 548. 'If I may rely on your compliance,' 'certa' being the predicate. Juno would be present as the goddess of marriage, v. 59 above.

126.] 1. 73.

127.] Henry seems right in contending that by 'Hymenaeus' we are here meant to understand not merely the bridal, which, as he remarks, is expressed elsewhere in Virg. and in other writers by the plural, but the god of marriage, whose presence was invoked at the ceremony, and is here promised by Juno. 'Hic' then will be the adverb, not the pronoun. Henry however apparently goes too far in supposing that stress is meant to be laid on the concurrence of the three deities essential to a perfect marriage, Juno, Venus, and Hymenaeus, as

Adnuit, atque dolis risit Cytherea repertis.
Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit.
It portis iubare exorto delecta iuventus;
Retia rara, plagae, lato venabula ferro,
Massylique ruunt equites et odora canum vis.

though this may be the spirit of the passages which he quotes from Ovid, esp. M. 9. 795, the absence of any reference to Hymenaeus below vv. 166 foll. seems to show that Virg. did not regard him as co-ordinate with Juno. Venus too, we must remember, is asked to give her tacit consent, not her active co-operation. 'Petenti' may go either with 'adversata' or with 'adnuit:' perhaps the latter is more probable. Rom. has 'aversata,' which is mentioned by Serv.

128.] 'Dolis repertis' has been taken of Juno's craft discovered by Venus (Serv., Burm., Gossrau), of the craft devised by Juno (Heyne, Forb., Henry), and of Venus' fraud devised against Juno (Thiel.) The first is surely far the best, in point of sense; while in point of language it is sufficiently vindicated against Heyne's objection by the passages adduced by Gossrau, esp. Claud. in Eutrop. 1. 88, "fraude reperta Cautior elusi fremitus vitare mariti." 'Dolis repertis' will then be abl. abs., though "ridere aliqua re" seems to be an admissible construction, as in Hor. 2 S. 8. 83, "ridetur fictis rerum," doubtfully comp. by Forb. ['Adque' Rŏm.—H. N.]

129—159.] 'At the dawn of the next day the preparations for the hunt begin. Huntsmen, nobles, and all are ready waiting for the queen, who at last appears in splendid attire and with a large retinue. They are joined by the Trojans and Aeneas, who looks as majestic as Apollo. The hunt begins. Ascanius is particularly active, and wishes he were chasing real savage beasts.'

129.] Repeated 11. 1. Heins. and Heyne read 'relinquit,' which is supported by Med. a m. pr.; the majority of MSS. however appear to be for the perfect, and there is no variation in the parallel passage. Virg. copies Il. 19. 1, Ἠὼς μὲν κροκόπεπλος ἀπ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοάων Ὤρνυθ'.

130.] 'It portis,' like "it naribus" G. 3. 507. Used absolutely, 'iubar' seems to stand for Lucifer, the morning star (see Forcell.); nor is there any reason against following Serv. in giving it that sense here, though it would be possible to refer it to 'Aurora' in the preceding line.

131.] ['Retia' nets, 'plagae' the ropes stretched along the top and bottom of the nets. This is the proper meaning of 'plăga,' as explained by Serv. here. Isidore 19. 5. 1. Placidus p. 78 (Deuerling) s. v. "pinnatae plagae," and Acron on Hor. 3 Od. 5. 32. Gloss. Labb. gives *plagae* στάλικες, τῶν δικτύων αἱ στάσεις. Charisius p. 45 P. reads 'plagae et lato.' —H. N.] In the art. "Rete" in Dict. A. 'rara' is explained of the width of the meshes; and this is also Forb.'s view, who observes that if understood of the slightness of the texture it would show that the nets were too thin to resist the struggling of the game. But it seems simpler here and in Hŏr. Epod. 2. 33, where the same epithet is used with the same substantive, to regard 'rarus' as expressing the quality of nets in general, not anything which distinguishes one kind of net from another. 'Lato ferro' 1. 313. ['Venabula' were hunting spears on which the animals were caught as they charged or sprang: called in old Latin "excipula" according to a gloss in the seventh vol. of Mai's "Auctores Classici."—H. N.]

132.] 'Ruunt' properly applies only to the horsemen and the dogs, but the hunting apparatus is regarded as part of the cortége, and one verb accordingly does duty for all. Wund. well comp. Hor. 1 Ep. 6. 58, "qui mane plagas, venabula, servos, Differtum transire forum populumque iubebat." 'Canum vis,' which occurs twice in Lucr. ("permissa canum vis" 4. 681, "fida canum vis" 5. 1222), is obviously modelled on the Greek use of βία in a periphrasis, so that it seems equally vain to understand 'vis' here in the sense of multitude, with Taubm., and with Henry to explain it strictly with reference to 'odora,' as if 'odora vis' meant merely the smelling instinct or gift, though it would be wrong to suppose that the notions of the epithet and the noun are meant to be kept quite separate. This seems a solitary instance of 'odorus' for 'having a keen sense of smell.'

Reginam thalamo cunctantem ad limina primi
Poenorum expectant, ostroque insignis et auro
Stat sonipes ac frena ferox spumantia mandit.
Tandem progreditur magna stipante caterva,
Sidoniam picto chlamydem circumdata limbo.
Cui pharetra ex auro, crines nodantur in aurum,
Aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem.
Nec non et Phrygii comites et laetus Iulus
Incedunt. Ipse ante alios pulcherrimus omnis
Infert se socium Aeneas atque agmina iungit.
Qualis ubi hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta

133.] On 'cunctantem' Serv. observes "morabatur studio placendi," and compares Terence's remark on the length of ladies' toilets (Haut. 2. 2. 11), "Dum moliuntur, dum comuntur, annus est," where however a better supported reading is "conantur." 'Ad limina'—at the palace door rather than at the door of the chamber.

134.] The meaning seems to be that the housings of the horse are of purple embroidered with gold. The gold however may refer to the ornaments of the horse, its phalerae, poitrel, curb, &c., while the purple may be a rug or horsecloth. Comp. the fuller description in 7. 277 foll.:

"Instratos ostro alipedes pictisque tapetis;
Aurea pectoribus demissa monilia pendent;
Tecti auro fulvum mandunt sub dentibus aurum."

['Exspectant' Rom.—H. N.]

135.] 'Sonipes' like "alipes," "cornipes," "quadrupes," is used first as an epithet of a horse, secondly as a synonyme for it. No instance of "sonipes equus" is quoted; but the word occurs as an adjective in Grat. Cyn. 43. The earliest place where it is used of a horse appears to be a fragm. of Attius' Thebais "quadrupedantum sonipedum." ['Et' for 'ac' Nonius p. 425.—H. N.]

137.] See on G. 4. 337. ['Clamydem' Med. "'Limbus' est, sicut supra (2. 616) diximus, fascia, quae ambit extremitatem vestium secundum antiquum ritum." Serv. "'Limbus,' ut adnotatum invenimus, muliebre vestimentum est, quod purpuram in imo habet," Nonius p. 541. "'Limbo' purpura": Placidus p. 62. An embroidered border of bright colour.—H. N.]

138.] 'In aurum,' on account of the common construction 'in nodum.' The thing specifically referred to may be either the Roman 'acus discriminalis,' or hairpin, or the Greek 'fibula,' the latter of which is expressly mentioned 7. 815.

141.] 'Incedunt,' join the procession.

142.] 'Infert se' 1. 439. 'Agmina iungit' 2. 267 note. ['Adquo' Rom. Med. has 'iunget.'—H. N.]

143. The general notion of the following simile, and the geographical names in the first two lines, are taken, as Henry remarks, from Apoll. R. 1. 307. foll., where Jason is compared to Apollo. The other circumstances of the simile correspond, as Heyne observes, to those in the simile of Dido to Diana 1. 498 foll. Apollo is supposed to fix his winter quarters in his temple at Patara in Lycia, and thence to go to Delos. Nothing is said about his dividing the year between the two, so that we need not speculate with Henry whether Delos is more than a halting-place on the way to Delphi. The journeyings of Apollo formed the subject of a paean by Alcaeus, the substance of which is preserved by Himerius, Orations 14. 10, and is extracted by Bergk, Poetae Lyrici Graeci, pp. 569, 570 (1st edition). From this it appears that when Apollo was born, Zeus gave him a mitre, a lyre, and a car driven by swans, and sent him to Delphi; but he chose first to go to the Hyperboreans, spending a year with them, and thence going to Delphi, where nature as well as men greeted him with demonstrations of welcome. A passage from Procopius cited by Turnebus, Adversaria 24. 26, speaks of the ἐπιδημία Ἀπόλλωνος (an expression supported also

Deserit ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo
Instauratque choros, mixtique altaria circum
Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt pictique Agathyrsi;
Ipse iugis Cynthi graditur, mollique fluentem
Fronde premit crinem fingens atque inplicat auro,
Tela sonant umeris: haut illo segnior ibat
Aeneas; tantum egregio decus enitet ore.
Postquam altos ventum in montis atque invia lustra,
Ecce ferae, saxi deiectae vertice, caprae
Decurrere iugis; alia de parte patentis
Transmittunt cursu campos atque agmina cervi

by Himerius l. c.) as a festival at Delphi. Serv. says definitely that Apollo was supposed to give oracles for the six winter months at Patara, for the six summer ones at Delos: a practical realization of the belief in Apollo's migratory habits which is supported by Hdt. 1. 182, as Heyne observes in his Excursus. But the meaning may be, as Mr. Long thinks, that Apollo leaves Lycia in the winter, and goes to the more genial Delos—an interpretation already suggested as a question by Serv., "an quam hiberno tempore deserere soleat?"

144.] [For 'ac' Quint. 8. 3. 73 has 'aut.'—H. N.]

145.] 'Instaurat' v. 63 note, here of a renewal of intermitted observances. Members of the different nations where the worship of Apollo was especially kept up appear to have engaged in his service in other countries. So in Homer's Hymn to Apollo, vv. 391 foll., Cretans sailing to Pylos as brought by Apollo to Crisa and established as his priests. It is also possible, as Heyne suggests, that these strangers may have been sent on sacred embassies to Delos. See on the whole subject of the worship of Apollo Müller's Dorians, Book 2.

146.] The Dryopes, who originally lived in the neighbourhood of Parnassus, were consecrated as a subject people to the Pythian Apollo (Müller, Book 1, ch. 2, § 4). The Agathyrsi, who, like their neighbours the Geloni (G. 2. 115), are called 'picti,' tattooed, represent Apollo's Hyperborean worshippers.

147.] On a comparison of 1. 498, 501 it seems probable that Apollo is represented as himself joining in the dance.

148.] His hair is twined with a wreath of bay and a circlet of gold. 'Premit fingens' like "fingit premendo" 6. 80. The notion is that of restraint and regulation. Henry cites Callim. Hymn to Apollo, v. 32, to show that golden dress and ornaments specially belonged to Apollo. ['Implicat' Rom. Verona fragm.—H. N.]

149.] The image is from Il. 1. 46, ἔκλαγξαν δ' ἄρ' ὀϊστοὶ ἐπ' ὤμων χωομένοιο, Αὐτοῦ κινηθέντος, though the nature of the motion is different.. Cerda comp. Ov. Rem. Am. 705, "Phoebus adest: sonuere lyrae, sonuere pharetrae: Signa deum nosco per sua: Phoebus adest." 'Haut segnior' 7. 383. ["'Haut segnior,' id est, non illo deformior; nam plerumque virtus et pulchritudo pro se invicem ponuntur." Serv.—H. N.]

150.] 'Tantum,' i. e. 'quantum Apollinis.' Aeneas is compared with Apollo in respect first of the grace and ease of his movements, secondly of his beauty.

152.] The meaning seems to be that some of the attendants drove the game down from the crags into the plains and valleys. This sense of 'deicere,' as Wagn. remarks, is hardly supported by the passages adduced in its favour, the word as a technical term being applied rather to killing an animal than to driving it down a precipice; but there is nothing inconsistent with Latin in it, and it seems certainly better than the tautology which would arise between 'deiectae' and 'decurrere,' if 'deiectae' were understood with Heyne, Forb., &c. as "quae se deiecerant." [Is not the word used here on the analogy of the military phrases, "deicere hostem loco, praesidio, munimento," and the like?—H. N.]

153.] Perhaps from Lucr. 2. 330, "Transmittunt valido quatientes impete campos." See on 6. 313.

154.] The deer fly in a body. For deer in Africa see on 1. 184. ["'Transmittunt campos' 'send the plains past them, i. e

Pulverulenta fuga glomerant montisque relinquunt.
At puer Ascanius mediis in vallibus acri
Gaudet equo, iamque hos cursu, iam praeterit illos,
Spumantemque dari pecora inter inertia votis
Optat aprum, aut fulvum descendere monte leonem.
Interea magno misceri murmure caelum
Incipit; insequitur commixta grandine nimbus;
Et Tyrii comites passim et Troiana iuventus
Dardaniusque nepos Veneris diversa per agros
Tecta metu petiere; ruunt de montibus amnes.
Speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem
Deveniunt. Prima et Tellus et pronuba Iuno
Dant signum; fulsere ignes et conscius aether

run across the plains.'" Henry. 'Tramittunt' Verona fragm. originally. 'Adque' Rom.—H. N.]

155.] ['Relinqunt' Rom. and Verona fragm.—H. N.]

158.] 'Spumantem aprum' 1. 324. 'Dari' refers to 'votis optat,' granted in answer to prayer. 'Votis' probably goes with 'optat,' as in 10. 279, not with 'dari.' The vows then will be actual vows to Diana, as Wund. remarks, comp. E. 7. 29 foll. 'Inertia' = "imbellia," as in 2. 364, &c. "Pecora inter inertia" 9. 730. ["Spumigeri suis adventu validique leonis," Lucr. 5. 985.—H. N.]

159.] 'Fulvum leonem' is just one of those cases where an epithet, which at first sight appears merely ornamental and poetical, has a real force. It is in fact the same thing as saying a real, actual lion—a lion in propria persona. ['Fulvom' Verona fragm.—H. N.]

160—172.] 'A storm comes on. Aeneas and Dido take refuge in the same cave. The marriage is accomplished and ratified by Juno. Dido herself proclaims and glories in it.'

160.] Comp. 1. 124. Here Virg. may have been thinking of Lucr. 5. 1221, "Magnum percurrunt murmura caelum."

162.] 'Passim' 2. 364 note.

164.] 'Tecta' generally, places of shelter. 'Ruunt de montibus amnes' is almost translated by Thomson in his description of a storm in harvest in his Autumn, "Red, from the hills, innumerable streams Tumultuous roar."

165.] The hint of this passage is doubtless taken, as Henry has pointed out, from Apoll. R. 4. 1130 foll., where the union of Jason and Medea is made to take place in a cave; but there is nothing in the description of the older poet to remind us of Virg., except the mention of Juno and of the Nymphs.

166.] 'Prima' seems rightly explained by Henry, after Taubmann, of the Earth as the oldest of the deities, comp. "primam deorum Tellurem" 7. 136, πρεσβεύω θεῶν τὴν πρωτόμαντιν Γαῖαν Aesch. Eum. 1, 2. The 'pronuba' was a matron who had only been married to one husband, and her function was to conduct the bride to the "lectus genialis" (Dict. A. Marriage, Roman). [It should be added that according to Varro 'Pronuba' was one of the titles of Juno. Serv. on 59 above "Iunoni ante omnes, cui vincla iugalia curae."—H. N.] The whole description is rightly regarded by Henry, [whose view is anticipated by Ti. Donatus,] as one not of an inauspicious but of an auspicious marriage, in which the gods take the parts ordinarily performed by mortals; the various phenomena of the storm being in fact regarded by Virg. as representing the various parts of the wedding solemnity, the lightning the holding up of the torches, the sounds of waters or woods the nuptial ὀλολυγμός. But he goes too far when he supposes the descent of rain upon the earth to be itself a symbolical marriage union between two great parts of nature. Such a notion is found in other passages of the classics (e. g. G. 2. 325), but there is nothing to show that it is intended here.

167.] It may be doubted whether 'dant signum' here means 'give a signal for the flashing of the fire' (comp. 3. 239, 519 &c.), or 'give a sign of the event taking place' (comp. 8. 523., 12. 245). Nor is it

Conubiis, summoque ulularunt vertice Nymphae.
Ille dies primus leti primusque malorum
Causa fuit: neque enim specie famave movetur
Nec iam furtivum Dido meditatur amorem;
Coniugium vocat; hoc praetexit nomine culpam.

clear in either case what parts are meant to be assigned to the Earth and Juno respectively, supposing, as was observed in the last note, that some natural phenomenon is intended by each of the actions ascribed here to the various deities. Taking 'signum' as a sign, and so regarding 'fulsere ignes' as that in which the sign consisted, we may account sufficiently well for the operation of Juno, who is the mistress of the atmosphere; but the office of Tellus is still undetermined. The generality of commentators, regarding the appearances as inauspicious, suppose the sign given by Earth to be the shock of an earthquake. This was probably the interpretation of Milton, who doubtless intended to imitate the passage in his description of the effects following the first act of sin (Par. Lost, 9. 782 foll., 1000 foll.). Henry thinks 'signum' is a signal, which he supposes to be given by Tellus and Juno simply as persons, not as presiding powers of nature; but this would spoil the symmetry of the passage, nor is it supported, as he thinks, by Claudian in Prob. et Olybr. Cons. 205 foll., where 'signum' is evidently a sign or portent. Gossrau, who regards the manifestations as ambiguous, is similarly at a loss to know what part to assign to the Earth, and concludes "signa quae dederit Tellus esse omissa." 'Fulsere ignes et aether' is rightly explained by Wagn. as i. q. "fulsit aether ignibus." For nuptial torches see E. 8. 29.

168.] 'Conubiis' Med., 'conubii' Rom. Pal. corrected, Verona fragm. The latter might perhaps be defended if written 'conubi,' though Lachm. on Lucr. 5. 85 says, "Hoc quoque mirabile est, quod Vergilius gignendi casu uti noluit quo *conubi* dicendum erat, quod habent per *i* duo scriptum Lucanus 2. 330, 343 et Statius Theb. 7. 300., 10. 62, sed maluit dicere A. 4. 168 *et conscius aether Conubiis*, sive, ut mihi videtur, *Conubis*." But the less-ordinary construction of 'conscius' with a dative (for which see the lexicons) would account for the change of reading, as would the 's' immediately following, though this latter argument tells both ways. For the synizesis comp. "taeniis" 5. 269, and see 1. 73. From the imitation of this passage by Ovid (Her. 7. 95), it is clear that he supposed the 'ululatus' of the nymphs to be a good sign. 'Ululare' is used of triumphal or festive cries, such as doubtless greeted the marriage procession, like the Greek *ὀλολυγμός*, which Serv. comp. So Lucan 6. 258, "laetis ululare triumphis." The nymphs may be Oreads, Dryads, or Naiads, according to the view we take of the nature of the sound. Henry argues from 'summo vertice,' that they are Oreads, comp. Apoll. R. 4. 1150. The words, as Heyne remarks, are probably from Apoll. R. 3. 1218, *αἱ δ' ὠλόλυξαν Νύμφαι ἑλειονόμοι ποταμηΐδες*, but the sense is different.

169.] We might have expected "prima," agreeing with 'causa:' but Virg. seems to have mixed up two expressions, 'that day was the first day of ruin,' and 'that day was the cause of ruin.' 'Malorum' is perhaps a little weak after the stronger word 'leti,' but that is no reason for suspecting the reading. Pal. a m. p. and Philarg. on G. 2. 168 have 'laborum,' probably, as Ribbeck hints, from 7. 481.

170.] The meaning is, that day sealed Dido's ruin, for henceforth she allowed herself to regard Aeneas as her husband and treated him as such openly. 'Specie,' as we should say 'by the look of things.' The word seems here to bear a neutral sense, like 'fama.' 'She cares nought for the common eye or the common tongue.'

171.] 'It is not on a concealed love that Dido's heart is any longer set.' Forc. quotes this line in illustration of the statement "Universim *meditari aliquid* est non solum cogitando persequi, sed etiam agendo et praeparando, atque adeo ponitur pro exercere."

172.] 'Praetexit nomine culpam' is a variety for "praetexit nomen culpae." So below v. 500 'praetexere funera sacris' stands for "praetexere funeri sacra." 'Culpa' is used specially of unchastity; see Forc.

173—197.] 'The news flies over Libya, being spread by Fame, a monster of the giant breed, winged, with countless eyes, tongues, and ears. Aeneas, it is said, has come as a stranger, Dido has married him,

Extemplo Libyae magnas it Fama per urbes,
Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum;
Mobilitate viget, viresque adquirit eundo;
Parva metu primo; mox sese attollit in auras,
Ingrediturque solo, et caput inter nubila condit.
Illam Terra parens, ira inritata deorum,
Extremam, ut perhibent, Coeo Enceladoque sororem
Progenuit, pedibus celerem et pernicibus alis,
Monstrum horrendum, ingens, cui, quot sunt corpore plumae,
Tot vigiles oculi subter, mirabile dictu,

and they are leading a luxurious winter without a thought for Carthage. Iarbas hears and is enraged.'

173.] This description of Fame has furnished a commonplace for critics, especially those of the last century, some of whom have thought its introduction under any circumstances needlessly ambitious, while others, though admiring it generally, think it is carried on too long. A reader of the present day will, I think, wonder rather at the poet's reticence than at his exuberance. The mighty power of Fame or Rumour is a conception which will bear dwelling on; the thought is appropriate here, as one of the main causes which lead to Dido's death is the sense of the disgrace to which she has brought herself before the world: and Virgil's treatment of it is quite in the taste of classical poetry. Such mythological personifications are common enough in Ovid, and it is hard to see why Virg. should be altogether debarred the use of them, though doubtless they are to be more sparingly employed in a poem like the Aeneid than in a poem like the Metamorphoses. The hint, as usual, is from Homer, who personifies Ὄσσα Il. 2. 93, Od. 24. 412, which last line Virg. has almost copied in the present v. 173; the elaboration of detail too partly comes from the Homeric Ἔρις, Il. 4. 442, 443. Probably too he thought of the Hesiodic Φήμη (Works 760 foll.). Ovid has an ingenious passage on the dwelling of Fame, the receptacle of all the reports in the world (M. 12. 39 foll.), which, though not copied from this of Virg., forms a good pendant to it. Valerius Flaccus (2. 116 foll.) and Statius (Theb. 3. 426 foll.) tread in the steps of Virg., but for a much shorter distance.

174.] With Forb., Jahn, and Ribbeck, I have restored 'qua,' the reading of Med., Rom., and Gud., for 'quo,' that of fragm. Veron., which, though admissible, seems less natural and straightforward. Pal. has 'quo' altered into 'qua:' Serv. mentions both. Whether Jahn is to be further followed in removing the stop after 'ullum' is more doubtful. On the whole it seems better to regard v. 175 as a separate sentence. 'Fame is the swiftest of all mischievous things: the longer its motion continues, the more rapid it becomes.' ['Aliut' Med. Pal.—H. N.]

175.] From Lucr. 6. 340, "Denique quod longo venit impete sumere debet Mobilitatem etiam atque etiam, quae crescit eundo, Et validas auget vires."

176.] Ἥτ' ὀλίγη μὲν πρῶτα κορύσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα Οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει Il. 4. 442. 'Parva metu primo' is well explained by Gossrau, "primum timide serpit et caute contrahit corporis speciem." 'Primo' is probably adverbial.

178.] Henry comp. Apoll. R. 2. 39, Γαίης εἶναι ἐΐκτο πέλωρ τέκος, οἷα πάροιθεν χωομένη Διὶ τίκτεν. The Giants, according to one story, were produced by the Earth in her anger that the Titans had been thrust down to Tartarus. Virg. however, like others of the later writers, seems to confuse Titans and Giants, Enceladus being a Giant, Coeus a Titan, though he may merely mean that Fame, like the Titans and the Giants, was the offspring of Earth. 'Ira' with gen. of the cause of quarrel occurs 2. 413, 9. 736: it is here extended to the person against whom anger is felt, like ὀργή and χόλος in Greek.

180.] It matters little whether 'alis' be constructed with 'celerem' or 'pernicibus alis' made an abl. of quality, i. q. "pernicem alis."

181.] Comp. 3. 658. ['Quod' the uncials.—H. N.]

182.] "Ornate pro, tot ora ei sunt et

Tot linguae, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit auris.
Nocte volat caeli medio terraeque per umbram,
Stridens, nec dulci declinat lumina somno;
Luce sedet custos aut summi culmine tecti,
Turribus aut altis, et magnas territat urbes,
Tam ficti pravique tenax, quam nuntia veri.
Haec tum multiplici populos sermone replebat
Gaudens et pariter facta atque infecta canebat:
Venisse Aenean, Troiano sanguine cretum,
Cui se pulchra viro dignetur iungere Dido;
Nunc hiemem inter se luxu, quam longa, fovere
Regnorum inmemores turpique cupidine captos.
Haec passim dea foeda virum diffundit in ora.
Protinus ad regem cursus detorquet Iarban,

aures: tota est oculata, aurita, et vocalis." Heyne. 'Subter' seems to show that an eye is supposed to be under every feather. Compare the transformation of the myriad-eyed Argus into a peacock. ['Supter' Rom. and Verona fragm.—H. N.]

183.] Virg. indulges his love of variety by supplying a new verb for 'linguae' and 'ora,' and changing the construction in the case of 'auris.'

184.] 'Caeli medio terraeque' i. q. 'inter caelum et terram.' Forb. comp. Ov. M. 5. 644, "et medium caeli terraeque per aëra vecta est." Wagn. is right in returning to the old punctuation, which separates 'stridens' from 'per umbram.'

185.] With 'declinat lumina somno' Thiel comp. Prop. 2. 1. 11, "poscentis somnum declinat ocellos." Catull. 64. 91 had already used 'declinare lumina' of dropping or turning away the eyes.

186.] Virg. is thinking of a bird which at one time flies about, at another sits perched on a tower. "'Custos,' speculatrix, nequid eam praetereat," Serv., who further remarks that 'summi culmine tecti' points to the function of Fame in private, 'turribus altis' in public matters.

188.] 'Tenax' with 'ficti pravique,' not, as Serv. seems to think, an epithet of 'nuntia.' Comp. Pers. 5. 58, "Parca tenax veri."

190.] So Stat. Theb. 3. 430, of Fame, "facta infecta loqui," imitating this passage. It is difficult however to see wherein Fame, in the present instance, transgresses the bounds of truth. Dido had accepted Aeneas as her husband, and what is said of their intentions for the winter agrees very well with the actual state of things as it appears to Jupiter (comp. v. 221 &c.). 'Regnorum inmemores' may perhaps be a little inconsistent with the interest Aeneas takes in the works of the city, vv. 260 foll.; but Aeneas was neglecting his own kingdom, and we have already seen (vv. 86 foll.) how indifferent Dido had become to hers. The winter was not yet over, perhaps had hardly yet begun; but there was every prospect that Aeneas would have spent the whole of it at Carthage if Jupiter had not interfered. ['Adque' Rom., as often.—H. N.]

191.] The common reading is 'Troiano a sanguine cretum:' but as Med., Pal., and many other MSS. omit the preposition, and Virg. elsewhere invariably uses 'cretus' with a simple abl., I have preferred, with Ribbeck, 'Troiano sanguine,' though 'a sanguine' is found in Rom.

192.] Emm. comp. Ov. M. 8. 325, "O felix, si quem dignabitur, inquit, Ista virum!"

193.] We have already had 'fovere' with an acc. of the place in which a long sojourn is made (G. 3. 420 note): the acc. is here extended to the time or period of sojourn. 'Quam longa' 8. 86.

194.] 'Regnorum' of Carthage and Italy, as Serv. rightly explains it. See on v. 190. ['Immemores' Rom. and Verona fragm.—H. N.]

195.] 'With these tales she fills every mouth.' Comp. Hor. 1. Ep. 3. 9, "Romana brevi venturus in ora."

196.] ['Cursum' Nonius p. 377.

Inceditque animum dictis atque aggerat iras.
Hic Hammone satus, rapta Garamantide Nympha,
Templa Iovi centum latis inmania regnis,
Centum aras posuit, vigilemque sacraverat ignem,
Excubias divum aeternas, pecudumque cruore
Pingue solum et variis florentia limina sertis.
Isque amens animi et rumore accensus amaro
Dicitur ante aras media inter numina divom
Multa Iovem manibus supplex orasse supinis:
Iuppiter omnipotens, cui nunc Maurusia pictis
Gens epulata toris Lenaeum libat honorem,
Aspicis haec? an te, genitor, cum fulmina torques,
Nequiquam horremus, caecique in nubibus ignes

'Hiarban' Pal. 'Iarbam' Nonius l. c.—H. N.]

197.] 'Aggerat iras' 11. 242.

198—218.] 'Iarbas, himself the son of Jupiter Ammon, whom he had made the tutelary god of his kingdom, represents to his divine parent the disdain with which the Carthaginian queen had treated him, and asks if this is the reward for his filial piety.'

198.] Iarbas seems to have been connected with Dido in the original legends as he appears in Justin 18. 6, as a king of the Maxitanians or Mazyes, who offers Dido marriage, threatening war in case of her refusal, whereupon she kills herself. He is here made a son of Ammon, the Libyan god whom the Greeks identified with Zeus and the Romans with Jupiter; and Virg. chooses to represent him as having introduced the worship of his parent-god among his countrymen. The spelling 'Hammone' is supported by Med. and Rom. 'Garamantis' apparently means Libyan generally. 'Rapta' as in 1. 28.

199.] ['Immania' Med.—H. N.]

200.] Wund. seems right in saying that 'posuit' and 'sacraverat' really refer to the same time, which is regarded from two different points of view. The ever-burning light was kept up at the great oracle of Jupiter Ammon, as appears from Plutarch De Oraculorum Defectu, p. 410 B, referred to by Taubm. 'Sacraverat ignem' 2. 502.

201.] 'Excubias aeternas' stands in a loose apposition to 'vigilem ignem,' the fire being kept up by attendants of the god, who are thus said to be his watchers. 'Solum' and 'limina' are considered by Wagn. to be independent nominatives: but it seems better to make them accusatives, somewhat closely connected with 'sacraverat.'

203.] Wagn. illustrates 'amens animi' by referring to the Lucretian 'mens animi:' but it may support itself very well without. See G. 4. 491 note.

204.] It is difficult to see why Virg. should have weakened his narrative by introducing 'dicitur:' but the love of variety was probably what tempted him. For 'numina' Serv. mentions another reading 'munera,' which is very plausible, as 'media inter munera divom' would answer exactly to "in honore deum medio" G. 3. 486. 'Numina' however gives an excellent sense: 'with the gods (i. e. their statues) all about him.' Comp. 1. 447.

206.] Henry with the later commentators calls attention to 'nunc,' "now and never before, thy worship having been, until introduced to me, unknown to the Maurusian nation." 'Pictis toris' points to banquets like Dido's in Book 1.

207.] "Laticum libavit honorem" 1. 736, "Lenaeos umores" G. 3. 510. Here as there 'Lenaeus' seems to be a secondary adjective from 'Lenaeus' (Ληναῖος) regarded as a substantive. Comp. "laticem Lyaeum" 1. 686, and see on v. 552 below.

208.] 'Genitor' instead of the vague 'pater,' because Iarbas is insisting on real relationship, as Henry observes.

209.] The emphasis is on 'caeci' and 'inania.' 'Are thy lightnings aimless? are thy thunders unmeaning?' ['Nequicquam' Pal.—H. N.]

Terrificant animos et inania murmura miscent?
Femina, quae nostris errans in finibus urbem
Exiguam pretio posuit, cui litus arandum
Cuique loci leges dedimus, conubia nostra
Reppulit ac dominum Aenean in regna recepit.
Et nunc ille Paris cum semiviro comitatu,
Maeonia mentum mitra crinemque madentem
Subnexus, rapto potitur: nos munera templis
Quippe tuis ferimus, famamque fovemus inanem.
  Talibus orantem dictis arasque tenentem

210.] 'Miscere,' elsewhere applied to the effect of sound (above v. 160), is here applied to sound itself, expressing the vague confused rumbling of thunder. Thus, though not specially belonging to 'inania,' it is in perfect keeping with it. By a poetical variety the lightning is made the cause of the thunder.

211.] For the fact comp. 1. 365 foll.

212.] 'Litus' merely means land by the sea. So 7. 797, "Qui saltus, Tiberine, tuos, sacrumque Numici Litus arant."

213.] 'Whom we have made queen of the spot.' Dido in Ov. Her. 7. 156 says of her kingdom "Hic pacis leges, hic locus arma capit."

214.] 'Dominus,' like 'lord' and 'master' in English, is used for a husband or lover in a sense which may be either invidious or the reverse according to the feelings of the speaker. See Forc. Here it is of course invidious, like "servire marito" v. 103. With 'in regna recepit,' which implies not merely a hospitable welcome but association in the kingdom, comp. v. 374, "Excepi, et regni demens in parti locavi."

215.] 'Paris,' in his supposed effeminacy and in his conquest of the bride of another, γυναιμανής, ἠπεροπευτής. The reproach of effeminacy against the Phrygians generally belongs not to Homeric times, but to a later period. Comp. Eur. Or. 1369 foll. In the same way in 9. 617 they are stigmatized as the worthy worshippers of Cybele, which will further illustrate 'semiviro comitatu.'

216.] The 'mitra' appears again as part of the Phrygian costume 9. 616. In Greece it appears to have been confined to women. See Dict. A. 'Calantica.' 'Maeonia' is used vaguely, as the Lydians and Phrygians were neighbours. Essenced hair is one of Turnus' reproaches against Aeneas 12. 100. [The MSS. of Nonius p. 405 have 'mitram.'—H. N.]

217.] With some hesitation I have restored, as Henry and Ribbeck have done, 'subnexus,' though found but in one MS., the Leyden. [Serv. says "crinem unguentatum subnixum et subligatum habens," or, according to the Tours MS., "subnixum, id est subligatum." I suspect that he may have read 'subnexus,' as his note continues "aut 'subnixus,' fiducia elatus."—H. N.]. 'Subnixus', might stand, the chin and hair being said to rest on the cap or cap-strings, agreeably to the use of "fulcio.") E. 6. 53 note) and 'ἐρείδω. But it is more credible that the two words should have been confused, as their cognates not unfrequently are (see 1. 448., 5. 279), than that Virg. should have used the less appropriate in preference to the more appropriate. 'Rapto potitur,' enjoys his prey, 'raptum' as in 7. 749. So Helen is called τὸ ῥύσιον in relation to Paris Aesch. Ag. 535. From this line to 5. 37 Rom. is deficient.

218.] The force of 'quippe' here is very doubtful. There is no question that it is used in other places where a sarcasm is intended, e. g. 1. 39; but that does not enable us precisely to fix its meaning. Here it might refer more or less to the whole clause; 'while we, forsooth, are bringing gifts to thy temples,' &c. But perhaps it may be better to restrict its reference to 'tuis;' 'we are bringing gifts to temples where we believe thou dwellest,' 'quippe tuis' answering to 'inanem.' To understand it as causal with Wund. and Forb. is, I think, to mistake the sense of the passage. It seems more in keeping with the context to understand 'famam' generally of the reputation of Jove as a god than to explain it with Wund. specially of his reputed relation to Iarbas.

219—237.] '**Jupiter heard him, looked towards Carthage, and calling Mercury, charged him to go and remind Aeneas**

Audiit omnipotens, oculosque ad moenia torsit
Regia et oblitos famae melioris amantis.
Tum sic Mercurium adloquitur ac talia mandat:
Vade age, nate, voca Zephyros et labere pinnis,
Dardaniumque ducem, Tyria Karthagine qui nunc
Expectat, fatisque datas non respicit urbes,
Adloquere et celeris defer mea dicta per auras.
Non illum nobis genetrix pulcherrima talem
Promisit Graiumque ideo bis vindicat armis;
Sed fore, qui gravidam imperiis belloque frementem

at Venus had given a pledge on his half as the intended conqueror of Italy, id that even if he should be indifferent mself, he had to think of the rights Ascanius.'

219.] Nearly repeated 6. 124. The uching of the altar added solemnity, :. 201.

221.] 'Bona fama' occurs Cic. pro st. 66.

222.] Imitated from Od. 5. 28 foll., here Zeus sends Hermes to recall lysses from the island of Calypso. here is little or no resemblance between e two speeches: but in the subsequent scription Virg. closely copies his masr. For 'tum' some MSS. have 'tunc,' ich was the old reading.

223.] 'Vade age,' βάσκ' ἴθι. 'Voca Zeyros' may seem to make Mercury too pendent on the breezes, as if he were a ilor; but it may be answered that as a d he has the power of nature at his mmand, and that it would be no proof divine strength to refuse to employ em. The words indeed, even when ed of human navigators, seem simply mean that the breezes are at a call: mp. 3. 253., 5. 211., 8. 707. The line of course modulated so as to express eed.

224.] ['Carthagine' Med. Pal.—H. N.]

225.] No authentic instance is quoted this use of 'expectare' as simply = norari," though 'expectare' with an ject or object clause is sufficiently comon. But this need not drive us to hn's harsh expedient of supplying urbes' from the next clause: 'he looks r a city at Carthage and regards not at which the fates promise him.' 'Das,' not, as Heyne and Forb., foreshown, t assigned. See 3. 255.

226.] It is not easy to see the force of leris,' which in a connexion like this can hardly be an unmeaning epithet, repeated as it is below v. 357; but the notion may be that the breezes accelerate Mercury's flight (see above v. 223), though 'per' regards them rather as the medium through which he flies.

227.] Wund. remarks on the skill with which Virg. has avoided the awkwardness of an oratio obliqua. With the form of expression 'non illum talem promisit,' comp. 11. 152. Pal. (originally) and some other MSS. have 'genetrix nobis;' and so Ribbeck.

228.] 'Bis' can only refer to the two deliverances of Aeneas with which Venus is associated, and from Diomed (Il. 5. 311 foll.), and that from the Greeks at the sack of Troy (A. 2. 589 &c.) The deliverance from Achilles would form a better parallel to the deliverance from Diomed, but it was accomplished by Neptune, not by Venus; the deliverance from the destruction of Troy under Laomedon would answer more completely to the deliverance from the second destruction of Troy (comp. 3. 476, with Wagn.), but there is no reason to suppose that Aeneas was born when it took place. If 'vindicat' is anything more than a poetical past, we may explain it by saying that the effects of the preservation still continue.

229.] The construction is resumed from 'promisit.' 'Gravidam imperiis' has been variously explained; as 'gravidam imperatoribus' (Serv.), which Heyne justly rejects as weak, as 'the parent of future empire,' and, as 'teeming with masterful nations.' Virg. probably meant to include both of the latter interpretations. That he was thinking of the future of Italy is shown by the word 'gravidam' and by the whole context, as the temper of the Italian nations at the time of Aeneas' arrival was a matter of infinitely

Italiam regeret, genus alto a sanguine Teucri
Proderet, ac totum sub leges mitteret orbem.
Si nulla accendit tantarum gloria rerum
Nec super ipse sua molitur laude laborem,
Ascanione pater Romanas invidet arces?
Quid struit, aut qua spe inimica in gente moratur,
Nec prolem Ausoniam et Lavinia respicit arva?
Naviget: haec summa est; hic nostri nuntius esto.
Dixerat. Ille patris magni parere parabat

small moment compared with the destiny in store for them: at the same time it was the imperious and unbridled character of those nations which marked them out as instruments in the conquest of the world after they should have been conquered themselves, first by Aeneas and eventually by Rome, so that Italy could be said to be not only the future mother of empire, but actually teeming with it at the moment when Jupiter was speaking. The plural may be used with reference to these various nations, but it need be nothing more than a poetical hyperbole, expressing the ever-increasing sway which Virg. saw before him. So 8. 475, "Sed tibi ego ingentis populos opulentaque regnis Iungere castra paro," where one thought in the poet's mind seems to be the material afforded by the Etruscans for a great empire. With the expression comp. "gravidam bellis urbem" 10. 87.

230.] 'Should hand down a line which has Teucer for its founder,' 'prodere' having the sense of "porro dare, id est, tradere quasi per manus propagare;" see Forc.

231.] 'Sub leges' = 'sub imperium.' Forb. comp. the expression 'sub iugum mittere.' Aeneas is said to do what Rome ultimately did.

232.] See on 6. 405.

233.] 'Super sua laude' is the same construction which we have had 1. 750: here however the sense of 'de' is extended into that of 'pro,' perhaps on the analogy of ὑπέρ. The introduction of 'ipse' between 'super' and 'sua' is also Greek, πρὸς αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ, but it occurs elsewhere in Latin, being especially used by Ovid, who, as Wagn. remarks, finds it convenient in making it a pentameter, e. g. Ep. 12. 18, "Ut caderet cultu cultor ab ipse suo." 'Moliri laborem' is merely to take trouble. ['Laborum' Med. originally, and Pal. corrected.—H. N.]

234.] Comp. vv. 354, 355 below. 'Romanas arces:' see on G. 2. 172.

235.] 'Inimica,' as under Juno's patronage, and as the destined opponent of Rome's supremacy. The later editors rightly put a comma after 'moratur,' so as to connect it with 'nec respicit.' The expression thus becomes exactly parallel to that in v. 225. ['Quit' Med.—H. N.]

236.] 'Prolem Ausoniam' is the same as 'genus alto a sanguine Teucri' regarded from another side. There we were to think of Rome as derived from Troy: here we are to think of it as the representative of Italian greatness. So 'Lavinia arva' points out the new kingdom.

237.] 'Haec summa est,' as we should say, this is the point; in this 'naviget' everything is concentrated. So "summa belli" 12. 572 is the centre, the head and front of the war. 'Hic nuntius' is taken with Wagn., after the older commentators, "be thou our herald of this message." 'Hic' = "de hac re," as "ea signa" 2. 170 note = "signa eius rei." Val. Fl. 2. 142 has "utinam non hic tibi nuntius essem," though there 'hic' may be meant to be adverbial, as it is a goddess who is speaking. But Heyne, Forb., and Gossrau may be right in taking 'nuntius' of the tidings or message, as, though there is no certain instance of this use of the word in Virg., it might have that meaning in 6. 456., 7. 437., 8. 582., 9. 692., 11. 897. With 'nostri nuntius' Wagn. comp. "imago mei" below v. 654.

238—258.] 'Mercury obeys, puts on his sandals, takes his magic wand, and flies forth. He halts on Atlas, the mountain of eternal storm and snow, and thence plunges down to the sea like a waterfowl.'

238.] This whole description is closely

Imperio; et primum pedibus talaria nectit,
Aurea, quae sublimem alis sive aequora supra
Seu terram rapido pariter cum flamine portant;
Tum virgam capit (hac animas ille evocat Orco
Pallentis, alias sub Tartara tristia mittit,
Dat somnos adimitque, et lumina morte resignat);
Illa fretus agit ventos, et turbida tranat
Nubila; iamque volans apicem et latera ardua cernit

modelled on Od. 5. 43 foll., part of which coincides with Il. 24. 339 foll.

239.] 'Talaria,' from the adj. "talaris," if used here and elsewhere (see Forc.) of the winged sandals which were occasionally worn by gods and demigods. Hom. has merely πέδιλα.

240.] 'Alis' prob. with 'sublimem.' So perhaps "pinnis sublimem" 11. 772. [For 'supra' the MSS. of Macrob. S. 5. 6. 11 have 'iuxta.'—H. N.]

241.] See on v. 223. Hom. has ἅμα πνοιῇς ἀνέμοιο, which seems to mean 'together with the wind,' not, as some have taken it, and as Taubm. and apparently Gossrau take Virg.'s words, with speed like the wind's.

242.] For the nature of the caduceus see Dict. Biog. Hermes. 'Hac—resignat' is a parenthetical sentence, as Jahn has seen, answering the purpose of a relative clause, to express the ordinary functions of the wand. 'Evocat,' then will mean "evocare solet," while 'agit' v. 245 on the contrary refers simply to what Mercury is doing during his present journey to Carthage. Hom. merely dwells on the power of the wand to produce or dispel sleep, τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει Ὧν ἐθέλει, τοὺς δ' αὖτε καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρει. Virg., while including this notion in 'dat somnos adimitque,' extends it to breaking or producing the sleep of death, Hermes being the ψυχοπομπός.

243.] Hermes has his wand when he conducts the souls of the suitors to the shades at the beginning of Od. 24. 'Tartara tristia' Med., Pal., &c.: 'tristia Tartara' was the order before Burm. For 'mittit' Pal. originally had 'ducit.'

244.] I accept Turnebus' explanation (Advers. 24. 26) of 'lumina morte resignat' by a reference to the Roman custom of closing a friend's eyes at the moment of death and afterwards opening them again when the body was laid on the pile seven days afterwards. 'Signare' (Stat. Theb. 3. 129) was used of closing the eyes of the dead, so that 'resignare' would naturally express the reverse process. It does not appear that this action is elsewhere attributed to Mercury; but it would be a natural part of the Roman conception of a ψυχοπομπός, the object being that the dead might see their way to the lower world. We may add this then to the other instances in which Virg. has mixed the customs of his own times with those of the heroic age. 'Morte' then will mean during, i. e. after, death, and the words will = "lumina mortuorum resignat." [Henry now explains 'morte' as = "somno:" which is surely erroneous. Serv. endeavours to make 'resignare' here = "auferre," I suppose from its ancient use as equivalent to "rescribere," to cancel. But this interpretation, though apparently an old one, lacks confirmation. It is perhaps worth mentioning that Prudentius c. Symm. 1. 90 has a curious verbal imitation of the passage: "traditur" (Mercurius) "exstinctas sumptae moderamine virgae In lucem revocasse animas, Cocytia leti *Iura resignasse*."—H. N.]

245.] 'Fretus,' as Heyne remarks, is probably an imitation of Homer's favourite πεποιθώς. 'Agit,' drives before him.

246.] In Hom. Hermes comes down from Olympus upon Pieria, and thence throws himself on the sea. Virg. knows nothing of the local Olympus, but, wishing as usual to follow Hom., makes Mercury take Mount Atlas as a halting-place between the sky and Carthage. The belief that Atlas stood as a pillar between heaven and earth doubtless seemed a reason for his introduction here, though perhaps it rather confuses the image. Voss (Mythologische Briefe, vol. 2, letter 27, referred to by Henry) suggests a more elaborate explanation, according to which there were three openings in the heavenly Olympus, one

Atlantis duri, caelum qui vertice fulcit,
Atlantis, cinctum adsidue cui nubibus atris
Piniferum caput et vento pulsatur et imbri;
Nix umeros infusa tegit; tum flumina mento
Praecipitant senis, et glacie riget horrida barba.
Hic primum paribus nitens Cyllenius alis
Constitit; hinc toto praeceps se corpore ad undas
Misit, avi similis, quae circum litora, circum
Piscosos scopulos humilis volat aequora iuxta.
Haud aliter terras inter caelumque volabat,

in the vertex, immediately over the earthly mountain, the other two at the sides, eastern and western, the latter being the route taken by Mercury as the nearest to Carthage. I do not know whether it is an objection to this view that when in 1. 225 Jupiter looks down upon Libya, he is expressly said to be standing not at the west gate of Olympus but at the vertex: but in any case it seems rash to suppose that the ancient poets generally were agreed in their notions of Olympian topography.

247.] 'Duri' is rightly explained by Serv. "laboriosi," recalling us in fact to the sufferings of the old Titan, which Aesch., it will be remembered, regards as parallel to those of Prometheus (Prom. 347 foll.).

249.] It has been questioned whether there are pines in Africa. In any case 'pinifer' is a natural epithet of a mountain (E. 10. 14 &c.). The identification in detail of the mountain and the Titan perhaps seems a little ungraceful. Sides, head, and shoulders are natural enough; but the chin and the beard strike a modern reader as grotesque. Henry however rightly reminds us that Virg. is not personifying the mountain, but describing one who having been a demigod had become a mountain by transformation, so there is some excuse for pursuing the resemblance minutely.

250.] 'Tum' in the enumeration of the items of a description G. 2. 296 &c. [Soph. Trach. 13 ἐκ δὲ δασκίου γενειάδος Κρουνοὶ διερραίνοντο κρηναίου ποτοῦ.—H. N.]

252.] 'Poising himself on even wings' is generally understood to be an expression for 'pausing in his flight,' as the wings would then appear more level than when the flier was at full speed. So in 5. 657., 9. 14, "paribus se sustulit alis" is explained as marking the beginning of flight. But it may be questioned whether the words mean more than 'equal,' 'well-balanced wings,' so as to be applicable to any moment in Mercury's flight.

253.] 'Toto corpore' implies effort, as in 10. 127 &c. Hom. has ἐξ αἰθέρος ἔμπεσε πόντῳ.

254.] Hom. goes on, σεύατ' ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ κῦμα. Virg. leaves this to be supplied, partly from the description of the bird, 'humilis volat aequora iuxta,' partly from v. 256. Virg. does not specify the bird, but Hom. has λάρῳ ὄρνιθι ἐοικώς.

255.] 'Piscosos' indicates the object of the bird. Hom. gives it plainly, ἰχθῦς ἀγρώσσων.

256.] This and the two following lines were condemned by Heyne and Bryant, and are rejected by most of the later editors. The external grounds for suspecting them are, that in one of the Berne MSS. they are written in later ink, that some MSS. place v. 258 before v. 257, and that most copies give either 'ac Libyae' (Med., &c.) or 'ad Libyae' (Pal. a m. s., Gud. a m. pr., &c.). See note at the end of this book. The chief internal ground is the awkwardness of expression in v. 257, as it would be equally objectionable to remove the point after 'volabat,' so as to connect 'volabat litus Libyae,' to make 'litus ventosque secabat' a zeugma for "litus radebat ventosque secabat," and to adopt the reading 'ad Libyae,' which the instances quoted by Weichert do not sufficiently support. But I believe the difficulty will vanish if we understand 'litus ventosque secabat,' 'he was dividing the shore from the winds,' i. e. he was flying close to the shore, so as to be, as it were, between the winds and the land—a repetition in more specific and defined lan-

Litus harenosum Libyae ventosque secabat
Materno veniens ab avo Cyllenia proles.
Ut primum alatis tetigit magalia plantis,
Aenean fundantem arces ac tecta novantem
Conspicit: atque illi stellatus iaspide fulva
Ensis erat, Tyrioque ardebat murice laena
Demissa ex umeris, dives quae munera Dido
Fecerat et tenui telas discreverat auro.
Continuo invadit: Tu nunc Karthaginis altae

guage of 'terras inter caelumque volabat.' So v. 695, "Quae luctantem animam nexosque resolveret artus" = "quae animam ab artubus resolveret." The jingle 'volabat—secabat, whether graceful or not, is not unexampled in Virg. Nor can any argument unfavourable to the genuineness of the lines be founded on the words 'Materno veniens ab avo.' The poet may seem somewhat late in remembering Mercury's relationship to Atlas; but it is not unlike the indirect manner in which he sometimes introduces what he has to say. The fact of the relationship he was likely enough to mention, as he has done afterwards, 8. 138 foll. where again Atlas is spoken of as the upholder of the heavens. This note must not conclude without a mention of Bentley's proposal to read 'legebat' for 'volabat,' a substitution which, if we might deal with Virg.'s verses as a tutor with a pupil's exercise, might be accepted as an improvement, but has no probability on critical grounds. ['Haut' Med.—H. N.]

259—278.] 'Mercury alights, and finds Aeneas in gay attire superintending the buildings of Carthage. He remonstrates with him, delivers Jupiter's message, and vanishes.'

259.] 'Magalia:' see on 1. 421, G. 3. 340.

260.] Aeneas is taking part in the erection of buildings public and private, which we have had described more at length 1. 423 foll. 'Novantem' apparently with reference to the huts which these more splendid edifices were to displace.

261.] It does not seem necessary to follow Wagn. in beginning a new sentence with 'atque,' as if that particle were meant to call attention to an unexpected novelty. It has rather the usual continuative force, implying that Aeneas' Tyrian dress was quite in keeping with the work he had undertaken as Dido's architect. [Comp. Livy 34. 25, "Argos pergit: atque illi . . . praetor . . . cum equitibus mille occurrit."—H. N.] 'Stellatus iaspide,' shining with jaspers as with stars, either on the hilt or on the scabbard. Comp. Juv. 5. 42 foll., where the present passage is alluded to. The sing. seems to have a plural force, as in Juv. 5. 38, "inaequalis beryllo phialas." Wagn. rightly remarks that 'iaspide' is quarisyllable.

262.] 'Ardebat' with 'murice.' [The 'laena' was, according to Varro L. L. 5. 133, equal in size to two togas, "duarum togarum instar;" Festus p. 117 (Müller) calls it "vestimenti genus habitu duplicis." Nonius p. 541 (quoting this passage) describes it as "vestimentum militare, quod supra omnia vestimenta sumitur:" and Isid. 19. 23. 3 identifies it with the "sagum." Serv. here says it was also "amictus auguralis." As a military cloak it is rightly given to Aeneas. A scarlet or purple 'laena' was a sign of wealth and luxury: Pers. 1. 32, Juv. 3. 283. Mart. (14. 136, to which Henry refers) speaks of the 'laena' as thick and warm. 'Lena' Pal. —H. N.]

263.] Comp. 11. 72 foll., where v. 264 is repeated. 'Quae munera,' as the context shows, can only refer to the 'laena;' but Virg. was probably led to use the plural by thinking at the same time of the sword, which was doubtless Dido's present also.

264.] 'Varied the warp with threads of gold.' See Dict. A. 'tela.' For the change of construction comp. G. 2. 208 note.

265.] 'Invadit,' attacks him, like "adgreditur," v. 92, but stronger. Forb. comp. Tac. A. 6. 4, "Agrippa consules anni prioris invasit," where a speech in the oratio obliqua follows. Wagn. thinks 'altae' inappropriate in the mouth of

Fundamenta locas, pulchramque uxorius urbem
Exstruis? heu regni rerumque oblite tuarum!
Ipse deum tibi me claro demittit Olympo
Regnator, caelum et terras qui numine torquet;
Ipse haec ferre iubet celeris mandata per auras:
Quid struis? aut qua spe Libycis teris otia terris?
Si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum
[Nec super ipse tua moliris laude laborem],
Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli
Respice, cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus

Mercury, but it has its force here, as well as in v. 97 (note)—the same which is expressed in the next line by 'pulchram urbem.' 'You are occupying yourself in contributing to the grandeur of a city which is not only not yours, but sure to be one day your bitterest enemy.' ['Carthaginis' Pal.—H. N.]

266.] 'Uxorius' may be rendered 'like a fond husband.' Dido was not Aeneas' wife; but he was acting as if she were. Comp. 2. 344, E. 8. 18 notes.

267.] It signifies little whether we put a note of interrogation after 'exstruis,' as most editors have done, or, as Wund. prefers, one of exclamation. In either case 'oblite' had better be connected with the preceding sentence, being in effect equivalent to 'oblitus' (comp. 2. 283 note), instead of constituting a kind of interjectional sentence by itself. The first reading of Pal. was 'ignare,' perhaps, as Ribbeck hints, from 3. 382.

268.] Ζεύς με πατὴρ προέηκε τεῒν τάδε μυθήσασθαι, Il. 11. 201. ['Dimittit' Pal. —H. N.]

269.] It is questioned whether 'torquet' here refers to physical movement or to government. "Torquet qui sidera mundi" 9. 93 is for the first, "Cuncta tuo qui bella, pater, sub numine torques" 12. 180 for the other. If we must decide a question which probably did not present itself as sharply to Virg.'s mind as to ours, we shall perhaps do wisely in saying with Wagn. on 9. 93 that the physical sense is the prominent one here in 'torquet caelum,' the moral in 'torquet terras.' For 'et terras' Pal. and Gud. have 'ac terram.'

271.] Serv. accounts for the change from the language of v. 235 by saying that Aeneas would not have recognized Carthage as hostile, though Jupiter knew it really to be so. 'Terere otia' like "terere tempus" &c. Cerda, remarking on 'teris—terris,' thinks that Virg. intended to allude to the etymology of "terra" from "terere." This is of course absurd; but the jingle can hardly have been unintentional, either here or in such passages as v. 238, "parcere parabat," 10. 191, 192 "cănit—cāneutem," ib. 417, 418 "cānens—cănentia." See on 2. 494. ['Quis' Pal. for 'quid.'—H. N.]

272.] See on 6. 405.

273.] This line is omitted by Med., Pal. and several other MSS., while in others it bears the mark of having been added afterwards. Pomponius Sabinus has a note on it, which unfortunately is imperfect, merely containing the words "*Nec super* secundum Aproniaum." On the one hand it may easily have slipped out, especially if the transcriber was writing from his recollection of Jupiter's speech; on the other hand it may as easily have crept in from that speech. There it was almost necessary, as there was no pronoun in v. 232 to fix the reference pointedly to Aeneas: here the emphatic position of 'te' in v. 260 renders the addition needless, though it is still graceful. On the whole it seems best to print the line in brackets.

274.] 'Spes Iuli' not the hopes of the kingdom entertained by Iulus, but the hope of manhood afforded by Iulus. See on 1. 556. Comp. 6. 364, "per spes surgentis Iuli." 'Surgere' is used of a race springing up E. 4. 9. 'Ascanium' and 'Iuli' form a good instance of a mere poetical repetition, both being simply appellative names, so that according to the ordinary rules of language they ought, as applied here, to stand for two persons.

275.] Wagn., Q.V. 40, finds an inconsistency between this line and v. 236, where he understands 'prolem Ausoniam' of Silvius (see 6. 760 foll.). If

Debentur. Tali Cyllenius ore locutus
Mortalis visus medio sermone reliquit,
Et procul in tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram.
  At vero Aeneas aspectu obmutuit amens.
Arrectaeque horrore comae, et vox faucibus haesit.
Ardet abire fuga dulcisque relinquere terras,
Attonitus tanto monitu imperioque deorum.
Heu quid agat? quo nunc reginam ambire furentem
Audeat adfatu? quae prima exordia sumat?
Atque animum nunc huc celerem, nunc dividit illuc,
In partisque rapit varias perque omnia versat.

it is an inconsistency, it is one not confined to this passage, as it is clear from 1. 267 foll. that Virg. at times regarded Ascanius as the founder of the Alban, and hence of the Roman dynasty. See further on 6. 764.

276.] [‘Cullenius’ Pal. originally, and so Ribbeck.—H. N.]

277.] Mercury vanishes like Apollo 9. 656 foll., where this and the next line are repeated with the change of a single word. ‘Mortalis visus’ is Virgil's indirect way of telling us that Mercury appeared in a visible though divine form. At the second apparition (v. 556 foll.), which however differs from this as taking place in sleep, the fact is told us directly. Serv. remarks that Mercury had repeated all his message, and accordingly understands ‘medio sermone’ to mean ‘when the dialogue was half over,’ in other words, without giving Aeneas time to reply. Ti. Donatus has the same interpretation, which is certainly an ingenious one. Gossrau accepts it. But we should not be justified in fixing this special sense on ‘sermo’ unless we could prove that it was never used where only one person was speaking, which 12. 940 shows not to be the case. ‘Medio sermone’ then will have its ordinary sense, which must be explained by supposing either that Mercury became actually invisible before his speech was ended, or that his speech seemed to end abruptly from the suddenness with which he closed it and vanished. In either case the expression is rhetorical and must not be closely pressed, as all that the poet means is to give the effect of a sudden and transient apparition. So below v. 388 there is no sign of imperfection in Dido's actual speech, but “medium sermonem abrumpit” is intended to mark the abruptness and violence of her manner in closing it.

279—295.] ‘Aeneas is thunderstruck and perplexed. At last he gives orders for instant departure, trusting to find an opportunity of breaking the news to Dido.’

279.] Comp. 2. 774., 3. 48. ‘Amens’ here denotes bewilderment rather than frenzy. [‘Ommutuit’ Pal. and originally Med.—H. N.]

280.] It is difficult to say how far ‘horrore’ here is meant to be physical and how far mental. Perhaps we may render ‘his hair stood shudderingly erect.’

281.] ‘Ardere’ with inf. 2. 105.

283.] The thoughts that pass through his mind are expressed in a sort of oratio obliqua, as in G. 4. 504, 505. ‘Ambire adfatu’ like “ambit prece” Hor. 1. Od. 35. 5, comp. by Wund. Heyne says “*ambire* cum dilectu pro *adire*:” but the words are rather contrasted than parallel, as ‘ambire’ expresses an indirect, ‘adire,’ though general, a direct mode of approach. [‘Quonam’ for ‘quo nunc’ Nonius, pp. 30, 242.—H. N.]

284.] ‘Quae prima exordia sumat’ is illustrated both in expression and in substance by Eur. Iph. A. 1124, τίν' ἂν λάβοιμι τῶν ἐμῶν ἀρχὴν κακῶν; Ἅπασι γὰρ πρώτοισι χρῆσθαι πάρα. But the reference may conceivably be to action rather than to speech. ‘Sumere’ has the force of “eligere,” as in Hor. 1. Od. 12. 2, A. P. 38, so that the expression is not strictly parallel to “initium capere.” “Exordia sumet” occurs Lucr. 1. 149, where Munro supposes the metaphor to be from beginning a web. ‘Et quae’ was read before Heins. [‘Affatu’ Pal.—H. N.]

285, 286.] These lines, an expansion of what Hom. expresses more briefly by

Haec alternanti potior sententia visa est:
Mnesthea Sergestumque vocat fortemque Serestum,
Classem aptent taciti sociosque ad litora cogant,
Arma parent, et, quae rebus sit causa novandis,
Dissimulent; sese interea, quando optima Dido
Nesciat et tantos rumpi non speret amores,
Temptaturum aditus, et quae mollissima fandi
Tempora, quis rebus dexter modus. Ocius omnes
Imperio laeti parent et iussa facessunt.

διάνδιχα μερμήριξεν, have been suspected by several of the editors, as occurring again, 8. 20, 21. Here v. 286 is omitted by fragm. Vat., Gud., and Pal., the two former adding it in the margin in a later hand, so that Ribbeck is perhaps right in placing it in brackets. 'Atque' is rightly explained by Wund. by regarding the preceding couplet as equivalent to "incertus est quid agat." 'Dividere' is used with 'huc' and 'illuc' as a verb of motion, on the analogy of its use with the dative of the persons among whom a thing is shared. But there is an apparent confusion between Aeneas dividing his mind, and bestowing the whole of it at one time here, and another there. 'In partis rapit varias,' hurries it in this direction and that, as v. 630 below shows.

287.] *Ὧδε δὲ οἱ φρονέοντι δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι*, Il. 14. 23., 16. 652, which shows, if proof were needed, that Cerda is right in making 'haec' agree with 'sententia,' against Heyne, who takes it with 'alternanti.' The neuter use of "alternare" is not unexampled, being found three times in Pliny: see Forc.

288.] For 'Serestum' some inferior MSS. have 'Cloanthum,' which was the reading before Wagn. On internal grounds it might seem as if Brunck were right in pronouncing that Serestus and Sergestus are only two forms of the same name (see on 1. 611); in 12. 561 however, where this line recurs, all the MSS. except one, of no great authority, give 'Serestum,' so there seems no sufficient reason for resisting the weight of external evidence here. 'Cloanthum' may either be a critical correction made by some transcriber who thought with Brunck, or an introduction from 1. 510. So some copies here read 'Anthea.' Forb. remarks on Virg. having told us not the resolution but the action to which it led. Thus we get a rhetorical contrast between the state of uncertainty and that of decision.

289.] The subjunctives are a sort of oratio obliqua, depending on the sense rather than on the expression of the previous line. Comp. 2. 652. 'Classem aptent' 3. 472. 'Sociosque' Med., fragm. Vat., 'socios' Pal., Gud., which Heins. and Heyne prefer.

290.] 'Arma parare' 7. 468. Aeneas wishes to be ready for the worst, as Serv. remarks. But it may refer to equipping the fleet, v. 299. Wagn. restores 'quae rebus sit' from Med., Pal., Gud., and fragm. Vat. for 'quae sit rebus.' 'Res novare' is a phrase for taking a new step, such as a revolution: see Forc. For the construction of the gerundive, see on G. 1. 3.

291.] 'Quando' = "quoniam," as in v. 315 below. Here it seems to express Aeneas' thoughts rather than the actual fact—'assuming that.'

293.] Comp. v. 423 below, "Sola viri mollis aditus et tempora noras." It is not necessary however to supply 'mollis' before 'aditus' here from the context, as Wagn. thinks. 'Temptaturum' is used in a slightly different sense in the two clauses. Aeneas will endeavour to get at Dido (comp. 9. 67, "qua temptet ratione aditus"), and will see what are the most favourable opportunities. [For 'mollis' in the sense of "opportunus" Servius quotes a fragment of Cato, "qua mollissimum est adoriantur." 'Ac' Med. corrected.—H. N.]

294.] 'Rebus,' for his circumstances, like "quae sit rebus fortuna videtis" 2. 350, nearly = "rerum." 'Modus' i. q. 'ratio,' as in 12. 157, "si quis modus." [Servius takes 'modus' as = "terminus," and 'dexter' as = "optimus," "propitius." Ti. Donatus explains 'dexter' in the same way.—H. N.] Heins. restored 'quis' for 'qui,' which seems to have little or no authority.

295.] I have restored 'et iussa' from Med. a m. pr., fragm. Vat., Pal., and Gud.

At regina dolos—quis fallere possit amantem?—
Praesensit, motusque excepit prima futuros,
Omnia tuta timens. Eadem impia Fama furenti
Detulit armari classem cursumque parari.
Saevit inops animi, totamque incensa per urbem
Bacchatur, qualis commotis excita sacris
Thyias, ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho
Orgia nocturnusque vocat clamore Cithaerón.
Tandem his Aenean compellat vocibus ultro:
Dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum

'Ac,' the common reading is found in Med. a m. s. 'Facessunt' G. 4. 548 note.

296—330.] 'Dido detects him at once. She raves like a Bacchant, reproaches him with his treachery, wonders how he can encounter the perils of the sea to leave her, conjures him to stay by all she has done and sacrificed for him, and wishes she had a child to remind her of him in his absence.'

297.] 'Prima' means not that she heard it before any one else, but that she heard it at the very moment when it was beginning to take effect. 'Excipere' is specially used of catching wind of a secret. "Sermonem eorum e servis unus excepit" Livy 2. 4.

298.] Servius' interpretation seems right, 'fearing every safety,' much more every danger; a natural exaggeration of the unquiet suspiciousness of love. Henry's explanation 'fearing because all was safe,' 'thinking things too secure to last,' is less natural. Comp. Ov. M. 7. 47, "Quid tuta times?" quoted by Forb. Wagn. seems right in understanding 'furenti' proleptically, as expressing the effect of the news on Dido. [The phrase recalls Catull. 30. 10, "quasi tuta omnia mi forent."—H. N.] 'Eadem,' the same which told of Dido's shame, v. 173. To make it acc. pl. would be less good. 'Impia' on account of her reckless delight in bringing bad news, true or false, v. 190.

299.] ["'Cursum' navigationem, ut (3. 686) 'ni teneant cursus.'" Serv.—H. N.]

300.] ['Inobs' Pal. fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

301.] The simile is more natural, as queens frequently took part in Bacchanalian orgies. So Helen 6. 517, Amata 7. 385 foll. 'Commotis sacris,' because the statue and sacred insignia of the god were brought out of the temple and moved violently. Hence Hor. 1 Od. 18. 11, "Non ego te, candide Bassareu, Invitum quatiam." The noise excites the Bacchant (Thyias), who is caught by the frenzy. ["Verbo antiquo usum tradunt; moveri enim sacra dicebantur, cum sollemnibus diebus aperiebantur templa instaurandi sacrificii causa: cuius rei Plautus in Pseudolo (110 Fleck.) meminit, 'scis tu profecto, mea si commovi sacra, Quo pacto et quantas soleam turbellas dare.' Hoc vulgo apertiones dicunt." Serv.—H. N.]

302.] 'Thyias' was restored by Heyne and Brunck from Pierius' Medicean and other good MSS. (apparently fragm. Vat. and Pal.) for 'Thyas,' the Greek being θυιάς. 'Trieterica,' τριετηρικά, is the triennial Theban festival of Bacchus, not to be confounded with the Attic Dionysia. 'Orgia' is doubtless the nom. to 'stimulant,' the Bacchant being the object of the verb, though "stimulare orgia" would be a sufficiently natural expression. 'Audito Baccho' seems to mean, when the cry Io Bacche is heard, not, as Thiel thinks, when the voice of the god is heard. This latter view however would be poetically preferable, if any confirmation of it could be adduced. ['Bacchi' fragm. Vat. originally.—H. N.]

303.] See G. 3. 43, where however the 'clamor' is different. Cithaeron is of course the scene of the orgies, which take place at night.

304.] 'Ultro' 2. 145 note.

305.] Virg. has imitated Medea's speech, Apoll. R. 4. 355 foll., which is however less impassioned than Dido's. The construction seems to be "sperasti posse dissimulare tantum nefas, sperastique tacitus decedere?" To repeat 'posse' before 'decedere' would create an awkwardness with 'tacitus,' which grammatically of course agrees with

Posse nefas, tacitusque mea decedere terra?
Nec te noster amor, nec te data dextera quondam,
Nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido?
Quin etiam hiberno moliris sidere classem,
Et mediis properas aquilonibus ire per altum,
Crudelis? Quid? si non arva aliena domosque
Ignotas peteres, et Troia antiqua maneret,
Troia per undosum peteretur classibus aequor?
Mene fugis? Per ego has lacrimas dextramque tuam te—
Quando aliud mihi iam miserae nihil ipsa reliqui—
Per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos,
Si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quicquam
Dulce meum, miserere domus labentis et istam,

'sperasti,' though it is really equivalent to "te tacitum decedere." With this latter clause, thus explained, comp. v. 337 below, "neque ego hanc abscondere furto Speravi, ne finge, fugam." But it is conceivable that 'tantum posse nefas' may be the object of 'dissimulare,' though hardly probable. 'Etiam' strengthens 'dissimulare'—not only to commit the crime, but to commit it secretly.

307.] 'Dextera,' with which Aeneas had plighted his truth to Dido, as in v. 314. Virg. has not mentioned the circumstance previously; but Henry appositely refers for its counterpart to Apoll. R. 4. 99, where Jason, having promised to marry Medea, χεῖρα παρασχεδὸν ἥραρε χειρὶ Δεξιτερῇν. So Medea in Euripides' play, v. 21, βοᾷ μὲν ὅρκους, ἀνακαλεῖ δὲ δεξιᾶς Πίστιν μεγίστην.

308.] Comp. G. 3. 263.

309.] She upbraids Aeneas with the wanton wilfulness of departing at a time when he will risk himself and his crews. Comp. above v. 52 and Ov. Her. 7. 40. foll., 169 foll. 'Hiberno sidere' is a poetical equivalent for "hiberna tempestate" or "hieme." 'Classem moliri' 3. 6. Here we are meant generally to think of preparation accompanied with effort. Fragm. Vat. and Pal. have 'moliri,' 's' having dropped out owing to 'sidere.'

311.] The argument is, even if your old home were ready for you, instead of a country which is more strange to you than Carthage, surely you would not defy wind and wave by sailing at once. Serv. well says, "'Arva aliena,' blande, quasi 'haec iam tua sunt:' 'domosque ignotas:' ac si diceret, Carthago iam tibi nota est."

312.] Pal. a m. p. has 'sed Troia,' which Ribbeck adopts.

313.] 'Undosum' is of course emphatic. Landor's remark (Imaginary Conversations) that Virg. had better have repeated "hibernum" shows that he scarcely appreciates the poet's love of variety. On the other hand Virg. has not scrupled to repeat 'peteretur' immediately after 'peteres,' as the word is an unimportant one. It matters little whether 'classibus' is the agent or the modal abl. With the sentiment comp. Ov. l. c. vv. 143 foll.

314.] 'Mene fugis?' seems to mean not 'have you the heart to leave me?' but 'is it that you are flying from me?' 'is the object of your unseasonable departure not to reach Italy but to rid yourself of me?' The interposition of a word between 'per' and its object in an adjuration is not unusual even in prose (see Forc.), and is doubtless taken from the Greek πρός σε θεῶν &c., while it is well suited to agitating circumstances.

315.] Dido has given up all for Aeneas, so that she can merely appeal to his pity and to his sense of right. ['Aliut' Med. and Pal.—H. N.]

316.] The 'conubia,' as Wagn. remarks, was the furtive union, the 'hymenaei,' the formal rite to which she flattered herself it was a prelude; whence 'incepti.'

317.] 'Or if you ever found any pleasure in me.' Wagn. well comp. Tecmessa's appeal to Ajax, Soph. Aj. 520, ἀνδρί τοι χρεὼν Μνήμην προσεῖναι, τερπνὸν εἴ τί που πάθοι, and Juturna's words 12. 882, "aut quicquam mihi dulce meorum Te sine, frater, erit?"

318.] Dido has regarded Aeneas as her husband, the pillar of her home, and says

Oro, si quis adhuc precibus locus, exue mentem.
Te propter Libycae gentes Nomadumque tyranni
Odere, infensi Tyrii; te propter eundem
Extinctus pudor et, qua sola sidera adibam,
Fama prior. Cui me moribundam deseris, hospes?
Hoc solum nomen quoniam de coniuge restat.
Quid moror? an mea Pygmalion dum moenia frater
Destruat, aut captam ducat Gaetulus Iarbas?
Saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset

that it will fall in ruin if he leaves it: she will be driven to despair and her enemies will come upon her. Comp. the δόμος ἡμιτελής which Protesilaus leaves by his death, Il. 2. 701, and Amata to Turnus 12. 59, "in te omnis domus inclinata recumbit," a passage which is worth referring to on other grounds, as the adjuration there is similarly constructed.

319.] 'If it is not too late for prayer.' 'Exue mentem' as Dido is said 1. 304 "accipere mentem benignam." Forb. comp. G. 2. 51, "Exuerint silvestrem animum." ['Athuc' Pal. and originally Med. Nonius p. 300 quotes "et si quis precibus locus."—H. N.]

320.] Comp. vv. 36, 37 above. Either we must suppose Dido to have known of the indignation of Iarbas on hearing of her preference of Aeneas, or we must understand her to mean no more than that she has alienated her neighbours by refusing them the love which she has since bestowed on Aeneas. The last would be a sufficiently natural way of speaking in the bitterness of her despair, especially as she would feel that the indignation of her former suitors would be doubled as soon as she was known to have given herself to another. Perhaps the same explanation may apply to 'infensi Tyrii,' which according to this would refer either to suitors at Tyre (v. 35) or to Pygmalion, either of whom might be expected to resent the new alliance. But Gossrau's interpretation, referring 'Tyrii' to the Carthaginians, who are indignant at their queen for surrendering herself and them to a stranger, is on the whole more plausible. See on v. 466. For 'Nomadum' some MSS. have 'Numidum.' ["'Tyranni:' nihil intererat apud maiores inter regem et tyrannum, ut (7. 266) 'pars mihi pacis erit dextram tetigisse tyranni.'" Serv.—H. N.]

322.] 'Sola' is explained by Wagn. and Forb., 'which alone would have been enough to make me immortal, had there been nothing else:' by Henry, 'which was my sole title to immortality.' The latter is better suited to Dido's feeling. She has lost the one thing of which she could boast, the fame of unblemished fidelity to her dead husband's memory, and now she is all undone. In vv. 653 foll. she takes a prouder and more complacent view of her past life; but that is done under the influence of a totally different feeling. With the expression Germ. comp. Od. 19. 108, ἦ γάρ σευ κλέος οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἱκάνει, said by the disguised Ulysses to Penelope.

323.] 'Into whose hands am I to fall when you are gone?' Comp. 2. 677. [Priscian p. 967 P. reads 'morituram' for 'moribundam.'—H. N.]

324.] The name 'guest' is all that remains of the old name 'husband.' Serv. says that Virg. threw intense pathos into this passage when reading it to Augustus and a select party.

325.] Serv. gives a choice of two interpretations of 'quid moror?' 'why do I remain in Africa?' and 'why do I delay to die?' The latter is clearly right, the thought being supplied, as Wund. remarks, from 'moribundam' v. 323. The danger from Pygmalion we have had already, vv. 43, 44. 'Dum destruat,' to give him time to demolish. See on G. 4. 457.

326.] Iarbas, as we have seen (v. 198), was not strictly a Gaetulian; but Virg.'s notions of poetical liberty lead him here as elsewhere to put one tribe for another, by a kind of synecdoche. See general Introduction, pp. 9. foll. The epithet here has a force of its own in the mouth of one of a foreign nation, as we might say 'Iarbas the Moor.'

327.] Dido's meaning is 'I shall have nothing to console me when you are gone, not even a child who might remind me of his father.' Anna had already spoken to

; fugam suboles, si quis mihi parvulus aula
eret Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret,
ı equidem omnino capta ac deserta viderer.
Dixerat. Ille Iovis monitis inmota tenebat
ımina, et obnixus curam sub corde premebat.
andem pauca refert: Ego te, quae plurima fando
Enumerare vales, numquam, Regina, negabo
Promeritam; nec me meminisse pigebit Elissae,
Dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus.

f the pleasures of being a mother, . As Heyne remarks, we must not ge such an expression of feeling by modern standard. Other princesses mythical antiquity had children by roes that forsook them, and Dido is ly carrying out her determination to egard her union with Aeneas as a lawful narriage. To suppose with Gossrau that the passage could have been interpolated before the time of Juvenal, who, as is well known, alludes to it Sat. 5. 138, is extravagant. Comp. also Ov. Her. 7. 133 foll., where the thought is the same, though differently touched. 'Suscipere,' a synonyme of 'tollere,' is usually said of the father, who takes the new-born child and brings it up. See Forc. who quotes among other passages Plaut. Epid. 4. 1. 34, "Filiam quam ex et suscepi." [" *Saltem si* mihi Mulierculae essent salvae, spes aliquae forent." Plautus, Rudens 552 (Fleckeisen).—H. N.]

328.] 'Fugam' seems to be reproachful, like 'fugis' v. 314. 'Parvulus Aeneas' is probably from Catullus' "parvulus Torquatus" (61. 209), as Cerda remarks.

329.] 'Tantum,' the old reading, apparently found in inferior MSS., is preferred by Henry to 'tamen,' as more consistent with the reproachful tone of Dido's speech. But throughout the speech tenderness is mixed with indignation; and that there is tenderness in this its last sentence is evident not only from the tenor of the wish itself, but from the form of expression 'si quis mihi parvulus aula Luderet Aeneas,' which is all that affection can make it. 'Tamen' has a consolatory force—'whose features, in spite of all, might remind me of you.' See on E. 10. 31. Pierius explained it as qualifying the clause, as if Dido wished for a child only on the condition that he should ... his father. With 'ore referret' ... 348. "Nomine avum ... parentem."

330.] Dido speaks of her forlorn state as one of captivity, probably because the thought of Iarbas is still in her mind. For 'ac deserta' the reading before Heins. was 'aut deserta.'

331—361.] 'Aeneas restrains himself in obedience to Jupiter, and answers that, so far from forgetting what Dido has done for him, he shall ever think of her with pleasure—that he never meant to stay with her—that his first wish would have been to restore Troy, but that in obedience to the gods he is obliged to seek a kingdom in a foreign land, which is no more than what she has herself done—and that he has been warned in dreams and visions to do so without delay.'

331.] 'Inmota,' not relenting in pity. Dido's words vv. 369, 370 furnish the best comment on the word.

332.] Comp. 1. 209 note. 'Premebat' however is more emphatic than "premit" there.

333.] 'Pauca.' Aeneas' speech is longer than Dido's; but 'pauca,' like 'tandem,' seems to express Virg.'s feeling that the words come slowly and with effort, and bear no comparison to what the lover would have said had he given way to his emotion.

335.] 'Promeritam' refers to "si bene quid de te merui" v. 317. 'Elissae' here and elsewhere is the spelling of Med. and other good MSS. for 'Elisae.' Aeneas speaks of Dido in the third person, as she has spoken of herself v. 308.

336.] Perhaps from Il. 22, 387, 388, where however, though the words are nearly the same, the tenderness expressed is much greater. The sentiment may be from Apoll. R. 3. 1079 foll., where Jason, having been requested by Medea to remember her, promises to do so, also with more warmth of feeling than Aeneas. 'Regit' was restored by Heins. from

Pro re pauca loquar. Neque ego hanc abscondere furto
Speravi, ne finge, fugam, nec coniugis umquam
Praetendi taedas aut haec in foedera veni.
Me si fata meis paterentur ducere vitam
Auspiciis et sponte mea componere curas,
Urbem Troianam primum dulcisque meorum
Reliquias colerem, Priami tecta alta manerent,
Et recidiva manu posuissem Pergama victis.

Med. and others for the old reading 'reget.' The future would undoubtedly be more usual in this connexion (comp. 1. 607, E. 5. 76 &c.), and the confusion of 'i' and 'e' in the terminations of verbs is very frequent in MSS.: the present however seems to be found occasionally, as in Cato ap. Gell. 16. 1, "bene factum a vobis, dum vivitis, non abscedet," where there does not appear to be a variety of reading.

337.] 'Pro re' seems to mean 'as circumstances allow.' "Quisque suum pro re [conpostum] maestus humabat" Lucr. 6. 1281. Thus it harmonizes with 'pauca,' the meaning being that the urgency of the case admits only a short reply. D. Heinsius read 'pro te:' 'pro me' would be better, if any change were wanted. 'Abscondere,' to hide; in the present connexion, to accomplish secretly. 'Furto' = "furtim," as in 6. 24. A Greek poet would have expressed the three words by κλέπτειν φυγήν.

338.] 'Do not feign it,' do not deceive yourself by the thought.

339.] 'I did not come with a bridegroom's torch in my hand.' The bridegroom does not seem to have carried the torch in the nuptial ceremony; but Virg., having occasion to use 'praetendere' to express a profession, chooses to develop the physical image which is the first intention of the word. 'Haec' is emphatic. Aeneas in effect says "Veni in hospitalia foedera, non in coniugalia." With 'venire in foedus' comp. Livy 26. 40, "Voluntaria deditione in fidem venerunt ad quadraginta oppida." With the general form of expression Forb. comp. 10. 901, "nec sic ad proelia veni, Nec tecum meus haec pepigit mihi foedera Lausus."

340.] 'Meis auspiciis' seems rightly explained by Wund. as a military metaphor. The imperator had the right of taking the auspices, and so was said to act "suis auspiciis," while the legatus would act "alienis auspiciis." 'Meis auspiciis' then = "meo arbitrio."

341.] 'Sponte mea' is synonymous with 'meis auspiciis.' 'Sponte' in ordinary Latin is restricted to those actions which a person does of his own will or authority, whence the elliptical use of 'sponte' alone for 'sponte mea,' 'tua,' 'sua' &c., though this seems to have been in the first instance a poetical licence. Cic. however talks of "sua sponte, non aliena" (Legg. 1. 17), and later writers, such as Tacitus, Lucan, and Valerius Flaccus, use it with a genitive of the person at whose instance another acts. 'Componere curas,' as we might say, 'to unravel the tangles of my destiny.' Aeneas' lot had been troubled enough by the capture of Troy: and he thinks the best remedy he could have suggested would have been the restoration of the fallen city.

343.] 'Colerem' seems to be used in two somewhat different senses with 'urbem' and 'reliquias,' the notion in the first case being that of inhabiting, in the second of paying respect. Aeneas means to say that he would inhabit Troy again, and thus honour the relics of its former state. The imperfect, as contrasted with the pluperfect v. 344, may thus be explained as speaking of a continuing act, so that we need not think with Wund. of the definite action of sacrificing at the graves of the departed, which he ingeniously remarks might be spoken of in the imperfect, as repeated once a year. 'Manerent,' like 'colerem,' of *restoration* to permanence; the expression however is doubtless meant to intimate that the restoration would efface the memory of the fall, reminding us of the language of 2. 56. "Priam's lofty halls would still be standing."

344.] 'Recidivus;' [see note on 7. 322. —H. N.]. 'Manu' here is almost pleonastic; but it seems to contain, in however slight a degree, the notion of per-

d nunc Italiam magnam Gryneus Apollo,
aliam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes;
Iic amor, haec patria est. Si te Karthaginis arces,
Phoenissam, Libycaeque aspectus detinet urbis,
Quae tandem, Ausonia Teucros considere terra,
Invidia est? Et nos fas extera quaerere regna.
Me patris Anchisae, quotiens umentibus umbris
Nox operit terras, quotiens astra ignea surgunt,
Admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago;
Me puer Ascanius capitisque iniuria cari,

nal and successful effort, so as to be virtually equivalent to "ipse." See on G. 2. 156.

345.] 'Italiam magnam' like "Hesperiam magnam" 1. 569. 'Gryneus' E. 6. 72.

346.] 'Sortes' oracles. "Dictae per carmina sortes." Hor. A. P. 403. We know nothing from Virg. of any response of Apollo on the subject of Italy except that given at Delos in Book 3; but these new particulars may have been either invented by the poet, or taken from some legend. On the one hand Virg. is fond of conveying information indirectly; on the other the difficulties of his subject, the embarras de richesses of his materials—traditions incompatible with each other, yet equally capable of being used in poetry—and his own love of poetical variety, make him sometimes inconsistent. For a similar use of 'capessere' Wund. quotes Cic. Att. 10. 9, "Melitam igitur capessamus."

347.] 'Hic amor,' this, i. e. Italy, is the object of my affection, the pronoun, as usual, being attracted to the substantive. See Madvig. § 313. 'Hic,' however, might conceivably be the adverb: comp. 7. 122, "Hic domus, haec patria est." 'Amor,' as in E. 7. 21. ['Carthaginis' Pal.—H. N.]

348.] Aeneas puts the case rhetorically, as if it were the charm in the appearance of a Libyan city that had such power over Dido. 'Aspectus' may either be taken in its ordinary sense, 'if you are kept here gazing on a Libyan city,' or in the sense of 'species,' which it bears several times in Pliny: see Forc. 'Detinet,' as we might say, keeps spellbound, like "moratur." ["Sane quidam in novis et emendatis libris pro 'detinet' 'demeret' inventum adserunt; nam et Ciceronem in prima Philippicarum (14) ita aiunt dixisse 'putasne eum immortalitatem mereri voluisse'?" Serv. Conington thought that 'demeret' might possibly stand in the sense of 'earns your favour.' Is it possible that 'demeret' was a corruption for 'demorat,' detains? There was an active form "moro" as well as the deponent "moror," and Tert. Ieiun. 2 uses "demoratus" in a passive sense.—H. N.]

349.] 'What jealousy is there?' = 'why should it be an object of jealousy?' The expression occurs Catalepton 14. 8. "Hunc superesse patri quae fuit invidia?" Wund. comp. the use of φθόνος. With the rest of the line comp. 6. 67, 807.

351.] Another allusion to a thing which Virg. has not mentioned directly. The only appearance of Anchises is that mentioned in 5. 722 foll.; but in 6. 695 Aeneas says that his father has frequently appeared and urged him to visit the shades.

353.] Forb. refers to Heins. on Ov. M. 13. 216 to show that "admonet" is a word specially used of dream-warnings. 'Turbidus' (= "commotus"), when used of persons, is generally applied to the excitement of rage, as 9. 57., 11. 742; but it may express other excitements such as that of fear, 11. 814. Here perhaps our word 'agitated' would give its meaning, so that would answer nearly to "tua tristis imago" in the parallel passage 6. 695. The apparition of Anchises is perhaps separable from Anchises himself, as would appear from the passage just referred to, but in any case anger would scarcely suit the relation between Aeneas and his father, and Anchises' feeling at this time would doubtless be that which he is himself made to express (6. 694), "Quam metui, ne quid Libyae tibi regna nocerent!" ['In somnis' 12. 908 note.—H. N.]

354.] From 'admonet' and 'terret' w

Quem regno Hesperiae fraudo et fatalibus arvis..
Nunc etiam interpres divom, Iove missus ab ipso—
Testor utrumque caput—celeris mandata per auras
Detulit; ipse deum manifesto in lumine vidi
Intrantem muros, vocemque his auribus hausi.
Desine meque tuis incendere teque querellis;
·Italiam non sponte sequor.
Talia dicentem iandudum aversa tuetur,

supply some such word as "commovet." Aeneas' meaning of course is that the thought of Ascanius weighs with him. That thought, we may remember, had just been suggested to him by Mercury. 'Caput' in expressions like this is not a mere periphrasis, but is used generally where there is some question of personal loss or personal honour. Here we may think of "capitis deminutio."

355.] 'Fatalibus arvis' 5. 82.

356.] 'Interpres divom,' elsewhere applied to soothsayers (3. 474., 10. 175), here is used of Mercury, the notion in each case being the same, 'the spokesman of the gods,' the medium between gods and men. See on v. 608 below. ['Divum' Med.—H. N.]

357.] 'Utrumque caput' is best taken 'mine and thine.' There is the same oath in Ov. Her. 3. 107, "Perque tuum nostrumque caput, quae iunximus una." Comp. also Apoll. R. 3. 151. Aphrodite to Eros) ἴστω νῦν τόδε σεῖο φίλον κάρη ἠδ' ἐμὸν αὐτῆς. Some have thought of Ascanius' head, which Aeneas would couple either with his own or with his father's; but though this would agree well with 9. 300, it could not well stand in the present context. The remaining interpretation, Jupiter's and Mercury's, might stand in place of a better, but requires the authority of a parallel to give it positive value.

358.] 'Manifesto in lumine:' comp. 3. 151. Here perhaps there may be a reference to the Homeric φαίνεσθαι ἐναργῆ. There seems no reference to the supernatural light sometimes diffused by the presence of the gods, as 2. 590. This and the following line are imitated from Il. 24. 223, where Priam says of Aeneas αὐτὸς γὰρ ἄκουσα θεοῦ καὶ ἐσέδρακον ἄντην.

359.] 'Intrantem muros' seems merely to mean 'entering the city.' [Probus, according to Servius, seems to have objected to the phrase 'vocem haurire.' As a matter of fact the dictt. do not quote any instance of 'haurio' used of the senses from any author older than Virg. Serv. notices that Virg. usually adds the organ of sense or perception, as 'aures' here, "oculi" v. 661, "animus" 12. 26. In 6. 559 however, "strepitumque exterritus hausit," this is not the case.—H. N.]

360.] 'Incendere' is applied to the agitation of grief as well as of anger, 9. 500. It is in the former sense that we must understand it as applied to Aeneas, though no sharp distinction is intended between the excitement which Aeneas and Dido would respectively feel in prolonging a scene like this.

361.] 'Sequi' may have the sense of 'petere;' in other words it may be used of seeking a stationary object. "Si spes erit, Epirum, sin minus, Cyzicum aut aliud quid sequemur" Cic. Att. 3. 16. Here however the word is probably chosen to express the difficulty of finding Italy, which seems to retire as he advances, as in 5. 629 (comp. 3. 496., 6. 61), "Italiam sequimur fugientem." Comp. also Dido's words in Ov. Her. 7. 10, "Quaeque ubi sint nescis, Itala regna sequi."

362—392.] 'Dido had kindled during his speech, and at last breaks out. He is a traitor, savage and hard-hearted. She can trust neither men nor gods. She had done all for him, and now he leaves her, putting her off with base excuses. Let him go: she will be avenged on him, and will haunt him after death. She leaves him, faints, and is carried away.'

362.] Henry is right in supposing the sense to be that she has been glaring at him silently during his speech, and bursts out when he has done. 'Aversa;' she looks at him askance, but keeps her eyes on him nevertheless. 'Aversa' might be neuter pl. (see on 6. 467); but it seems more natural to take it as fem. sing. Either is sufficiently idiomatic: see on G. 3. 28., 4. 370.

Huc illuc volvens oculos, totumque pererrat
Luminibus tacitis, et sic accensa profatur:
Nec tibi diva parens, generis nec Dardanus auctor,
Perfide; sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens
Caucasus, Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres.
Nam quid dissimulo? aut quae me ad maiora reservo?
Num fletu ingemuit nostro? num lumina flexit?
Num lacrimas victus dedit, aut miseratus amantem est?
Quae quibus anteferam? Iam iam nec maxima Iuno,
Nec Saturnius haec oculis pater aspicit aequis.
Nusquam tuta fides. Eiectum litore, egentem
Excepi et regni demens in parte locavi;
Amissam classem, socios a morte reduxi.

363.] For the conjunction of 'oculi' and 'lumina' in the same sentence see G. 4. 451. [In this passage Henry is doubtless right in understanding 'oculos' of the eye-balls, and 'luminibus' of the eyes as the organs of vision; 'glances,' 'looks.'—H. N.] 'Pererrare luminibus' like "obire visu" 10. 447.

364.] "'Luminibus tacitis' pro 'ipsa tacita,' Serv., rightly. Other interpretations proceed on the mistaken supposition that Dido is represented as eyeing Aeneas during her own speech, not during his.

365.] Imitated from Il. 16. 33 foll., where Patroclus reproaches Achilles for hard-heartedness.

366.] 'Cautibus' probably with 'horrens.' Virg. makes Dido indulge in those geographical recollections of which he is himself so fond. With the general sense comp. E. 8. 33 foll., a passage which supports those who would regard 'cautibus' here as a local abl. Virg. may have been thinking of Ariadne's reproaches to Theseus, Catull. 64. 154. foll. (comp. Id. 60.) The meaning apparently is that a rock was his mother and a tigress his nurse. Comp. the Ovidian Dido, vv. 37, 38.

368.] She asks why she should hide her feelings, as if there were likely to be any greater occasion to call forth their full force.

369.] 'Fletu nostro' at or in consequence of my tears; so that the expression is not quite parallel to "nostro doluisti saepe dolore" 1. 669 (note). 'Lumina flexit' above v. 331.

370.] 'Lacrimas dedit' 9. 292. [Amantemst' Pal. originally.—H. N.]

371.] I incline to Serv.'s interpretation "quid prius, quid posterius dicam?" as against Heyne's "Annon haec extrema sunt?" There may be more feeling in the latter, but the former is a thought to which the classical writers were partial in describing emotion, as we have seen on v. 284. For the double question comp. G. 2. 256. 'Iam' seems to mean 'it is come to this,' and the repetition strengthens it. See on 2. 701. 'Maxima Iuno' 8. 84., 10. 685.

372.] 'Aequis' is here 'just' rather than 'favourable,' as Dido obviously is bringing a charge against the gods, not simply noting them as unpropitious. In 9. 209, where the words partially recur, the context rather inclines to the other sense. It signifies little whether we make 'Saturnius' adj. or subst.

373.] 'There is no faith in the world that one can trust.' Dido generalizes like the chorus in the Medea, v. 412, ἀνδράσι μὲν δόλιαι βουλαί, θεῶν δ' οὐκέτι πίστις ἄραρε, or Ariadne, Catull. 64. 143 foll. With 'eiectum' comp. 1. 578, with 'egentem' ib. 599. 'Litore' is a local abl. Ov. M. 13. 535 has "eiectum in litore corpus." Serv. ingeniously joins 'litore egentem,' comparing 1. 540, "hospitio prohibemur harenae." [Henry thinks the whole passage is modelled upon Euripides, Medea 475 foll.—H. N.]

374.] 'In parte locavi' 12. 145.

375.] We must supply some less strong expression than 'a morte reduxi' for 'amissam classem.' The quasi-confusion, as Wagn. remarks, is quite in keeping with Dido's state of mind. Comp. Aesch. Ag. 659, ὁρῶμεν ἀνθοῦν πέλαγος Αἰγαῖον νεκροῖς Ἀνδρῶν Ἀχαιῶν ναυτικῶν

Heu furiis incensa feror! Nunc augur Apollo,
Nunc Lyciae sortes, nunc et Iove missus ab ipso
Interpres divom fert horrida iussa per auras.
Scilicet is Superis labor est, ea cura quietos
Sollicitat. Neque te teneo, neque dicta refello;
I, sequere Italiam ventis, pete regna per undas.
Spero equidem mediis, si quid pia numina possunt,
Supplicia hausurum scopulis, et nomine Dido
Saepe vocaturum. Sequar atris ignibus absens,

τ' ἐρετμῶν, where there is not the slightest ground for altering the text. 'A morte reduxi' because they might have perished from want after landing. She talks of the fleet as if she deserved credit for bringing it into harbour as well as for refitting it.

376.] See v. 110. It matters little whether 'furiis' be taken with 'incensa' or with 'feror.' 'Augur Apollo' Hor. 1 Od. 2. 32. 'Nunc' seems to mean, 'now, just when it is most convenient to him and most fatal to me.' [Henry prefers to take 'nunc'—'nunc'—'nunc' as = "modo"—"modo"—"modo." 'At one time it is Apollo,' &c. —H. N.] As before, some other verb must be supplied from 'fert iussa per auras.'

378.] Aeneas had described Mercury's appearance with every circumstance of solemnity: Dido contemptuously condenses and exaggerates the feeling in the epithet 'horrida.' Med. has 'horrida dicta,' from v. 226 (so Heyne, but Ribbeck is silent). ['Divum' Med. and Pal. corrected.—H. N.]

379.] 'Yes, of course the gods are busied about extricating you and entangling me.' 'Quietos' is probably the Homeric θεοὶ ῥεῖα ζώοντες, but Dido has thrown into the expression a dash of Epicureanism, which would not have been possible to a Homeric personage.

380.] 'Te' is emphasized. 'I neither detain your person, nor refute your words.' Thus 'tua dicta' is not required.

381.] Serv. has a good note: "Satis artificiosa prohibitio, quae fit per concessionem: quae tamen ne non intellecta sit persuasio, permiscenda sunt aliqua quae vetent latenter, ut 'ventis,' 'per undas,' nomina terribilia, et 'sequere,' quasi fugientem." The line in fact supplies a good instance of the delicacy and (so to call it) sensitiveness of Virg.'s language, as while the words themselves in Dido's mouth and in the present context have undoubtedly the meaning which Serv. attributes to them (comp. vv. 310, 313), in another context and in the mouth of another speaker they might have indicated a prosperous voyage undertaken under good auspices. Thus "vento petiisse Mycenas" 2. 25, if it has any special meaning, points to the wind as favouring the journey. See also on v. 361 above. Some MSS. connect 'ventis' with what follows [and so now Henry].

382.] 'Pia numina:' see on 2. 536. The Ovidian Dido is more lenient, vv. 61 foll.

383.] 'Haurire' of suffering to the full, like ἀντλεῖν, and the old Latin "exanclare." "Quot, quantas, quam incredibiles hausit calamitates!" Cic. 1 Tusc. 35. Waardenburg thinks there is a special reference to death by drowning; but though such a wavering between two meanings would be sufficiently like Virg., Aeneas' repeated cries on Dido would precede, not follow, his 'drinking the stifling wave.' It was natural that those who could not understand 'hausurum' should conjecture 'haesurum,' as Erythraeus did; but 'supplicia' presented a difficulty, which was not satisfactorily surmounted by reading 'supplicio.' 'Mediis scopulis' implies of course shipwreck on a rock. 'Dido' may either be the Greek accusative or the vocative. The latter is more probable, as Virg. elsewhere studiously avoids using any inflexion of the word, adopting 'Elissa' instead in oblique cases. Comp. Prop. 1. 18. 31, "resonent mihi Cynthia silvae." Ov. however, while not using any other inflexion of the word, has 'Dido' twice as an acc., vv. 7, 133. Cerda collects instances from the Latin poets of drowning persons calling out the names of those who were most in their minds. Comp. also Croesus' cry on Solon in Hdt. 1.

384.] Dido will haunt him like a Fury

Et, cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus,
Omnibus umbra locis adero. Dabis, improbe, poenas.
Audiam, et haec Manis veniet mihi fama sub imos.
His medium dictis sermonem abrumpit, et auras
Aegra fugit, seque ex oculis avertit et aufert,
Linquens multa metu cunctantem et multa parantem
Dicere. Succipiunt famulae, conlapsaque membra

with funeral torches when she is really far away; in other words, the thought of her, angry and revengeful, will ever be present to him. The threat is from Medea in Apoll. R. 4. 385, ἐκ δέ σε πάτρης Αὐτίκ' ἐμαί σ' ἐλάσειαν 'Ερινύες. Comp. Id. 3. 703, ἢ σοί γε φίλοις σὺν παισὶ θανοῦσα 'Είην ἐξ 'Αΐδεω στυγερὴ μετόπισθεν 'Ερινύς. Dido will appear like Clytaemnestra v. 472 below. 'Ignes' are firebrands, as in 2. 276., 9. 570. They are murky and smoky, so as to increase the horror. Thus Alecto's torches (7. 456) are "atro lumine fumantes." [Henry quotes "atris ignibus" from Hor. Epod. 5. 79. He can hardly be right in taking 'ignes' of the fires of a guilty conscience.—H. N.] For 'absens' see above v. 83. According to the Greek belief the living as well as the dead had their Erinnyes, which were in fact curses personified, as Müller remarks in his Dissertations on the Eumenides, so that Virg. has not deviated from mythology in making Dido become a Fury while she is yet alive, at the same time that he agrees with the more modern conception of the absent being made present by recollection. Jahn and Wagn. (smaller ed.) revive the old interpretation, Dido following Aeneas with her funeral flames, which he will see when at sea (comp. v. 661 below, 5. 3 foll.); but this would not suit the present context, as the pile would not be lighted till Dido was dead, while it would represent the thought of death too definitely for Dido's present state of mind. She has talked of death from the first (v. 308); but the notion does not become a resolution till v. 450, and the means are not devised till v. 474.

386.] [From this line to v. 659 there is a gap in the commentary of Ti. Donatus. —H. N.]

387.] Another proof (see on v. 353) that the apparition of a dead person was regarded by Virg. as separable from the spirit below. Here Dido in the shades is to hear of the effects produced on Aeneas by her spectre. The Homeric belief seems to have been that news of things above reached the shades through the newly dead or other visitors. Comp. Od. 11. 457 foll., 24. 106 foll. 'Haec fama' for "huius rei fama:" see on 2. 170.

388.] 'Medium sermonem:' see on v. 276. 'Auras fugit' like "caelum fugit" G. 3. 417. She abhors the open day, and is rushing into the house.

390.] 'Multa cunctantem' like "haud multa moratus" 3. 610. 'Metu,' from fear of making things worse. 'Multa volentem dicere' is the reading of Med. and some inferior MSS., apparently from the parallel 2. 790, G. 4. 501.

391.] [Pal. has 'succipiunt,' and so Caper Orth. p. 2242 P., Med. 'suscipiunt.' Ribbeck adopts 'succipiunt,' referring to Velius Longus (p. 2226 P.), who says "aliud est amicum suscipere, aliud aquam succipere." So Caper l.c. "suscipimus ad animum . . . refertur . . . succipimus corpore." The two forms can hardly be identical, 'succipere' being formed from 'su,' or 'sub,' 'suscipere' from 'sus' and 'capere'; and manuscripts give some support to the distinction drawn by Longus. In Lucr. 5. 402, for instance, the MSS. give "solque cadenti Obvius aeternam succepit lampada mundi;" 'caught up:' so Aen. 1. 175 "succepit ignem foliis" is right, not "suscepit": and in 6. 249 "tepidumque cruorem Succipiunt pateris." In 11. 806 the uncials give "dominamque ruentem suscipiunt;" but one of Ribbeck's cursives has originally "succipiunt." In Propertius 4(5)9. 36 the Neapolitan MS., the value of which is disputed, reads "et cava succepto flumine palma sat est." Pliny Epist. 5. 6. 24 says, according to the manuscripts, "ex edito desiliens aqua suscepta marmore albescit:" but "suscepta" may well be a mistake for "succepta." On 6. 249 Servius says "'succipiunt' antique, nam modo 'suscipiunt' dicimus;" which shews that in his time the distinction had disappeared.—H. N.] 'Conlapsa' of fainting 8. 584.

Marmoreo referunt thalamo stratisque reponunt.
At pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem
Solando cupit et dictis avertere curas,
Multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore,
Iussa tamen divum exsequitur, classemque revisit.
Tum vero Teucri incumbunt et litore celsas
Deducunt toto navis. Natat uncta carina,
Frondentisque ferunt remos et robora silvis
Infabricata, fugae studio.
Migrantis cernas, totaque ex urbe ruentis.
Ac velut ingentem formicae farris acervum
Cum populant, hiemis memores, tectoque reponunt;
It nigrum campis agmen, praedamque per herbas

392.] "'Thalamo,' dativus casus." Serv.

393—407.] 'Grieved as he is, Aeneas goes to look after his fleet. The Trojans quicken their preparations, and are as busy as ants.'

393.] With 'lenire dolentem' Forb. comp. Cic. Att. 6. 2, "Illum saepe lenivi iratum."

394.] Comp. 2. 775, "curas his demere dictis." "Averte dolorem" below v. 547.

395.] 'Labefactus' is applied to the weakening and softening effect of love again 8. 390.

396.] 'Revisit' seems to mean little more than 'visit.' It does not appear that Aeneas had been to the fleet before, though he gives orders about it v. 289; but this may be Virg.'s indirect way of telling us that he had. At any rate Henry can hardly be right in explaining the word with reference to Aeneas' long neglect and absence.

397.] 'Tum vero' implies that Aeneas' coming stimulated the crews to fresh exertions, but it does not oblige us to suppose with Henry that they had not set about the work seriously before. 'Incumbunt' absolutely, as in 9. 73.

398.] "Labitur uncta vadis abies" 8. 91. Ennius A. 14. fr. 2 has "Labitur uncta carina."

399.] Many MSS., but apparently none of the best, give 'ramos.' "Stringere remos" (1. 552) is however an expression of the same kind, being equivalent to "stringere ramos ut remi fiant."

400.] 'Infabricatus' seems to occur nowhere else.

401.] Henry may be right in pressing the meaning of 'cernere,' to distinguish, as contrasted with "videre." (See Forc., who shows that the words are sometimes discriminated, more frequently confounded.) Henry remarks that the propriety of the following comparison is much enhanced if we suppose the Trojans to be seen from a distance, as Dido herself is represented as seeing them immediately afterwards (comp. 'cernenti' v. 408).

402.] The MSS. seem divided between 'velut' and 'veluti,' the reading of Med. being variously reported. Wagn. thinks Virg. does not use 'veluti' before a vowel. There is the same variety in the MSS. in v. 441., 6. 707. The hint of the comparison seems to be from Apoll. R. 4. 1452 foll., where the Minyans are compared to ants or flies; but Virg. goes much more into detail. A somewhat idle question about the poetical dignity of the smile has been raised by the earlier critics. Hom., as Heyne remarks, has two similes from flies, Il. 2. 469 foll., 16. 461 foll., the point of comparison in the one case being their numbers, in the other their numbers and pertinacity. Here the point is numbers, division of labour, and assiduity, much as in the simile of the bees 1. 430 foll. With the expression of this line comp. G. 1. 185. ['Acervom' Pal.—H. N.]

403.] With 'hiemis memores' comp. Hor. 1. S. 1. 35, of the ant, "haud ignara ac non incauta futuri."

404.] 'It nigrum campis agmen' is from Enn. (A. fr. inc. 17), according to Serv., who says it was there applied to elephants. 'Praedam convectant' 7. 749. So "comportare praedas" 9. 613. ['Herbam' Nonius p. 197.—H. N.]

Convectant calle angusto; pars grandia trudunt
Obnixae frumenta umeris; pars agmina cogunt,
Castigantque moras; opere omnis semita fervet.
Quis tibi tum, Dido, cernenti talia sensus,
Quosve dabas gemitus, cum litora fervere late
Prospiceres arce ex summa, totumque videres
Misceri ante oculos tantis clamoribus aequor?
Improbe amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis?
Ire iterum in lacrimas, iterum temptare precando
Cogitur, et supplex animos summittere amori,
Ne quid inexpertum frustra moritura relinquat.
  Anna, vides toto properari litore: circum

405.] The practice of ants, to move on a single track, has been noted already G. 1. 380. Ἀεὶ μίαν ἀτραπὸν πάντες βαδίζουσι, Aristot. H. A. 9. 38. 'Grandia' with reference to the size of the ants, it being at the same time an ordinary epithet of grain, E. 5. 36.

406.] "Obnixus latis umeris" 9. 725. Here 'umeris' may go either with 'obnixae' or with 'trudunt.'

407.] They rally and coerce the stragglers. 'Castigantque moras' however need not stand for "castigant morantis," as 'castigo' takes an acc. of the thing as well as of the person, as in 6. 567. As usual, the last clause of the simile gives the general effect of the whole. Comp. 6. 709. 'Semita' is the 'callis angustus.'

408—436.] 'Dido sees them and is overcome with grief. She tries again what entreaty will do, and sends her sister to Aeneas, begging that he will wait a little till she has reconciled herself to parting with him, as she hopes she shall in time reconcile herself.'

408.] Henry suggests plausibly that Virg. has imitated Soph. Phil. 276 foll., where Philoctetes uses a similar apostrophe to express his emotions at finding that the Greeks had gone away and left him in Lemnos. 'Tunc' was restored by Heins. from Med. and others for 'tum;' but see on G. 2. 317.

410.] Perhaps from Catull. 64. 241 "summa prospectum ex arce petebat." Dido's palace was in the citadel, like Priam's, 2. 760. After recovering from her prostration, she mounts the roof. ['Ec' Ribbeck, from Med., which has 'et.'—H. N.]

411.] 'Misceri clamoribus' like "gemitu miseroque tumultu Miscetur" 2. 486, comp. by Wund.

412.] Apoll. R. 4. 445 addresses love similarly, when Medea is about to kill Absyrtus. Part of the line we have had already 3. 56 (note).

413.] 'Ire in lacrimas' like "preces descendere in omnis," 5. 782, perhaps with the further notion of 'solvi in lacrimas,' which would be supported by Flor. 2. 4, "in sudorem ire," quoted by Forb.

414.] 'Animos' of a high and haughty spirit 2. 386 &c., somewhat as we talk of 'spirits.' Some MSS. give 'animum.'

415.] Wund. rightly explains the sense to be "Ne, si quid inexpertum relinquat, frustra moriatur." 'Moritura' in fact expresses Dido's case as considered dependently on, not independently of, the action of the verb 'relinquat.' 'Frustra moritura' means that in that case she would die when there was no occasion for dying. [Henry analyses the sentence somewhat differently, "ne quid inexpertum relinquens moriatur frustra." But is not the meaning plainer than either commentator supposes? Dido *is*, in any case, 'frustra moritura,' doomed to die in vain, for her death does not affect the fortunes of Aeneas. Virg. therefore adds the words as a commiserating epithet.—H. N.]

416.] As usual, Virg. tells us indirectly that Dido has Anna with her, and addresses her. It is not easy to say whether Wagn. is right in placing a question after 'litore;' but perhaps the categorical proposition is slightly preferable. Nor again is there much to choose between the old punctuation which connected 'circum' with the preceding words, and Markland's (on Stat. Silv. 2. 5. 12, "clausis circum undique portis"), which joins it with 'undique.' The latter however

Undique convenere; vocat iam carbasus auras,
Puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere coronas.
Hunc ego si potui tantum sperare dolorem,
Et perferre, soror, potero. Miserae hoc tamen unum
Exsequere, Anna, mihi; solam nam perfidus ille
Te colere, arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus;
Sola viri mollis aditus et tempora noras:
I, soror, atque hostem supplex adfare superbum:
Non ego cum Danais Troianam excindere gentem
Aulide iuravi, classemve ad Pergama misi,
Nec patris Anchisae cinerem Manisve revelli,

seems to be unanimously adopted by the later editors.

417.] See on 3. 356.

418.] Repeated from G. 1. 304. Serv. says "Probus sane sic adnotavit: 'Si hunc versum omitteret, melius fecisset.'" Germ. illustrates the custom of wreathing the vessel on departing, from Ovid and Q. Smyrnaeus, and refers to the crowning of the theoric vessel which the Athenians sent to Delos. After this line Ribbeck inserts vv. 548, 549, without any external warrant. His reasons for the change are given in a tract, "Emendationes Vergilianae" (Berne, 1858), where he complains of the lines in their original position as unconnected with the context, while admitting that this very incoherence will probably be admired by "elegantiores interpretes,' and says of the present context, "hic quidem, quo facilius beneficium illud, unicam spem suam, impetraret, criminari quamvis leviter sororem poterat, quod suis verborum inlecebris tantis turbis se obiecisset." Perhaps it will be thought a sufficient refutation of this conjecture that its author, in receiving it into the text, now says, "Sed quoniam vel sic hiat oratio, non absolvisse locum putandus est poeta." ['Inposuere' Med.—H. N.]

419.] The meaning must be, If I have been able (as I have) to look forward to so crushing a blow, I shall be able to bear it. Whether she had really looked forward to it we do not know: v. 298 above, to which Henry refers, at least according to its natural interpretation, does not show it; but Dido evidently wishes it to be thought that she had.

420.] It may be almost said that 'tamen' is explained by 'miserae.' 'Though I shall conquer my grief, it will be a sore struggle: help me then by doing me this one favour.'

422.] The inf. expresses custom, as in 11. 852, "Quicum partiri curas." 'Sensus' seems here to include thought as well as feeling. Cic. couples it with "opinio," "cogitatio," "mens," "animus:" see Forc.

423.] 'Viri aditus et tempora' seems to be a kind of hendiadys for "tempora viri adeundi." "Mollia" is doubtless meant to be supplied from 'mollis,' though 'tempus' alone may be used for 'opportunity.' Comp. v. 293 above, where the expressions are nearly the same. The approach is called 'mollis,' because it is then that the man is 'mollis:' but there is also a notion of ease and delicacy in the process of approaching. So it is used of a slope E. 9. 8 (note), G. 3. 293.

424.] The older commentators thought 'hostis' might = "hospes." Dido however evidently means it in its strict sense, though it is quite possible that she may revert in thought to her former language (v. 323), feeling now that she cannot even call him "hospes," 'guest' having passed into 'stranger,' and 'stranger' into 'enemy.' 'Superbus' refers to his obduracy, which she ascribes to haughty disdain.

425.] 'What have I done to be treated thus? He could not treat his sworn foes worse; and I am none of them.'

426.] Aulis was the rendezvous. Ὅτ' ἐς Αὐλίδα νῆες Ἀχαιῶν Ἠγερέθοντο, κακὰ Πριάμῳ καὶ Τρωσὶ φέρουσαι, Il. 2. 303. Heyne comp. Achemenides' confession 3. 602.

427.] Serv. says there was a story, told apparently by Varro, that Diomed actually took up Anchises' bones, which he

Cur mea dicta neget duras demittere in auris.
Quo ruit? extremum hoc miserae det munus amanti:
Expectet facilemque fugam ventosque ferentis.
Non iam coniugium antiquum, quod prodidit, oro,
Nec pulchro ut Latio careat regnumque relinquat;
Tempus inane peto, requiem spatiumque furori,
Dum mea me victam doceat fortuna dolere.
Extremam hanc oro veniam—miserere sororis—;
Quam mihi cum dederis, cumulatam morte remittam.

afterwards restored to Aeneas under the pressure of calamity. This may have suggested the thought to Virg., though he had not adopted the tale. The feeling against the violation of tombs, generally strong in antiquity, was especially so at Rome: see Dict. A. 'Funus.' ['Cinerem Manisve': see on v. 34 above.—H. N.] 'Cinerem' was restored by Heins. from Med. and others, for the common reading, 'cineres,' found in Pal. and Gud., and recalled by Ribbeck. One MS. has 'revulsi,' which Serv. mentions to condemn.

428.] So Livy 34. 50, "Ut eas voces, velut oracula missas, in pectora animosque demitterent" (quoted by Forc.). With Ribbeck I have restored 'neget,' the first reading of Pal. and second of Med. for 'negat,' so as to connect this line with the preceding sentence; a punctuation mentioned by Serv., and likely to have been altered by those who did not see the construction. ['Dimittere' Pal.—H. N.]

429.] She tells him in effect that the last request she will ask him is that he will abandon an intention fraught with danger to himself—an artful way of pleading for her own interest. Thus there may be a special force in 'amanti.' In vv. 309 foll. she regards his voyage in a stormy season rather as a cruelty to her, as showing his resolution to leave her at all hazards.

430.] 'Ventos ferentis:' see on G. 2. 311.

431.] 'Non iam' seems to mean 'no longer,' as Forb. remarks, comp. 5. 194, "Non iam prima peto." 'Antiquum' seems to mean little more than former, as in v. 458 below. 'Prodidit,' has played false, as in 10. 503. So προδίδωμι is used: see Lidd. and Scott. ['Antiqum' Pal. originally.—H. N.]

432.] 'Pulchro' of course conveys a sneer. Serv. opportunely reminds us of "sordida rura" E. 2. 28, where the epithet similarly expresses the feeling not of the speaker but of the person spoken to.

433.] 'Inane' need express no more than Dido's disparagement of the boon she seeks, as a thing which it is perhaps foolish to ask, and which Aeneas would find no difficulty in granting: but Val. Fl. 3. 657 has "inania tempora" in connexion with "moras," for a season of inaction, and there is also a technical use of "inania tempora" in Quint. 9. 4, the employment of a short for a long syllable, the Greek κενὸς χρόνος. Accepting this view, which Serv. supports, I should understand the inaction to refer not, as he thinks, to the relations between Dido and Aeneas, as if she were content that he should no longer regard her as his wife during the rest of his stay, but to Aeneas' journey; a time when he will do nothing, and when she may consequently breathe. Comp. the use of "vacuus." 'Requiem spatiumque' is a combination like "aditus et tempora," the notion being "spatium ad requiescendum."

434.] 'A space wherein my fortune may teach my baffled love how to grieve.' 'Fortuna' is the fortune of being baffled, and the lesson to be taught is how to bear defeat; or we may take 'victam' conquered by Fortune, which teaches its victims to comport themselves as victims should, to grieve and bear their grief. Many MSS., including Med. a m. pr., give 'dolore,' which could scarcely be reduced to sense.

435, 436.] These two lines must be taken together, as the sense of 'extremam veniam' depends on that which we attribute to v. 436. The latter is well known as the most difficult in Virg. The reading is not quite certain. Not to mention the obvious errors of unimportant MSS., a considerable number of copies give 're-

Talibus orabat, talisque miserrima fletus
Fertque refertque soror. Sed nullis ille movetur

linquam' for 'remittam,' while Med., Pal., and Gud. a m. pr. have 'dederit,' for 'dederis,' and Med. 'cumulata' for 'cumulatam.' These varieties are all mentioned by Serv., who says that 'dederis' was the reading of Tucca and Varius. 'Relinquam' may be dismissed as probably an interpretation of 'remittam,' fixing it to the particular sense of returning a favour at death as a bequest left by the dying. There is the same variety in the MSS. in Pers. Prol. 5. 'Dederit' is more plausible, as the 'extrema venia' may be well said to answer to 'extremum munus,' v. 429, the grace of a brief delay. But it may answer equally well to 'miserae hoc tamen unum exsequere,' v. 420, the favour which Dido begs of her sister, of carrying this message to Aeneas: and it cannot be denied that 'miserere sororis' is strongly in favour of so interpreting it, though the words might mean—'pity me and tell him so." There is then no overpowering prima facie reason for adopting 'dederit:' nor do the interpretations proposed by its supporters supply any additional argument in its favour. If indeed we might read with the Delphin editor 'cumulatum,' we should obtain a clear and intelligible sense—'when he has granted me this, I will send him away with my death to crown and reward him.' I do not know why Wagn. calls this "pessimum:" the objection which occurs at first sight, that Dido would thus speak too plainly of a resolution which she afterwards takes such pains to conceal from her sister, is, as we shall see, not convincing: the expression would, I think, strike any one as sufficiently natural and unforced, if the reading were undoubted; and the strongest improbability in the case is the general one founded on the almost invariable trustworthiness of one or other of Virg.'s MSS. On the whole, the chief value of 'cumulata' seems to be that it has given occasion for a very ingenious conjecture of Schrader, 'cumulata sorte,' which would suit 'remittam,' the sense produced being 'I will pay it with interest.' Accepting the ordinary reading as having the authority of Serv., we shall not find much difficulty in giving 'remittam' the sense of "reddam," though it does not seem to have been generally used as its conventional equivalent (comp. however, Hor. A. P. 349, "Poscentique gravem persaepe remittit acutum"), while 'cumulatam' will naturally mean 'with interest,' as in Livy 2. 23, "aes alienum cumulatum usuris." 'Morte' may be either the abl. instr. with 'cumulatam,' or used as in v. 502 below, 'at the time of death.' Here again the difficulty is in the general sense. Roughly considered, the meaning seems to be that Dido's death will bring to Anna a return for her kindness; but it is not easy to see what the return can be, and so to determine whether the death is to be the cause of its being made or merely the occasion. Wagn.'s notion that Dido hints that she will bequeath her kingdom to Anna is unworthy of the occasion, and not supported by any thing else in this book, while it has not even the justification of consistency with the legend, which makes Anna after her sister's death migrate into Italy. Perhaps we may say, borrowing a hint from Serv., that Dido's language is intentionally obscure, her meaning being that her return for Anna's kindness will be that she will kill herself, and so rid her sister of the burden. Anna would take the words as a mere expression of desperation, their very obscurity preventing her from attaching too much meaning to them. So her language in v. 419 is worded in a manner which might have led any one already on the watch to infer the worst, while an unsuspecting person like Anna would take it in a good sense, knowing moreover, as Virg. reminds us v. 502, that Dido had once before endured successfully what seemed even a worse sorrow. Generally we may say that while Dido's purpose is still undecided, she does not shrink from speaking of death, though her words are little more than those of vague desperation. It is only when she has seen death to be her only course that she is anxious that no one should suspect what she is meditating. Sophocles has represented just the same change of feeling in Ajax, who talks wildly of death on his first recovery from his frenzy, but afterwards, when he is quite resolved to die, contrives an elaborate blind for Tecmessa and the Chorus. Thus that Dido should speak of death here is no more than we should expect, though the precise import of her words

Fletibus, aut voces ullas tractabilis audit;
Fata obstant, placidasque viri deus obstruit auris.
Ac velut annoso validam cum robore quercum
Alpini Boreae nunc hinc nunc flatibus illinc
Eruere inter se certant; it stridor, et altae
Consternunt terram concusso stipite frondes;
Ipsa haeret scopulis, et, quantum vertice ad auras
Aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit:
Haud secus adsiduis hinc atque hinc vocibus heros
Tunditur, et magno persentit pectore curas;

may be left undetermined. Ribbeck, adopting 'dederit,' reads 'cumulatam monte,' apparently from his own conjecture. The old editors placed the comma after 'cumulatam,' not after 'dederis.' With the parenthetical 'miserere sororis' comp. "gratare sorori" v. 478, which may be meant as a contrast to it. 'Venia' of a favour. "Da veniam hanc mihi" Ter. Hec. 4. 2. 29, comp. by Serv.

437—449.] 'Anna attacks Aeneas again and again, but he is like an oak in a storm, buffeted but not overthrown.'

437.] 'Talibus orabat' 10. 96, where the meaning of the verb is slightly different. 'Fletus' of a tearful appeal, like "lacrimae" 2. 145.

438.] "'Fertque refertque' non ab Aenea, qui nihil dicit, sed a Didone fert et refert, id est, iterum portat. Nam subiunxit 'Sed nullis ille movetur Fletibus.'" Serv. Wund. comp. 12. 866, where the same words occur. ['Set' Pal. originally.—H. N.]

440.] Wagn. rightly says that 'deus' is general, not specially indicating Jupiter or Mercury. After this line one MS. subjoins a foolish addition, "Ne sint ammotae neque sistant gaudia mente."

441.] Macrob. Sat. 6. 2 taxes Virg. with imitating Il. 16. 765 foll.: but the resemblance is as general as possible. 'Annoso validam' was restored by Heins. for the old reading 'annosam valido,' which is less artificial, and consequently less Virgilian. Ov. M. 8. 744 has "ingens annoso robore quercus." 'Robur' seems to be used in its general sense of strength, or perhaps strong wood, though doubtless we are intended to think of its special meaning.

442.] 'Alpini' does not merely mean blowing from the Alps, but intimates that the tree is standing and the scene laid there. 'Hinc' and 'illinc' come in strangely after 'Boreae,' as if the north wind blew from different quarters: so we must either suppose that Virg. means N.E. and N.W., or set it down as one of his many voluntary or involuntary inaccuracies, Boreas being to him the poetical expression for any violent or cold wind. In 1. 85 (note) we have had a similar, though less glaring inaccuracy. Mr. Long however is of opinion that Virg. means any wind which blows from the Alps towards the plains, and therefore any wind from the north side of the circle.

443.] "It clamor" 8. 595. 'Altae' is the reading of Med., Pal., fragm. Vat., and other good MSS., and as such is restored by Jahn and Wagn. [for the reading of Servius] 'alte.' It is apparently to be taken with 'consternunt,' the leaves falling thickly so as to lie in heaps on the ground. It may however merely mean 'the towering foliage,' 'the leaves at the summit,' as in G. 2. 55, 305, the point of the epithet here being to give a picture of the height from which the leaves fall, and the appearance of the tree with its head stripped.

445.] ['Illa' Macrob. S. 5. 6. 13. H. N.] 'Quantum—tendit' repeated from G. 2. 292. In both places there is a variety of reading between 'radicem' and 'radice,' the former in each case being supported by Med., the latter by fragm. Vat. Pal. has 'radicem' in both places, but altered here into 'radice.' 'Radice' has been generally preferred by the editors, being rendered almost necessary by 'vertice,' for which there seems to be no alternative 'verticem.' With the abl. comp. "ulterius ne tende odiis" 12. 938. 'Auras aetherias:' see on 1. 546.

447.] 'Hinc atque hinc' merely means that Anna left no mode of appeal untried. ['Haut' Med.—H. N.]

448.] 'He feels the thrill of grief through all his mighty breast.'

Mens inmota manet; lacrimae volvuntur inanes.
Tum vero infelix fatis exterrita Dido
Mortem orat; taedet caeli convexa tueri.
Quo magis inceptum peragat lucemque relinquat,
Vidit, turicremis cum dona inponeret aris—
Horrendum dictu—latices nigrescere sacros
Fusaque in obscenum se vertere vina cruorem.
Hoc visum nulli, non ipsi effata sorori.
Praeterea fuit in tectis de marmore templum
Coniugis antiqui, miro quod honore colebat,
Velleribus niveis et festa fronde revinctum:

449.] 'Lacrimae' can only be the tears of Dido, as represented and shared by Anna. To refer them with Henry to those of Aeneas, who weeps but is resolute, is a less obvious thought, and not supported by the parallel which, following Serv., he fancifully imagines between the falling leaves and the falling tears, as instances of a superficial effect produced in each of the two cases. As Wagn. remarks, the opposition, if any, is between 'pectore' and 'mens,' not between 'mens' and 'lacrimae.' ['Volvontur' Pal. originally.—H. N.]

450—473.] 'Dido becomes desperate and weary of life. She sees dire portents: the wine at the sacrifice turns to blood: her husband's voice is heard calling her: old prophecies recur to her mind: her dreams are bad. She raves like Pentheus or Orestes.'

450.] 'Exterrita,' maddened, as in G. 3. 149, 434, A. 12. 460.

451.] It has been asked why should Dido pray for death when it was in her own power: as if the resolution of self-destruction were not likely to be preceded by an intense yearning for death, finding vent in prayer. 'To look on the light' is elsewhere a synonyme for living, but here it has its full force: the very sight of day is a weariness to her. 'Caeli convexa' like "supera convexa" 6. 241 &c.

452.] 'Lucem relinquere' 10. 855, of dying. Enn. A. 3. fr. 3 has "Postquam lumina sis oculis bonus Ancu' reliquit," and the expression occurs more than once in Lucr.

453.] The connexion of the tenses is not strictly accurate, as with 'vidit' following we should have expected 'perageret,' 'relinqueret:' but the same latitude which allows the present to be used historically for the past in the indicative is extended to the other moods. A similar confusion is found in prose: "Helvetii legatos ad Caesarem mittunt, qui dicerent, sibi esse in animo iter per provinciam facere, propterea quod aliud iter nullum haberent: rogare ut eius voluntate id sibi facere liceat," Caes. B. G. 1. 7, quoted by Madv. § 382, obs. 3. Here the irregularity is further justified by the structure of the sentence, the reader thinking, as doubtless the writer thought, of v. 451, and so being prepared to find the present continued. 'Inponeret' 1. 49 note. 'Turicremis aris' is from Lucr. 2. 353, as Macrob. Sat. 6. 5 observes. ['Imponeret' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

455.] 'Obscenus' seems here to combine the notion of evil omen (G. 1. 470) with that of foulness. This portent is said by Val. Max. 1. 6, ext. 1, to have happened to Xerxes.

456.] Heyne rightly remarks on Dido's silence as showing the intensity of her desperation. Sophocles noted the phenomenon long ago, Ant. 1251 ἥ τ' ἄγαν σιγὴ βαρὺ Δοκεῖ προσεῖναι χὴ μάτην πολλὴ βοή, Oed. R. 1074 δέδοιχ' ὅπως Μὴ 'κ τῆς σιωπῆς τῆσδ' ἀναῤῥήξει κακά. In fragm. Vat. and some others 'est' is added after 'sorori.'

457.] This erection of a chapel to the Di Manes of Sychaeus is doubtless one of the instances in which Virg. transfers the customs of his own time to the heroic ages. Ovid however follows and almost repeats him (Her. 7. 99 foll.).

458.] 'Antiqui' = "prioris," as in v. 633 below.

459.] It may be questioned whether 'revinctum' is nom. or acc. The latter

Hinc exaudiri voces et verba vocantis
Visa viri, nox cum terras obscura teneret;
Solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo
Saepe queri et longas in fletum ducere voces;
Multaque praeterea vatum praedicta priorum
Terribili monitu horrificant. Agit ipse furentem
In somnis ferus Aeneas; semperque relinqui
Sola sibi, semper longam incomitata videtur
Ire viam et Tyrios deserta quaerere terra.

is perhaps more probable, as the dressing of the altar would be part of the honour paid. 'Vellera' are woollen fillets. 'Festa fronde' 2. 249. The application of the word here may remind us of the difference between a holyday and a holiday.

460.] The alliteration is doubtless meant to produce the effect of solemnity. In Ov. l. c. Sychaeus is made to utter four times "Elissa, veni."

462.] Comp. G. 1. 402, 403. Non. p. 194 quotes this line with 'sera' for 'sola.'

463.] Wagn. seems right in saying that the structure of the sentence requires us to connect 'queri' and 'ducere' with 'visa,' though the meaning of the words is not to be pressed, as if the hooting of the owl, or even the mournfulness of its note, like the call of the dead man, existed merely in Dido's imagination. Otherwise there would be nothing strange in an historic inf. following closely on an inf. governed in some other way, the use of the word in one case preparing us for its use in the other. Comp. 2. 775, G. 1. 200. [With 'queri' Serv. comp. G. 1. 378 "et veterem in limo ranae cecinere querellam."—H. N.] 'Longas' seems to be proleptic, expressing the effect of 'ducere.' With 'in fletum ducere' comp. "in longum ducere" E. 9. 56, and see also on E. 6. 5.

464.] I agree with Henry in reading 'priorum' from fragm. Vat., Pal., and Gud., rather than 'piorum' (Med.). The latter would not be as inappropriate as he supposes, as the holiness of the seers would lend authority to their predictions: but the notion of antiquity is still more awful, and 'priorum' seems almost necessary to bring out the sense that Dido's mind is haunted with the remembrance of old predictions, which she supposes to be accomplishing themselves. Here again the alliteration appears intentional. Serv. recognizes both readings. Silius, speaking of the disasters that followed the destruction of the serpent on the banks of the Bagrada, says "Nec tacuere pii vates" (6. 288); but the epithet may be from A. 6. 662, the general thought from A. 5. 524.

465.] The effect of the thought of Aeneas on her mind takes a material shape in her dreams, where he appears to drive her, as Argus drove Io, goading her to frenzy. Hence 'ferus.'

466.] At other times the thought that is present in her dreams is that of her loneliness. She seems to be undertaking a long solitary journey, looking for her Tyrian subjects, whom she cannot find: they have forsaken her, and she has to be queen of a desolate country, like Creon in Soph. Ant. 739. This latter feeling throws light on v. 320, "infensi Tyrii." The notion of loneliness is thus enforced in two ways, which with great psychological truth are made to blend together confusedly: she loses Aeneas, and she loses her own subjects too. Thus we see that Schrader's plausible conjecture 'Teucros' for 'Tyrios' would be no gain but a loss. [Servius says of 'Tyrios deserta quaerere terra' "bonus adfectus; solent enim qui deficiunt suos desiderare, ut Alcestis moriens."—H. N.] In her waking moments Dido thinks of following Aeneas alone in his flight, below, v. 543. The same image of a long fruitless wandering occurs in Ilia's dream in Enn. A. 1. fr. 38:

"Nam me visus homo pulcher per amoena salicta
Et ripas raptare locosque novos: ita sola
Postilla, germana soror, errare videbar
Tardaque vestigare et quaerere te, neque posse
Corde capessere: semita nulla pedem stabilibat."

Eumenidum veluti demens videt agmina Pentheus,
Et solem geminum et duplicis se ostendere Thebas;
Aut Agamemnonius scaenis agitatus Orestes

469, 470.] The double vision of Pentheus is in Eur. Bacch. 916, καὶ μὴν ὁρᾶν μοι δύο μὲν ἡλίους δοκῶ, Δισσὰς δὲ Θήβας καὶ πόλισμ' ἑπτάστομον. Whether Virg. is more likely to have followed Eur. or Attius (Serv. talks of Pacuvius, but he is not known to have treated the subject of Pentheus) of course cannot be known: probably he followed no one poet, but simply thought of Pentheus as he appears in tragedy. No difficulty need be made about 'agmina,' which either may be the poetical plural for the singular, or may represent, as Wund. suggests, the multiplying power of Pentheus' vision, just as Orestes in Aesch. Cho. 1057 says αἵδε πληθύουσι δή. In 6. 572 however Tisiphone is represented as calling "agmina saeva sororum," where this latter explanation would not apply. The number of Erinnyes in the old mythology was indefinite, the Fury being the personified curse (see on v. 384): it was not till the Alexandrian period that they were reduced to the three, Alecto, Megaera, and Tisiphone, whom Virg. generally seems to recognize. [Urbanus, according to Servius, took 'agmina' of the coils or trains of the serpents.—H. N.] On the whole it seems better to make 'agmina' acc. after 'videt,' 'se ostendere' referring to 'solem' and 'Thebas' only. Comp. 8. 107, 108.

471.] For 'scaenis' some MSS. give 'Furiis,' apparently from a recollection of 3. 331. The sense which it would yield has found favour with several critics, Markland conjecturing 'Poenis' (used as in Greek for a title of the Furies), a suggestion of great plausibility, supported by Val. Fl. 7. 147, which will be quoted below, accepted by Wakef., and approved by Heyne, while Lersch and Henry (the latter of whom now withdraws the interpretation) wish to give 'scaenae' the sense of φαντάσματα. Hildebrand, followed by Ladewig, emends 'saevis,' which I suppose is meant to be constructed with 'facibus.' The object of all these expedients is to avoid the reference to the stage, it being supposed that an ancient poet would more naturally think of the real Pentheus and Orestes as parallel to Dido, herself a personage of similar antiquity, than of their theatrical representatives. But it is quite in keeping with Virg.'s literary tastes that he should interest himself more in the dramatic persons that he had seen or read of than in their supposed prototypes. Such a feeling, it is true, is not the simple feeling of an old poet: to conceive of anything of the kind in Homer would involve a grotesque impossibility. But the comparison of one mythical person to another is equally foreign to Homer. His similes are limited in their range: heroes and their actions are paralleled to the more ordinary occupations of life, to inferior creatures or natural phenomena. He does not tell us that Achilles resented the abduction of Briseis as Meleager did the slight offered to Atalanta. Virg. must be judged by his own standard; and there is nothing inconsistent with that standard in supposing that the Pentheus of his thoughts was the Pentheus of Euripides, the Orestes of Aeschylus. He doubtless felt that it was to the stage that he owed the glorious vision of their madness, and he was glad to make the acknowledgment. It is this feeling which dictates the presents, 'videt,' 'fugit,' 'sedent.' The frenzy of the Theban and the Argive is not a thing of the past, embalmed in legend; it is constantly repeating itself; it is present as often as the Bacchae or the Eumenides are acted, read, or remembered. As before, we cannot determine whether Virg. had any single play exclusively in his mind. Serv. says that Pacuvius (in his Dulorestes or Dulorestes?) represented Orestes as entering Apollo's temple at the instance of Pylades and being attacked by the Furies when he tried to leave it. In Aesch. Eum. the ghost of Clytaemnestra appears, but does not haunt Orestes, contenting herself with stirring up the Erinnyes. 'Scaenis agitatus' I understand to mean 'driven over the stage,' the sense of 'agitatus' being fixed by the context, and by the parallels 3. 331., 12. 668, Cic. Rosc. Am. 24, "ut eos agitent Furiae." That Ausonius [Epigr. 71. 2 "vitiosa libido. Quam toga facundi scaenis agitavit Afrani"] uses the words 'scaenis agitare' in the sense of 'to treat scenically' may prove that he had Virg.'s words in his mind, but need only prove further that he did not consider himself bound by Virg.'s meaning, when another

Armatam facibus matrem et serpentibus atris
Cum fugit, ultricesque sedent in limine Dirae.
  Ergo ubi concepit furias evicta dolore
Decrevitque mori, tempus secum ipsa modumque
Exigit, et, maestam dictis adgressa sororem,
Consilium voltu tegit, ac spem fronte serenat:
Inveni, germana, viam,—gratare sorori—
Quae mihi reddat eum, vel eo me solvat amantem.

suited him better and suited the genius of the language as well. In other words, the objection to the interpretation which Serv. gives as an alternative to that adopted above, "famosus, celebratus tragoediis," is not that it is doubtful Latin, but that it would yield a very frigid sense. I will now transcribe the passage to which I referred from Valerius Flaccus, as the detail into which the description is carried makes it more than a mere repetition of Virg. The comparison is to Medea's lovesick distraction—

"Turbidus ut Poenis caecisque pavoribus ensem
Corripit, et saevae ferit agmina matris Orestes:
Ipsum angues, ipsum horrisoni quatit ira flagelli,
Atque iterum infestae se fervere caede Lacaenae
Credit agens, falsaque redit de strage dearum
Fessus, et in miserae conlabitur ora sororis."

472.] Clytaemnestra is represented as herself having the attributes of the Furies. Alecto throws a snake at Amata 7. 346, a torch at Turnus ib. 456. Eur. Iph. T. 285 foll. makes Orestes speak of the Erinnys as attacking him with her serpents, Clytaemnestra being in her arms.

473.] The threshold, Henry remarks, (following Germ. on 6. 563), was the peculiar and proper seat of the Furies. He refers to 6. 279, 555, 574., 7. 343, Ov. M. 4. 453. See on 6. 563. Here they doubtless prevent the egress of their victim as he flies before his mother. 'Dirae:' comp. 7. 324, 454., 12. 845. Pal. and the first readings of fragm. Vat. and Gud. have 'divae.'

474—503.] 'Having taken her resolution, she seeks to blind her sister: tells her that she has found a wise woman who will cure her of her love by magic, and bids her erect a pile on which the effigy and relics of Aeneas may be burnt, that being part of the ceremony. Anna believes and obeys her.'

474.] 'Concipere furias' like "concipere robur" 11. 368. 'Furiae' = "furor," as in 1. 41. 'Evicta' 2. 630 note.

475.] 'Modum' v. 294.

476.] "Exigere de aliqua re," or "aliquam rem," "cum aliquo" is a common expression (see Forc.), apparently answering to our common phrase 'to have it out.' "Exigere aliquid ad aliquid," though generally similar, seems to arrive at the result by a different process, the notion there being that of estimation by measurement. 'Dictis adgressa' 3. 358. Med. has 'ac' for 'et:' but Wagn. justly remarks that it is objectionable on account of 'ac' in the next line.

477.] 'Consilium voltu tegit,' hides her purpose in or by her countenance, by putting on looks of hope. With the expression comp. Aesch. Cho. 738, θετοσκυθρωπῶν ἐντὸς ὀμμάτων γέλων Κεύθουσ'. 'Spem fronte serenat,' a variety for "spe frontem serenat," 'spem' being a sort of cognate acc., expressing the effect of the verb. Sil. 11. 367, while imitating Virg., keeps closer to the ordinary use of the word, "tristia fronte serenat." ['Vultu' Med.—H. N.]

479.] 'Eum' and 'eo' seem awkward in dignified poetry; but they are doubtless introduced significantly, Dido not wishing to mention the name or even give him a title of any kind. Gossrau observes that the poets object to "eius" more than to any other case of the pronoun, perhaps because the quantity of the first syllable makes it more emphatic than the rest. "'Eo solvat,' h. e. amore in eum. Usitatior est compositio 'solvere aliquem luctu, amore' quam 'solvere hominem homine.'" Wund.

Oceani finem iuxta solemque cadentem
Ultimus Aethiopum locus est, ubi maximus Atlas
Axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum:
Hinc mihi Massylae gentis monstrata sacerdos,
Hesperidum templi custos, epulasque draconi
Quae dabat et sacros servabat in arbore ramos,
Spargens umida mella soporiferumque papaver.

480.] 'Oceani finem,' the extreme limit set by the Ocean, which is regarded, as in Hom., as surrounding the world. Comp. 7. 225, G. 2. 122. So the poem to Messala, attributed to Virg., v. 54, "Vincere et Oceani finibus ulterius." Homer's Aethiopians live by the Ocean, Il. 1. 423.

481.] 'Ultimus Aethiopum locus est' like "extremi sinus orbis" G. 2. 123. The meaning seems to be, not, there is the extreme point of Aethiopia, but, there is Aethiopia, the extreme point of earth. 'Maximus Atlas' 1. 741.

482.] 'Axem' of the sky, 2. 512. Here it chimes in with 'torquet,' which, as Heyne says, is "ornatius quam sustinet," expressing the diurnal motion of the heaven. The line, as Macrob. Sat. 6. 1 informs us, is altered from Enn. A. 1. fr. 37, "Qui caelum versat stellis fulgentibus aptum." 'Aptus' here bears its participial sense of 'connected with' or 'fastened to,' as frequently in Lucr. ['Attorquet' Med. originally. —H. N.]

483.] 'Massylae' the special term for the general. Both Massylians and Mauretanians were Libyans, so Virg. takes the poetical licence of substituting the one for the other. To suppose that a Massylian woman had been employed in Mauretania would be to complicate the poet's details needlessly. The general meaning evidently is that Dido had secured the services of one who had been keeper of the garden of the Hesperides.

484.] Virg. has chosen to represent the garden of the Hesperides as a temple, whether following any authority, does not appear. Perhaps he may mean no more than to translate the Greek σηκός, which means a sacred enclosure as well as a garden.

485, 486.] The meaning is that the priestess preserved the golden apples by inducing the dragon to preserve them. The dragon is induced by being fed with dainties, 'spargens' &c. standing in effect for "dando epulas." Henry rightly understands 'spargens mella papaverque' of sprinkling the food with honey and poppy-seeds, which he shows from various passages in Petronius, from Pliny 19. 168, and from Hor. A. P. 375, to have been considered a great delicacy among the Romans, forming, at least in early times, part of the second course at a banquet. That 'spargens' means sprinkling on the food, not sprinkling on the ground as a separate and substantive article of food, he argues from a passage where Petronius says, "Omnia dicta factaque quasi papavere et sesamo sparsa." 'Umida' too favours this. 'Soporiferum,' it must be admitted, is a very unfortunate epithet, as the object of the food cannot have been to lull the ever-wakeful dragon; it is not simply inappropriate or idle, like other epithets which Henry or others quote, but actually mal à propos. As a physical description it is accurate enough, the "candidum" (our "somniferum") "papaver" being specified by Pliny as the particular kind of poppy whose seeds were so employed. All attempts to modify or evade this obvious sense must be pronounced failures: e. g. Serv.'s new punctuation, adopted by Gossrau, which connects 'spargens' &c. with what follows, Turnebus' fancy that the dragon required to be put to sleep occasionally that he might not break down from overwatching, Jahn's supposition that honey and poppies were strewn about to keep intruders away, and Waddel's suggestion that the priestess may have dealt with soporifics as Macbeth wished to deal with physic, throwing them to the dogs to keep them out of the dragon's way. But perhaps it may still be open to some unusually audacious critic to hint that Virg., by a strange confusion, such as might possibly happen to a great writer who never lived to revise his poem, thought of the dragon for the moment as a creature which the

Haec se carminibus promittit solvere mentes,
Quas velit, ast aliis duras inmittere curas;
Sistere aquam fluviis, et vertere sidera retro;
Nocturnosque ciet Manis; mugire videbis
Sub pedibus terram, et descendere montibus ornos.
Testor, cara, deos et te, germana, tuumque
Dulce caput, magicas invitam accingier artis.
Tu secreta pyram tecto interiore sub auras
Erige, et arma viri, thalamo quae fixa reliquit

priestess was to subdue or elude, and so made her exercise her charming power in sending it to sleep. Medea, who, as we have seen, has been in his mind throughout the composition of this Book, sprinkles her κυκεών on the dragon's eyes (Apoll. R. 4. 156 foll.), and Virg. himself in describing an enchanter 7. 750 foll. speaks of him as one "Vipereo generi et graviter spirantibus hydris Spargere qui somnos cantuque manuque solebat." Ribbeck, with sufficient improbability, places v. 486 after v. 517 below. 'Sacros,' to Juno, to Venus, or to Earth, according to different accounts.

487.] With this description of the professions and practice of the enchantress compare generally the song of the Pharmaceutria in Ecl. 8. 'Solvere' as in v. 479 above. Comp. the opposite expression in Greek ὕμνος δέσμιος, Aesch. Eum. 306.

488. ['Immittere' Med. and fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

489.] Changing the course of rivers and stars was a common exertion of magical power. So Medea in Apoll. R. 3. 532. 'Fluviis' is doubtless dative.

490.] 'Nocturnos' might refer to the ordinary dwelling of the Manes, so that 'nocturnos ciet' should mean, calls up from night to day. But it seems better to take it of spirits appearing by night, which was their natural time of visiting the earth: comp. 5. 739. So "nocturnos lemures" Hor. 2. Ep. 2. 209. [Serv. quotes Cic. pro Mil. 13 "nocturnis canibus dilaniandum." — H. N.] For 'ciet' many MSS., including Pal. and fragm. Vat., both a m. pr., give 'movet,' which Wagn. adopts. Intrinsically the two words seem on a par: in external authority 'ciet' is probably superior. From Ribbeck's silence it would seem that Med. had 'movet;' but Wagn. says nothing. In E. 8. 98 the enchanter is said "animas imis excire sepulchris." 'Mugire terram:' similar portents attend the coming of Hecate 6. 256. 'Videre' is not unfrequently transferred from the eyes to the other senses. "Vidistin toto sonitus procurrere caelo?" Prop. 2. 6. 49.

491.] The trees follow the enchantress as they did Orpheus. The exercise of power is not illustrated by the commentators. Perhaps we may comp. 6. 256, "iuga coepta moveri Silvarum," and E. 8. 99, "satas alio vidi traducere messis."

492.] For the oath comp. v. 357 above: for the pleonasm 8. 144, Soph. O. C. 750, where Meineke cites Catull. 66. 40, "adiuro teque tuumque caput," Cic. De Domo 57, "meque ac meum caput devovi."

493.] Dido's apology, as the commentators remark, is conceived in the spirit not of legendary Carthage but of historical Rome. Serv. says, "Cum multa sacra Romani susciperent, magica semper damnaverunt." 'Accingier' seems to be a metaphor from a weapon—not an unnatural one under the circumstances. The construction with the abl. is the usual one in Virg.: but here he has preferred the Greek acc. We have had the archaic form of the inf. G. 1. 454.

494.] 'Secreta' is explained by 'tecto interiore.' Dido would still desire secrecy, as, though she had deceived her sister, others might suspect. The place indicated seems to be the 'impluvium.' 'Sub auras' here and in v. 504 doubtless means 'up to the sky,' indicating the height of the pile as Wund. explains it; but it contains implicitly the other interpretation 'sub divo.' Comp. 2. 512, "Aedibus in mediis nudoque sub aetheris axe," where also we are intended to think of the 'impluvium.' The enchantment in E. 8 takes place in the 'impluvium.'

495.] 'Arma' is generally referred to the sword alone, vv. 507, 646: but see on v. 496. 'Thalamo' is the bridal chamber, which they had jointly occupied. Aeneas had hung up this weapon there, and

Impius, exuviasque omnis, lectumque iugalem,
Quo perii, super imponant: abolere nefandi
Cuncta viri monumenta iuvat, monstratque sacerdos.
Haec effata silet; pallor simul occupat ora.
Non tamen Anna novis praetexere funera sacris
Germanam credit, nec tantos mente furores
Concipit, aut graviora timet quam morte Sychaei.

would naturally not care to reclaim it under the circumstances. Wagn. well comp. the description in Eur. Hec. 920 foll. πόσις ἐν θαλάμοις ἔκειτο, ξυστὸν δ' ἐπὶ πασσάλῳ, ναύταν οὐκέθ' ὁρῶν ὅμιλον Τροίαν Ἰλιάδ' ἐμβεβῶτα.

496.] 'Impius,' as Taubm. remarks, alludes to Aeneas' ordinary epithet 'pius.' Its reference here is probably to his whole conduct to Dido, not, as Henry thinks, to the want of feeling shown in leaving his arms hung up in her very chamber. The 'exuviae' are doubtless articles of dress. Comp. E. 8. 91 note. The object of the enchantress there is to bring back her lover, which, as we have seen v. 479, is one of the alternatives which Dido proposes to herself. We can easily understand how the burning of the 'exuviae' should be supposed to conduce also to the other alternative, the extinguishing of the passion. A funeral pile is raised, with all its accoutrements (see v. 506), really to serve for Dido, but apparently for Aeneas, who is to be burnt in effigy (v. 508), as being dead to Dido. The description of the pile is parallel to that of the pile where Misenus is actually burnt, 6. 214 foll., and there the arms of the dead man are similarly placed on the top of the pile (comp. 11. 195), just as Eetion in Il. 6. 418 is burnt with his armour. ['Exsuvias' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

497.] 'Superimponant' is the reading of fragm. Vat., Med. a m. pr. &c. The common reading (Pal., Gud., Med. a m. s.) is 'superimponas;' but there is an unmetrical variety 'superimpone' found in some copies, which seems to show that the text has been tampered with. Anna would naturally require assistance, so the plural is not inconsistent with the injunction of secrecy. [Serv., reading 'super imponas,' says "quidam 'imponant' legunt, scilicet famulae." The words 'super,' 'imponant,' should probably be written separately.—H. N.] In the actual narrative, 5. 507, Dido is made to do these things herself, Virg. as usual caring for variety more than for apparent consistency.

498.] Again the MSS. are divided, between 'iuvat' and 'iubet.' The former is in fragm. Vat., and would appear to be intended as a correction in Med. The two words are occasionally confounded, 'iuvat' being sometimes written 'iubat' in MSS. So here Pal. has 'iubet' altered into 'iubat,' Gud. 'iubat' altered into 'iubet.' As far as sense and propriety of language go, there is here nothing to choose between them. I have followed Wagn. doubtfully. Serv. read 'iuvat,' explaining it "συμφέρει, hoc est, et voluntas mihi est, et sacerdos hoc praecipit." Dido will then mean that she gratifies the natural feeling of destroying what she has so much cause to hate, at the same time that she is performing an injunction which is to lead supernaturally to a certain result. 'Monstrat' with inf. in the sense of 'iubet,' 9. 44. We shall meet the word as applied to sacrificial directions below v. 636, as we have already done G. 4. 549. ['Monimenta' Pal.—H. N.]

500.] 'Tamen,' in spite of her paleness. 'Praetexere funera sacris:' comp. v. 172 above. ['Protexere' Med. originally.—H. N.]

502.] ['Concepit' i. e. 'concipit' Ribbeck from fragm. Vat. So he reads "effĕcit" for "efficit" 1. 160, "defĕcit" for "deficit" v. 689 below, "aspecit" for "aspicit" 7. 101, "ededit" 7. 194, "deiĕcit" 8. 428, 10. 753, "praecĕpit" 11. 491.] [For 'concipit' Jortin very ingeniously conj. 'concipere', as Bentley on Hor. 1. Od. 1. 6. conj. "evehere" for "evehit"), so as to make 'concipere furores' parallel to "concepit furias" above, v. 474. "Concepit mente furores" actually occurs in this sense Ov. M. 2. 640. "Concipere aliquid" is however found elsewhere of one person realizing the intention of another. Forb. quotes Ov. M. 10. 403, "Nec nutrix etiamnum concipit ullum Mente nefas." For 'aut' some MSS. have 'haud,' which Hand in Tursell 1. p. 545 needlessly pre-

Ergo iussa parat.
At regina, pyra penetrali in sede sub auras
Erecta ingenti taedis atque ilice secta,
Intenditque locum sertis et fronde coronat
Funerea; super exuvias ensemque relictum
Effigiemque toro locat, haud ignara futuri.
Stant arae circum, et crinis effusa sacerdos
Ter centum tonat ore deos, Erebumque Chaosque

fers, 'Quam morte Sychaei' is rightly explained by Serv. "quam quae fecit vel passa est Dido" (morte Sychaei). He also gives another interpretation, making 'quam' pleonastic, which has had better fortune than it deserves, having been adopted by one or two later critics. 'Morte,' at the death, as probably 3. 333.

503.] 'Iussa' is here more of a participle than of a substantive, = "res iussas." 'For 'parat' one MS. has 'implet,' another 'facit.'

504—521.] 'The pile is raised, and the relics placed on it: the priestess begins her incantations, and Dido makes her dying appeal to the gods.'

504.] 'Penetralis' in its original sense as an adj., as in G. 1. 379 (note). Serv. says, "Notatus est hic versus: vitiosa est enim elocutio, quae habet exitus similes, licet sit casuum dissimilitudo." The ears of grammarians must have been morbidly fine to have been offended by 'pyrā' following 'reginā,' especially as the pause in the sense after 'regina' alters the rhythm. It would have been more natural to object to 'erecta . . . secta' in the next line.

505.] Wakef. connects 'ingenti taedis,' rightly, as appears from 6. 214, quoted by Henry, where 'ingentem' must go with 'robore secto.' Otherwise I should incline to Wund. and Wagn.'s construction, which regards 'taedis atque ilice secta' as an instrumental or modal abl. after 'erecta.' 'Taedae,' as Henry reminds us, are not torches, but the wood of the Pinus Taeda. 'Ilice secta,' planks of ilex, like "secta abiete" 2. 16. ['Adque' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

506.] We have already in 2. 236 (where see note) had 'intendere' used of the operation of binding, [or rather, as Henry remarks, of stretching a rope over something.—H. N.] Virg. has here taken a further licence, inverting the expression, so as to put the thing stretched into the instrumental abl., thing over which it is stretched into the acc. This new variety he repeats 5. 503, "intendere bracchia tergo," where however there is probably something more gained by the inversion. 'Frons funerea' e. g. cypresses, pitch-trees, and yews. Comp. 6. 215, "cui frondibus atris Intexunt latera, et feralis ante cupressos Constituunt."

507.] 'Exuvias:' see on v. 426. 'Ensem:' see on v. 646.

508.] We have already had the use of the effigy in incantations for restoring love E. 8. 75. Its use in getting rid of the passion has been adverted to on v. 496. 'Toro,' the "lectus iugalis," v. 496. 'Haud ignara futuri' seems to mean that though her arrangements might seem to her sister to have one object, they were really devised with another. The words are perhaps from Hor. 1 S. 1. 35. ['Haut' Med.—H. N.]

509.] 'Stant' = "constitutae sunt," as in 3. 63. Enchantresses had their hair unbound while performing their incantations, Hor. 1 S. 7. 24. See further on 3. 370. 'Sacerdos' is sufficiently explained from v. 483; but it is used, as Wund. remarks, of enchantresses, as in Val. Fl. 1. 755.

510.] Some of the editors, following a hint of Serv., take 'ter' with 'tonat,' remarking that a hundred is the ordinary number of the gods, while the repetition of an act three times was supposed to have a magical property. But the sense produced is frigid, and contrary to the obvious meaning which the words would suggest; nor is it supported by the imitation in Sil. 1. 94, where, though a hundred is the number of the gods, nothing is said about a threefold invocation. On the other hand Virg. as Wagn. admits, talks of "ter centum delubra" 8. 716 as dedicated by Octavianus after the victory of Actium. If the number is exaggerated, as seems probable, we must attribute it partly to the well-known colloquial use of the

eminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae.
serat et latices simulatos fontis Averni,
ibus et messae ad lunam quaeruntur aënis
ntes herbae nigri cum lacte veneni;
ritur et nascentis equi de fronte revulsus
atri praereptus amor.
mola manibusque piis altaria iuxta,

express a great multitude,
e prejudice, just noticed, in
he number three in magic.
ed to regard 'ter centum' as
corruption, arising from the
minam" at the beginning of
ine.—H. N.] 'Tonare' of
nce 11. 383. 'Erebumque
hows that the invocation was
he infernal gods. Comp. 6.

rgeminus' of Geryon, Lucr.
on 6. 287. Hecate is called
os Orph. Argon. 974 (where
ccasion to read *τρισσοκάρηνος*
, the penult being lengthened
ation, as in *κυνοκέφαλος, τε-
τρικέφαλος*). The same god-
upposed to be Artemis, the
Hecate or Persephone. So 6.
vocans Hecaten, Caeloque
otentem," and Horace's "Diva
(3 Od. 22. 4). 'Tria ora
e three-faced Diana, like
Galaesi" 7. 575 for "Galae-
ore," "squalentia terga la-
. 13 for "lacertus squalenti

Sagana runs "per totam do-
ens Avernalis aquas" (Hor.
, a sort of infernal lustration,
pparently here to that which
ook place at funerals 6. 229
here candidly admits that the
ter used by the priestess was
.
uaeruntur,' like "quaeritur"
e looked after and obtained.
aesitae montibus herbae" 7.
lants were to be poison-plants
cropped by moonlight with
rs. Macrob. Sat. 5. 19 thinks
ot the latter notion from a tra-
ocles, the *Ῥιζοτόμοι*, now lost,
a cuts plants with a brazen
οισιν δρεπάνοις, and pours the
brazen vessel, *χαλκέοισι κά-*
e quotes a passage from the
of a work by Carminius on
Italy, which shows that the use of brazen things in sacrifices was an old Italian custom, "Prius itaque et Tuscos aeneo vomere uti, cum conderentur urbes, solitos in Tageticis eorum sacris invenio, et in Sabinis ex aere cultros quibus sacerdotes tonderentur." Comp. Pers. 2. 59.

514.] 'Pubentes' seems to include the two notions of downiness and luxuriance. "Puberibus caulem foliis" 12. 413. "Pubentis herbas" is read by some MSS. G. 3. 126. 'Nigri cum lacte veneni' is descriptive of the plants, whose juice (so "herbae quarum de lacte soporem Nox legit" Ov. M. 11. 606) is deadly poison. With this use of 'cum' Wagn. comp. "poenas cum sanguine" 2. 72, = "poenas sanguineas."

515.] The ancients believed that foals were born with tubercles on their foreheads, which were bitten off by their dams, and that if the tubercle was previously removed in any other way (as is here supposed to be the case), the dam refused to rear the foal. So Aristot. H. A. 6. 22., 7. 24, Pliny 8. 165. The name given to this flesh was hippomanes, and it was supposed to act as a philtre. In G. 3. 280 we have had a hippomanes of a different kind, though in similar request with enchantresses. [Servius quotes Juv. 6. 616 "cui totam tremuli frontem Caesonia pulli Infudit." 'Revolsus' Med.—H. N.]

516.] 'Amor,' a love-charm, a sense for which no other authority is adduced. [Virg. no doubt uses the word poetically. He is justified in doing so by the fact that the hippomanes was supposed to have the power of inspiring love, to be, in fact, love embodied. Schol. Juv. l. c. "cui (pullo) pilleum vel pellicula erepta praestat amorem."—H. N.]

517.] Dido takes a subordinate part in the ceremony. The 'mola,' or salt barley cake, was broken and thrown into the fire, E. 8. 82. 'Pius' is a constant epithet of things connected with sacrifice: "pia vitta" v. 637 below, "farre pio" 5. 745.

Unum exuta pedem vinclis, in veste recincta,
Testatur moritura deos et conscia fati
Sidera; tum, si quod non aequo foedere amantis
Curae numen habet iustumque memorque, precatur.
Nox erat, et placidum carpebant fessa soporem
Corpora per terras, silvaeque et saeva quierant
Aequora, cum medio volvuntur sidera lapsu,

Here it seems = "purus." The abl. is modal. Comp. Madv. § 257. Med., Pal., Gud. a m. pr. &c. have 'molam,' an easy corruption. Ribbeck recalls it, inserting v. 486 after the present line.

518.] Other writers speak generally of the person performing the incantation as barefooted, Hor. 1 S. 8. 24, Ov. M. 7. 183, where 'nuda pedem' can hardly be understood in a more particular sense. Heyne refers to a passage in Artemidorus, 4. 67, as confirming Virg.'s representation, and says that the single unsandalled foot is found in ancient works of art. The reason Serv. gives, that Dido herself may be loosed from love while Aeneas is bound, seems scarcely adequate, though approved of by Lersch. Antiqq. Vergg. § 68. 'Vincla' of sandals, Ov. F. 5. 432. The loosened dress was another ceremonial and probably symbolical observance, Ov. M. 1. 382., 7. 182. Canidia however in Hor. l. c. is represented "nigra succincta palla." 'In veste' as in 5. 179., 7. 167., 12. 169.

519.] The stars are appealed to as knowing the secrets of destiny, probably that they may witness that she had no choice but to act as she had done. Their knowledge is appealed to somewhat similarly 9. 429, though there it is merely the knowledge which they have as constant spectators of all that is done on earth.

520.] She invokes the gods who watch over unhappy love. ["'Αντέρωτα invocat, contrarium Cupidini, qui amores resolvit, aut certe cui curae est iniquus amor, scilicet ut inplicet non amantem." "Amatoribus praeesse dicuntur Ἔρως Ἀντέρως Λυσέρως." Serv.—H. N.] 'Aequo foedere' is well paralleled by Henry to Theocr. 12. 15, ἀλλήλους δ' ἐφίλησαν ἴσῳ ζύγῳ, of a passion returned, and Martial 4. 13. 8, "Tamque pari semper sit Venus aequa iugo." 'Amantis' are not the two unequally matched lovers, but the class of lovers who have unequal yokefellows. With the general sense Wagn. comp. Ajax's dying appeal in Soph. Aj. 835 foll.

521.] 'Curae habere' occurs Cic. Fam. 8. 8. 10. Suet. Oct. 48.

522—553.] 'Night comes, and brings rest to all but Dido. She lies tossed with distracting thoughts. What shall she do? ally herself with one of her former lovers? throw herself on the compassion of the Trojans? join them alone, or drag the Tyrians with her into a second exile? No, she must die. Would that, instead of listening to her sister, she had barred her heart against love and kept her faith!'

522.] This description of a night where a lover only is wakeful is from Apoll. R. 3. 743. Virg. is more general in his treatment than his prototype, who discriminates the time by saying that the sailors gazed from their ships on Helice and Orion, that wayfarers and porters began to long for sleep, that even bereaved mothers slumbered, and that the barking of dogs was hushed. Comp. also 8. 26, 27., 9. 224, 225, where Virg. repeats himself in a compressed form.

523.] The meaning seems to be that rustling woods and dashing waves are lulled in the windless calm, and that the creatures who inhabit them are asleep. To restrict the meaning to the first sense would be inconsistent with the context, as the animal creation is evidently brought into prominence throughout, as affording a contrast to Dido, while 'saeva' on the other hand shows that the poet was thinking of the waters as they are in themselves, and not merely in relation to their inhabitants. 'Quierant' is not the same as "quiescebant:" it means 'had composed themselves and were at rest.'

524.] 'Cum' seems to refer back to 'nox erat,' as if he had said 'tempus erat cum.' The emphatic word is 'medio;' it is midnight, and the stars are half-way in their course. 'Lapsus' is applied to the stars by Cic. Div. 1. 11.

Cum tacet omnis ager, pecudes pictaeque volucres,
Quaeque lacus late liquidos, quaeque aspera dumis
Rura tenent, somno positae sub nocte silenti
[Lenibant curas, et corda oblita laborum].
At non infelix animi Phoenissa, nec umquam
Solvitur in somnos, oculisve aut pectore noctem
Accipit: ingeminant curae, rursusque resurgens
Saevit amor, magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu.

525.] 'Tacet omnis ager' may refer to ı cessation of the toils of husbandry, ugh it is not to be restricted to that se. The pointing of this line depends the view we take of v. 528: if it is rious, 'pecudes' &c. must be conıected with 'tacet:' if genuine, they n a new sentence as subjects to 'leniit' 'Pecudes pictaeque volucres' G. 243 note.

26.] Virg. seems to have imitated cr. 2. 344,

"Et variae volucres, laetantia quae loca aquarum
Concelebrant circum ripas fontisque lacusque,
Et quae pervolgant nemora avia pervolitantes;"

that Wagn. is doubtless right in mak' 'quaeque—quaeque' epexegetical of ılucres,' though perhaps the general uirements of the sentence, taken alone, ıld be better consulted by giving the ıtive a more extended reference.

527.] 'Positae' i. q. "iacentes," as in 44. Whether 'somno' is the dat., r sleep,' or the abl. 'in' or 'by sleep,' ıot clear. Perhaps 'in sleep' is the st probable, as in the expression "somiacens" E. 6. 14, G. 4. 404, comp. by rb. 'Sub nocte silenti' 7. 87.

528.] This line, which, with the variaı of 'laxabant' for 'lenibant,' occurs in 9. 225, is omitted here by Med., ., and others of the better MSS. er all that has been said, it seems to almost wholly a question of external dence, as the passage would I think equally good with and without it; ugh the pointing, as have been said ve, will have to be differently arranged ording as it is accepted or rejected. e change of 'lenibant' for 'laxabant' y perhaps be, as Forb. contends, a ;ht argument for its genuineness; though 'lenibant' is a word which Virg. might have written, it is no more than might have occurred by a slip of the memory to an ingenious grammarian. On the whole, while considering that the balance of probability is against the verse, I have retained it in brackets, as I have usually done in such cases.

529.] 'At non:' see on G. 3. 349., 4. 530. If we retain v. 528, we supply 'lenibat' &c.: if not, 'tacet' or some equivalent word. [Livy 32. 33 "in bello non congredi aequo campo.... At non antiquos Macedonum reges, sed acie bellare solitos."—H. N.] 'Infelix animi,' like "fidens animi" 2. 61, "dubius animi" G. 3. 289, "victus animi" G. 4. 491. For 'nec' Heins. introduced 'neque,' the first reading of Pal., and supported by the first reading of Med., which is 'naeq.'

530.] 'Solvitur in somnos' like "laxabant membra quiete" 5. 836. 'Oculis aut pectore noctem accipit' seems to be an expression of Virg.'s own. Mr. Tennyson has given us a characteristically beautiful rendering of it (Idylls, p. 29), "ever failed to draw The quiet night into her blood," though his expression suits better the greater passivity of his heroine. Comp. also 9. 326, "toto proflabat pectore somnum."

531.] The stillness of night makes her worse by leaving her to her own thoughts. Comp. 1. 662, "sub noctem cura recursat." The language here and v. 532 is borrowed from a storm; so that we may comp. G. 1. 333, "ingeminant austri et densissimus imber."

532.] Forb. comp. Lucr. 3. 298, "Nec capere irarum fluctus in pectore possunt." Comp. A. 12. 831. It may be doubted whether the subject of 'fluctuat' is 'amor' or Dido herself. Comp. v. 564 below. Catull. 64. 62, "Prospicit et magnis curarum fluctuat undis," which Virg. doubtless imitated, would be in favour of the latter.

Sic adeo insistit, secumque ita corde volutat:
En, quid ago? rursusne procos inrisa priores
Experiar, Nomadumque petam conubia supplex,
Quos ego sim totiens iam dedignata maritos?
Iliacas igitur classis atque ultima Teucrum
Iussa sequar? quiane auxilio iuvat ante levatos,
Et bene aput memores veteris stat gratia facti?
Quis me autem, fac velle, sinet, ratibusve superbis
Invisam accipiet? nescis heu, perdita, necdum
Laomedonteae sentis periuria gentis?

533.] 'Adeo' seems slightly to emphasize 'sic:' 'it is thus that.' 'Insistit' is apparently to be explained from "viam insiste" G. 3. 164, so that it nearly = "incipit." So "institit ore" 12. 47. [Serv. quotes a fragment of Plautus "hunc sermonem institi."—H. N.] 'Secum corde volutat' 1. 50 note.

534.] For 'ago' some MSS. have 'agam:' but 'quid ago' occurs in similar passages 10. 615., 12. 637, and Pers. 3. 5 has "En quid agis?" 'Ago' is rather πράσσω than δρῶ. 'En:' see on E. 1. 68. It is a question whether 'inrisa' refers to her rejection by Aeneas, which might seem a reason for her betaking herself to other suitors, as a celibate life had become henceforward impossible for her, or to the certain derision she would undergo from this abatement of her pride. In the latter case we may comp. 7. 425, "I nunc, ingratis offer te, inrise, periclis," though there also a question may be raised about the precise reference of the word.

535.] 'Experiar' is perhaps not strictly accurate with 'rursus,' as it could be only after Dido's rejection by Aeneas that she could have any doubt of the temper of her former lovers. 'Nomadum' for Africans generally.

536.] 'Sim' Med., Pal., 'sum' Gud. a m. s., &c. The subj. is to be explained like that in 2. 248 note. 'Dedignata' of the act of rejection, as 'totiens' shows.

537.] 'Igitur' implies that a negative answer has been mentally given to the preceding question. 'Ultima Teucrum iussa sequar' is rightly explained by Pomponius Sabinus, who remarks, "puta quod loquatur ad miserationem, quasi quod, si naviget cum Troianis, sit futura serva." 'Ultima' then will = "infima" or "extrema:" see Forcell. So ἔσχατον ἀνδράποδον is found Alciphron Ep. 43. § 4. The Ovidian Dido offers to follow Aeneas in any capacity (Her. 7. 167): Ariadne is willing to be Theseus' handmaid (Catull. 64. 158 foll.). The general thought of Dido accompanying the Trojans is doubtless taken, as Henry remarks, from the example of Medea in Apoll. R. 4. 81 foll. 'Iussa sequi' G. 3. 40. Here 'sequar' is used in its ordinary sense with 'classis,' a somewhat metaphorical one with 'iussa.'

538.] 'Am I to assume that they have any sense of gratitude?' The construction is 'sequarne classis &c. quia iuvat Teucros ante levatos esse auxilio?' Comp. a similar passage in Catull. 64. 180 foll., "An patris auxilium sperem? quemne ipsa reliqui? . . . Coniugis an fido consoler memet amore? Quine fugit?" 'Auxilio levare' 2. 451.

539.] For 'et' a few MSS. give 'aut,' which Heyne adopted. 'Gratia facti' 7. 232. The editors do not say with what word 'bene' is to be taken. The most satisfactory course, so far as ordinary Latinity goes, would be to join it with 'facti,' if the distance between the two could be overlooked. Failing that, it would be possible to construct it with either 'memores' or 'stat.' In the latter case 'bene stat' would mean not 'is firmly fixed,' but 'is kindly entertained,' 'stat' having still the notion of permanence.

540.] 'Me sinet:' comp. G. 4. 7 note. [Pal. originally has 'sinat.'—H. N.] With Ribbeck I have retained 'ratibusve,' the reading of Med., Pal., and others. The later editors generally prefer the other reading 'ratibusque.' In a context like this the copulative and disjunctive come nearly to the same thing.

541.] 'Invisam' was restored for 'inrisam' by Heins. after Pierius from the better MSS., including the first reading of Med. It matters little whether the comma be placed before or after 'heu.'

542.] Comp. G. 1. 502.

Quid tum? sola fuga nautas comitabor ovantis?
An Tyriis omnique manu stipata meorum
Inferar, et, quos Sidonia vix urbe revelli,
Rursus agam pelago, et ventis dare vela iubebo?
Quin morere, ut merita es, ferroque averte dolorem.
Tu lacrimis evicta meis, tu prima furentem
His, germana, malis oneras atque obicis hosti.
Non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine vitam·
Degere, more ferae, talis nec tangere curas!
Non servata fides, cineri promissa Sychaeo!

543.] Some copies read 'euntis,' but rautis' is much stronger, including the tion of triumph as well as that of ordin- r rejoicing. ['Quit' Med. Pal. — N.]

545.] 'Insequar' was read before Heins. rv. recognizes both readings. 'Inferri' ms here to have the sense of attack, e 'inferre signa,' 'pedem,' 'gradum.' enry would take it as simply = "shall e borne, carried on (in my fleet) to ı the fleet of Aeneas?"—H. N.]

46.] 'Agam pelago,' 'drive over the ,' like "agit campo" 10. 540, "aequore › agit" 12. 502.

47.] She turns to herself, as before, v. , afterwards v. 596, 'Ferro averte orem:' see v. 394 above.

48.] 'Prima' does not imply that ers did it afterwards, but that Anna ı the author of the mischief. Comp. 96.

49.] Comp. above vv. 54, 55.

50, 551.] 'Non licuit' is a passionate lamation. We should probably say hy was it not allowed me?' Dido ›ves that she could not live an un- lded life. Probably she is not think- here of Sychaeus, though in the next she bewails her unfaithfulness to his nory. She wishes that she had been ı to a wild life in the woods, like ıilla, without any thought of wedlock. s not constancy to her first mate, but ply wildness, undisturbed by human sions and frailties, that is now in her d. 'More ferae' is startling, but it es to be strange if we understand it, ı Henry, not of a beast's life as con- ted with a man's in respect of the ›n of the sexes, but generally of the of beasts as contrasted with civiliza- and its attendant weaknesses. Ca- a's virginity arose out of her wild : she would not submit to a hus- band's yoke, as her father would not yield to civic restraints, "neque ipse manus feritate dedisset" 11. 568. So Orpheus, obdurate to love after Eury- dice's death, wanders among rocks and snows, G. 4. 507—an instance which may be urged by those who think that 'thalami expertem' is to be understood with Serv., "non omnino, sed post Sy- chaeum." So the saying that a man who delights in solitude must be ἢ θηρίον ἢ θεός. The Greek use of ἄδμητος for unmarried seem indeed to express the main thought which Virg. wished to convey. This may perhaps be a sufficient account of words which have caused so much perplexity, though it would be well if further illustration could be ob- tained. Serv. thinks the reference is to a particular kind of beast, such as a lynx, which, if a quotation which he [and Isid. 12. 2. 20] make from Pliny is to be trusted, after losing its first mate never takes a second. Mr. Long explains 'more ferae' by 'sine crimine,' beasts having no sense of good and evil. Quint. Inst. 9. 2. 64 notes this as an instance of concealed feeling breaking out, Dido, in the very words in which she inveighs against marriage, acknowledging that it is the state for men as men. It matters little whether 'expertem' be taken with 'me' or with 'vitam.' 'Sine crimine' expresses with more self-reproach what is afterwards expressed by 'talis nec tangere curas.' 'Tangere,' to meddle with. Otherwise we might have had "nec talibus tangi curis," comp. 12. 933.

552.] For 'Sychaeo' Med. and some others have 'Sychaei,' which looks like a correction. 'Sychaeus' seems here to be used as an adj., Virg. having taken advan- tage of the adjectival termination. Comp. "laticem Lyaeum" 1. 686. So "Romu- lus," "Dardanus," for "Romuleus,"

Tantos illa suo rumpebat pectore questus.
Aeneas celsa in puppi, iam certus eundi,
Carpebat somnos, rebus iam rite paratis.
Huic se forma dei voltu redeuntis eodem
Obtulit in somnis, rursusque ita visa monere est,
Omnia Mercurio similis, vocemque coloremque
Et crinis flavos et membra decora iuventa:
Nate dea, potes hoc sub casu ducere somnos,
Nec, quae te circum stent deinde pericula, cernis,
Demens, nec Zephyros audis spirare secundos?
Illa dolos dirumque nefas in pectore versat,
Certa mori, variosque irarum concitat aestus.
Non fugis hinc praeceps, dum praecipitare potestas?

"Dardanius." Serv. proposes [as an alternative explanation] to separate 'cineri' from 'Sychaeo,' placing a stop after 'cineri,' 'the faith pledged to the living has not been kept to the dead.' Brunck suggests that 'cineri' may be in apposition to 'Sychaeo,' the dead Sychaeus.

553.] 'Rumpebat questus' like "rumpitque hanc pectore vocem" 3. 246.

554—570.] 'Aeneas was sleeping, ready to sail in the morning, when Mercury appeared to him again, and warned him that if he did not depart at once, Dido in her desperation would attack and fire his ships.'

554.] 'Celsa in puppi' 3. 527. 'Certus' with the gerund is found in poetry and post-Augustan prose.

556.] 'Forma dei' is doubtless meant to distinguish the dream which follows from the actual apparition which we had v. 265 foll. So Serv. on 'visa.'

557.] ['Optulit' Pal.—H. N.]

558.] 'Colorem' indicates beauty, as in E. 2. 17. The turn of the lines is from Il. 23. 66, Πάντ' αὐτῷ, μέγεθός τε καὶ ὄμματα κάλ', εἰκυῖα, Καὶ φωνήν, καὶ τοῖα περὶ χροῒ εἵματα ἕστο.

559.] In Hom. (Il. 24. 347 foll., Od. 10. 277 foll.) Hermes appears in the form of a young man, πρῶτον ὑπηνήτῃ, τοῦπερ χαριεστάτη ἥβη. 'Iuventa' Med., fragm. Vat. The old reading, 'iuventae' (Pal., Gud.), would involve a less usual, though possibly admissible, construction. Ribbeck adopts it.

560.] Perhaps imitated from Il. 2. 20., 23. 69.

561.] 'Circumstent te' was the reading before Heins. 'Deinde' apparently means 'after this time,' so that the expression may be regarded as a condensed one for "quae te circumstent pericula, deinde eruptura," or something of the kind.

562.] He was blind to two things,—his danger, and the favourable opportunity for flight.

563.] There is nothing of this in the speech we have just heard from Dido; but her thoughts were moving fast, and she may not have been harbouring those plans of revenge which breathe through the violent outpouring that succeeds, vv. 490 foll. 'Versare dolos' occurs 2. 62 (note), apparently in not quite the same sense.

564.] "'Certa mori' is added not in order to inform Aeneas of Dido's intended suicide, but to magnify the danger to him from a woman who, being determined to die, would not be prevented by regard for self-preservation from attempting any act, no matter how reckless and desperate." Henry. 'Certus' with inf. occurs in later poets, Ovid, Lucan, Val. Flaccus. 'Variosque irarum concitat aestus' fragm. Vat. (which has 'aestu'), Pal., Gud. The common reading 'varioque irarum fluctuat aestu' (Med. &c.) seems a recollection of v. 532 above, a kind of error to which Med. is especially prone. Comp. 1. 668., 6. 806 &c.

565.] The present is more graphic than the future, Mercury asking Aeneas why his flight is not already begun. Comp. the use of 'quin' with the indicative present. 'Praecipitare' is virtually a repetition of 'fugis praeceps.' For the construction with 'potestas' see on G. 1. 213. Fragm. Vat. originally had 'in' for 'hinc.'

ı mare turbari trabibus, saevasque videbis
lucere faces, iam fervere litora flammis,
e his attigerit terris Aurora morantem.
a age, rumpe moras. Varium et mutabile semper
nina. Sic fatus nocti se inmiscuit atrae.
'um vero Aeneas, subitis exterritus umbris,
ripit e somno corpus sociosque fatigat;
ecipites vigilate, viri, et considite transtris;
/ite vela citi. Deus aethere missus ab alto
tinare fugam tortosque incidere funis
e iterum instimulat. Sequimur te, sancte deorum,
squis es, imperioque iterum paremus ovantes.

'rabibus' are clearly the Car- vessels, not, as Gossrau thinks, and fragments of the Trojan v. 593 below. With 'saevas faces' comp. 1. 525, "prohibe navibus ignis."
'ervĕre' G. 1. 456.
σ' ἡ 'πιοῦσα λαμπὰς ὄψεται θεοῦ ἐντὸς τῆσδε τερμόνων χθονός, 352.
emper' generalizes the senti- ı the counter proverb in Eng- ı were deceivers ever.' With comp. E. 3. 80, "Triste lupus where, however there is no intended, as here there evi-

Jubi se immiscuit atrae" 10. miscuit' Med. and fragm. Vat.

3.] 'Aeneas at once rouses his out to sea forthwith.'
ubitis umbris,' not, as Heyne e sudden return of darkness, ıld be inconsistent with the of a dream as distinguished sion, but simply the sudden the plural being used of a ıntom, as in 5. 81, G. 4. 501 ecline to retract the explana- in the note).
Corripio e stratis corpus" 3. orripere ex somno corpus" 163. 'Fatigat' as in 1. 280 714, as we might say, worries. 'raecipites' refers to 'vigilate e' regarded as one notion, as htly remarks. The confused the expression is in keeping. transtris' 3. 289. ['Trastris' rom the original reading of .—H. N.]

574.] 'Solvere vela' opp. to "legere" 3. 532.

575.] 'Incidere funis' 3. 667. 'Tortos,' not coiled, but twisted. So probably "torta cannabe" Pers. 5. 146.

576.] For 'stimulat' I have restored 'instimulat' from fragm. Vat., Pal., Gud., &c., as the less common word, and so more likely to be corrupted. 'Sancte deorum' is an imitation of Ennius (A. 1. fr. 46), "Respondit Iuno Saturnia, sancta de- arum," which is itself an imitation of δῖα θεάων. An ordinary partitive genitive individualizes some members of a class in order to distinguish them from others: here there is individualization where apparently no division is intended.

577.] There is no reason to suppose that Aeneas had any doubt that it was Mercury whom he had seen, as we are expressly told that the Mercury of the dream was in all respects like the real god. The case is even stronger in 9. 22, where Turnus, having first addressed Iris by name, afterwards says, "Sequor omina tanta, Quisquis in arma vocas;" though there, as possibly here, the doubt may be about the god who had sent down the messenger. But it seems to have been usual to throw in a saving clause, from motives of reverence, in case the speaker should have mistaken the god or addressed him by a name unacceptable to him. Serv. says that the pontiffs were accustomed to pray "Iuppiter omni- potens, vel quo alio nomine appellari volueris," exactly the Ζεὺς ὅστις ποτ' ἐστίν of Aesch. Ag. 160.: comp. 9. 201, and see further Serv. on 2. 351, Gell. 2. 28. Possibly there may be something in another suggestion of Serv. that the doubt is expressed in consequence of the

Adsis o placidusque iuves, et sidera caelo
Dextra feras. Dixit, vaginaque eripit ensem
Fulmineum, strictoque ferit retinacula ferro.
Idem omnis simul ardor habet, rapiuntque ruuntque;
Litora deseruere; latet sub classibus aequor;
Adnixi torquent spumas et caerula verrunt.
 Et iam prima novo spargebat lumine terras
Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile.
Regina e speculis ut primum albescere lucem
Vidit et aequatis classem procedere velis,
Litoraque et vacuos sensit sine remige portus,
Terque quaterque manu pectus percussa decorum
Flaventisque abscissa comas, Pro Iuppiter! ibit

number of gods bearing the same name, e. g. three Mercuries are spoken of. Heyne, who censures the "argutiae" of Serv. and others, can hardly be said to have explained the matter by reminding us that Aeneas only saw the form of Mercury, and had no guarantee for its reality. 'Iterum' refers back to 'iterum instimulat.' Some MSS. however give 'imperioque tuo.' 'Paremus ovantes' 3. 189.

578.] Ἵληθι, ἄναξ, ἵληθι φαανθείς. Apoll. R. 2. 693. "Placidi servate pios" 3. 266. 'Sidera,' apparently from the connexion of the stars with the weather, above v. 309, G. 1. 311 &c. Aeneas then prays that favourable weather may be sent for his voyage. 'Caelo,' in or over the sky.

579.] 'Ensem fulmineum' 9. 441, where, as here, the epithet has some reference to the action of the verb. Comp. 2. 552.

580.] Τόφρα δ' ἐγὼ ξίφος ὀξὺ ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηροῦ Τῷ ἀπὸ πείσματ' ἔκοψα νεὸς κυανοπρῴροιο, Od. 10. 127. Comp. also Apoll. R. 4. 208.

581.] "Idem omnis simal ardor agit," 7. 393. "Sic omnis amor unus habet" 12. 282. 'Rapere' without a case G. 3. 68.

583.] Repeated from 3. 208.

584—629.] 'At dawn Dido looks forth and sees the fleet sailing off. She breaks out into wild rage—asks whether none will give chase—wishes she had torn him and his limb from limb while they were in her power—prays that if he must land in Italy, he may land only to be involved in war, and may perish miserably, and that there may be everlasting hostility between Carthage and Italy.'

584.] Ἠὼς δ' ἐκ λεχέων παρ' ἀγαυοῦ Τιθωνοῖο Ὤρνυθ', ἵν' ἀθανάτοισι φόως φέροι ἠδὲ βροτοῖσιν, Il. 11. 1. Virg. may also have been thinking of Il. 24. 695, Ἠὼς δὲ κροκόπεπλος ἐκίδνατο πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν, as he certainly was of Lucr. 2. 144, "primum Aurora novo cum spargit lumine terras."

585.] Repeated from G. 1. 447.

586.] 'E speculis' = "arce ex summa" above v. 410. Henry comp. 10. 454, "leo, specula cum vidit ab alta." See Apoll. R. 3. 827. For 'primum' Pal. and Gud. a m. pr. and one or two others have 'primam;' but 'ut primum' is sufficiently common in Virg., who would probably have avoided using 'primam' so soon after v. 584.

587.] 'Aequatis velis,' the fleet going immediately before the wind, which fills all the sails equally. Heyne comp. 5. 844, "aequatae spirant aurae:" also ib. 232, "aequatis cepissent praemia rostris." Thus we do not want C. F. Hermann's ingenious conjecture 'arquatis,' which Ladewig adopts.

588.] 'Vacuos sine remige' is of course pleonastic, or, if we please, a sort of confusion of 'sine remige' and 'vacuos remige.' Wagn. comp. Il. 21. 50, γυμνὸν ἄτερ κόρυθός τε καὶ ἀσπίδος, οὐδ' ἔχεν ἔγχος, Sil. 10. 582, "vacuum sine corpore nomen," the last doubtless an imitation of Virg.

589.] Comp. 1. 481.

590.] For 'abscissa' many MSS. [but none of the uncials] have 'abscisa;' see, however, on G. 2. 23. "Abscindere

Hic, ait, et nostris inluserit advena regnis?
Non arma expedient, totaque ex urbe sequentur,
Diripientque rates alii navalibus? Ite,
Ferte citi flammas, date tela, inpellite remos!—
Quid loquor? aut ubi sum? Quae mentem insania mutat?
Infelix Dido! nunc te facta impia tangunt? 596

vestem" of rending the clothes 5. 685. For this use of the past part. with a quasi-present force comp. G. 1. 293 note. Perhaps it is best to say that the past sense is preserved, but that it refers to the time *immediately* preceding the present, like the Greek aorist in ἔκοψα, ἐπῄνεσα &c. The passive too seems to be used like the Greek middle.

591.] For the force of 'inluserit' see on 2. 581. 'Advena' applied again to Aeneas, 12. 261, being in fact the unfavourable synonyme of 'hospes.'

592.] 'Arma,' not naval accoutrements, but arms (see v. 594), as Wund. rightly contends, observing that some are to prepare for fighting while others get the ships ready. For 'alii' not preceded by 'alii' he comp. Caes. B. G. 1. 8, "Helvetii . . . navibus iunctis ratibusque compluribus factis, alii vadis Rhodani . . . si perrumpere possent, conati."

593.] ['Diripient;' see on 1. 211.—H. N.] Bentley remarks that the Latin poets generally disliked a full stop at the end of the fifth foot. The present case is an exception which proves the rule, the whole passage being intentionally made more abrupt and broken than usual.

594.] One MS. and some grammarians give 'date vela,' which was generally adopted before Wagn. It would naturally strike a copyist as the more familiar expression: he might fancy it more suited to the context: he might be anxious to complete the variation from the parallel line 9. 37, "Ferte citi ferrum, date tela, ascendite muros." Dido however wants weapons to engage the Trojans as well as fire to burn their ships, nor would she be likely in her haste to speak of both sailing and rowing. ['Impellite' Pal.—H. N.]

595.] A momentary return to calmness. 'Mentem' probably in its ordinary sense, though it might virtually = "sanam mentem" or "sapientiam."

596.] 'Fata' was the old reading before Heins., 'fata impia' being supposed to mean 'cruel fate,' which it could scarcely do. It is still a question whether 'facta impia' is said by Dido of herself or of Aeneas. The latter is supported by Dido's language v. 496 above, and by Tibull. 3. 6. 42, quoted by Wagn., "ingrati referens impia facta viri," of Theseus' desertion of Ariadne. But in this case it is difficult to explain the next line, the full construction of which must be 'Tum decuit (facta impia tangere te) cum sceptra dabas.' Dido had no reason to think Aeneas treacherous when she offered him a share in the crown: he had treated no one else with the same perfidy. Wagn. attempts to get over this by understanding 'tum decuit' "you should have suspected him then;" but the question recurs, had he given ground for suspicion? The very next words seem to say that all his previous actions had been in his favour, and that his present faithfulness makes her disbelieve that they ever took place. Her regret for not having slain him, vv. 600 foll. refers not to the time of her welcoming him, but to that of her becoming first aware of his treachery, as 'moritura' v. 604 shows. It seems better then to understand 'facta impia' of Dido's own faithlessness to the memory of Sychaeus, with Henry, who comp. Medea's self-reproach, Apoll. R. 4. 412, ἐπεὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀάσθην Ἀμπλακίῃ, θεόθεν δὲ κακὰς ἤνυσσα μενοινάς, and Deianira's "Impia quid dubitas Deianira mori?" Ov. Her. 9. 146. It may seem indeed that Ovid himself sanctions this interpretation, as his preceding line is "Ei mihi! quid feci? quo me furor egit amantem?" which may be an imitation of v. 595. Heyne, who also refers 'facta impia' to Dido, thinks she is struck with horror at her wish to avenge herself on her lover, and then wishes that her moral sense had been as keen earlier: but this is far less likely, and scarcely consistent with the access of fury v. 600, or indeed with the tone of the whole speech, which, tempestuous as it is, gives no sign of relenting towards Aeneas. For 'nunc' Probus and Cledonius quote the passage

Tum decuit, cum sceptra dabas.—En dextra fidesque,
Quem secum patrios aiunt portare Penatis,
Quem subiisse umeris confectum aetate parentem!
Non potui abreptum divellere corpus et undis
Spargere? non socios, non ipsum absumere ferro
Ascanium, patriisque epulandum ponere mensis?—
Verum anceps pugnae fuerat fortuna.—Fuisset;
Quem metui moritura? Faces in castra tulissem,
Inplessemque foros flammis, natumque patremque
Cum genere exstinxem, memet super ipsa dedissem.—
Sol, qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras,

with 'num.' Some of the editors have put a period after 'tangunt,' but the interrogation is better.

597.] 'Tum' Med., 'tunc' Pal., Gud. See on v. 408. "Tum decuit metuisse tuis" 10. 94. 'En dextra fidesque:' comp. v. 314 above.

598.] We may either supply 'eius' before 'quem,' or say that 'dextra fidesque' is virtually equivalent to 'vir fidelis.' Aeneas describes himself similarly 1. 378, where 'fama super aethera notus' may be called the grandiloquent equivalent to the sarcastic 'aiunt' here. 'Portasse' is the reading of Med. and another MS., but it is apparently an alteration by some one who did not appreciate the sarcasm of the present—'who is said always to carry about with him'—or remember Aeneas' words just referred to.

599.] 'Subiisse umeris' 2. 708. 'Umero' is the first reading of Pal. The accusative is similarly used after 'subire' 12. 899. "Confecto aetate parenti" Catull. 68. 118.

600.] Dido asks whether she had not the power, inquiring by implication why she did not use it. She says she might have acted like Agave, or like Procne (v. 602). But 'non potui' may be taken like "non licuit" v. 550. 5. 82, not as a question but as an ejaculation, 'that I should not have had the heart,' = 'why had I not the heart?' 'potui' being understood as in 7. 309 &c. 'Undis spargere:' comp. 3. 605. ['Devellere' Pal.—H. N.]

601.] 'Absumere ferro' 9. 494.

603, 604.] ['Fuerat,' 'fuisset,' 'metui.' Conington said that 'fuerat' stands for "fuisset," 'metui' for "metuissem." The passage, however, requires a closer analysis. 'Fuerat' no doubt = "fuisset," as "impulerat" in 2. 55 stands for "impulisset." The reason, however, why Virg. here wrote 'fuerat' is probably that it was in this way only that he could bring out the contrast with 'fuisset': 'It would have been: supposing that it had been.' 'Fuisset'—'fuisset' would have been weak and uncertain in such a clause. 'Metui,' on the other hand, does not stand for "metuissem," but expresses the actual state of the case—'whom did I fear, as I was going to certain death?' In other words, 'there *was* no one for me to fear.'—H. N.] 'Castra:' the military term is transferred to naval matters, as in 3. 519. ['Tulissem' = "debui ferre."—H. N.]

605.] Possibly the contracted forms 'inplessem,' 'extinxem,' are meant to be in keeping with Dido's excitement. ['Implessem' Med.—H. N.]

606.] 'Cum genere,' with the whole race of Trojans. 'Memet dedissem:' comp. 2. 566, "corpora . . . ignibus aegra dedere." Dido would have flung herself on the funeral pile, like Eriphyle. Virg. was thinking of Apoll. R. 4. 391, *ἵετο δ' ἥγε Νῆα καταφλέξαι, διά τ' ἔμπεδα πάντα κεάσσαι, Ἐν δὲ πεσεῖν αὐτὴ μαλερῷ πυρί.*

607.] *Ἠέλιός θ', ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις*, Il. 3. 277. Virg. does not say as much as Homer, but he implies no less. The sun is invoked as throwing his light on everything, and consequently as knowing all that is done. 'Opera omnia terrarum,' all that is done on earth, not, as Heyne appears to think, of the cultivated parts of the earth (his note is "'terrarum opera' ut *ἔργα*, proprie de cultis locis"). With this half-local use of 'terrarum' comp. Aesch. Ag. 1. 579, *θεοὺς ἄνωθεν γῆς ἐποπτεύειν ἄχη.*

Tuque harum interpres curarum et conscia Iuno,
Nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes,
Et Dirae ultrices, et di morientis Elissae,
Accipite haec, meritumque malis advertite numen,
Et nostras audite preces. Si tangere portus
Infandum caput ac terris adnare necesse est,
Et sic fata Iovis poscunt, hic terminus haeret:
At bello audacis populi vexatus et armis,

608.] ['Interpres seems here to mean, as Serv. says, "curarum coniugalium media et conciliatrix." "Veteres enim," he continues, "interpretem conscium et auctorem dicebant: Plautus in Milite (4. 1. 5) 'quae mihi condicio nova et luculenta offertur per me interpretem.' Idem in Curculione (3. 64) 'quod te praesente hic egit teque interprete.'" He also quotes from Cicero (Verr. Act. 1. 12) "interpretes corrumpendi iudicii." — H. N.] Juno had presided over the union of hearts, and so could do justice to the feelings of each, and in fact judge between them. 'Conscia' nearly as in v. 167 above.

609.] 'Ululata,' celebrated with the ὀλολυγμός. The word is similarly used by Stat. Theb. 3. 158. Hecate was called Trivia as being invoked in the crossways. The word however may have reference to the howling of Hecate's dogs: see on 6. 257.

610.] 'Dirae ultrices' 4. 473 above. 'Di morientis Elissae' seems to refer to the Roman notion that each person had a presiding deity, who was called Genius in the case of a man, Juno in that of a woman. One belief seems to have been that this deity was twofold, which would account for 'Di,' and for the habitual use of 'Manes' for the spirit of a single person. The custom of erecting two altars to a dead person (3. 63 note) points the same way. What precise notion of twofold personality may have been at the bottom of this seems hard to say: but we may compare the Etruscan conception of the gods as both male and female, or as existing in pairs. ['Dii' Pal.—H. N.]

611.] "Accipite haec animis laetasque advertite mentis" 5. 305, so that 'accipite haec' here virtually = 'nostras audite preces.' 'Meritum' seems to be passive, 'numen' containing implicitly the notion of wrathful regard, for which we are prepared also by the position of 'meritum' before 'malis.' [Hor. Epod. 5. 54 "nunc in hostiles domos Iram atque numen vertite."—H. N.] 'Malis,' evil things (Wagn.), not evil persons (Heyne). 'Let your power stoop to the ills that call it down.'

612.] 'Tangere portus' G. 1. 303. The wish is modelled on Polyphemus' prayer Od. 9. 532 foll.

613.] The circumlocution 'caput' may be used because the head was the object commonly devoted in an imprecation, which is what Dido is virtually uttering. 'Terris adnare' seems to imply difficulty of landing: comp. 1. 538., 6. 358 ['Necessest' Med.—H. N.]

614.] 'Fata Iovis:' see on 3. 251, 376, and comp. "fata deum" 2. 54. It is the Homeric Διὸς αἶσα, Il. 17. 321. 'Hic' is emphatic, οὕτως ὥρισται. Comp. 3. 376, "is vertitur ordo." 'Terminus haeret' is from Lucr. 1. 77, 'terminus' having here its sense extended like that of ὅρος, so as to mean a decree. Attius talked of "fatorum terminus," and Hor. Carm. Saec. 26 uses "stabilis rerum terminus" in connexion with the fates. For 'sic' some have 'si,' which is obviously inferior.

615.] Virg. has doubtless framed Dido's imprecations so that, while intended by her to be all that is dreadful, they should be susceptible of a much more endurable fulfilment. The imprecation of Polyphemus in Homer is something of the same kind: there however the relief is found in the fact that the curse only extends to Ulysses' arrival at home, and so is not incompatible with his subsequent triumph over his enemies. Dido is more unrelenting: she prays that he may have to fight, to leave his settlement and his son, implore foreign aid, submit to a disgraceful peace, die prematurely, and be deprived of burial. Aeneas does meet with opposition (Book 7): he has to leave Ascanius in the camp and entreat aid from Evander (Books 8 and 9): the final peace involves concessions to the Latins and the extinction of the Trojan name (Book 12): while his death, according to one legend, which Virg. probably followed

Finibus extorris, complexu avolsus Iuli,
Auxilium inploret, videatque indigna suorum
Funera; nec, cum se sub leges pacis iniquae
Tradiderit, regno aut optata luce fruatur;
Sed cadat ante diem mediaque inhumatus harena.
Haec precor, hanc vocem extremam cum sanguine fundo.
Tum vos, o Tyrii, stirpem et genus omne futurum
Exercete odiis, cinerique haec mittite nostro
Munera. Nullus amor populis, nec foedera sunto.
Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor,
Qui face Dardanios ferroque sequare colonos,
Nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore vires.

(see 1. 265), happened when he had reigned only three years, when his body, if not left 'media harena,' did not meet with burial, being swallowed up in the Numicius, or, according to another account, not being found after a battle. Yet Aeneas' career after reaching Italy would have been felt to be a prosperous one, just as the Romans of Virg.'s day would feel that the eternal feud between Troy and Carthage, and the actual appearance of the threatened avenger, were not painful but glorious recollections. The Sibyl, however (6. 83 foll.), takes a similar, though less gloomy view of Aeneas' future in Italy. These lines, as is well known, had a more terrible fulfilment in our own history in the case of Charles the First, who opened upon them when he consulted the Sortes Vergilianae in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. 'At' after 'si,' G. 4. 241. The epithet 'audax' is given four times to Turnus in the later books (7. 409., 9. 3, 126., 10. 276), once to the Rutulians generally (9. 519). 'Bello et armis' 1. 545.

616.] 'Finibus extorris' may be compared with such expressions as ἄλυτος ἄτης in Greek poetry: but we have "extorris agro," "patria" &c., in prose. [' Conplexu' Pal.—H. N.]

617.] 'Indigna funera" like "indigna morte" 6. 163. [' Imploret' Med.—H. N.]

618.] "Pacis dicere leges" 12. 112. ['Pax iniqua' is a peace whose terms are humiliating: just as in the case of "civitates foederatae" a "foedus iniquum" was a compact which contained clauses humiliating to the "civitas foederata." Reid on Cic. pro. Balbo, p. 17.—H. N.]

619.] 'Optata' seems to be a general epithet, like "caeli iucundum lumen" 6. 363. On the apparent contradiction in 6. 764 to the fulfilment of this part of the prayer see note there.

620.] 'Ante diem' below v. 697. It is coupled with 'inhumatus,' both expressing the circumstances attending death, though of course 'inhumatus,' if pressed, would involve a ὕστερον πρότερον.

622.] 'Tum,' in the next place.

623.] Heyne is doubtless right in suspecting that in using the expression 'exercete odiis' Virg. was thinking of the more common phrase "exercere odia in aliquem," at the same time that he meant the words to bear their natural meaning. Wund. comp. G. 4. 453, "Non te nullius exercent numinis irae."

624.] 'Be such the funeral offerings you send down to my dust below.' See on G. 4. 520. 'Mittite' 6. 380, G. 4. 545. Dido means that she hopes the news will reach her in her grave, as Forb. explains it. Comp. v. 387 above.

625.] Forb. remarks that 'exoriare aliquis' is more vivid and forcible than 'exoriatur aliquis' would have been. Huschke on Tibull. 1. 6. 39 comp. passages from the comedians where an imperative plural is followed by "aliquis," as Ter. Adelph. 4. 4. 25, "aperite aliquis actutum ostium." — The reference to Hannibal need hardly be pointed out. 'Nostris ex ossibus' merely means that her death is to produce an avenger, as it has been said that Marius sprung from the blood of the Gracchi.

626.] 'Face ferroque' is a variety for "ferro atque igni."

627.] 'Nunc, olim' is similarly used by Lucan 9. 603, 'Now or hereafter, I care not when.' 'Dabunt se' means apparently little more than 'dabuntur.'

Litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas
Inprecor, arma armis ; pugnent ipsique nepotesque.
Haec ait, et partis animum versabat in omnis,
Invisam quaerens quam primum abrumpere lucem.
Tum breviter Barcen nutricem adfata Sychaei ;
Namque suam patria antiqua cinis ater habebat :
Annam cara mihi nutrix huc siste sororem ;
Dic corpus properet fluviali spargere lympha,
Et pecudes secum et monstrata piacula ducat ;

Virg. is thinking, as Serv. remarks, of the three Punic wars, as if Carthage broke out into war as often as it had gained strength.

628.] Dido concludes her imprecation by praying that the enmity of the two countries may be as thorough as it is lasting. Perhaps we may say that she expresses herself as if she wished their opposition in situation (1. 13.) to symbolize their inward hostility. To suppose with Serv. that there is a reference to the terms of treaty between the two nations, forbidding them to approach each other's coasts, &c., would only weaken the force of a grand peroration.

629.] 'Nepotesque' Med., 'nepotes' Gud. In Pal. 'que' is nearly erased. The change was evidently made to avoid the hypermeter. 'Ipsique nepotesque'—the present generation of Tyrians and Trojans and all that follow them. The prayer is that hostility may begin at once and never cease; another way of putting 'stirpem et genus omne futurum Exercete odiis.' Wagn., Forb., and Gossrau refer the words exclusively to the Trojans and their Roman descendants, supposing Dido to wish that the nation may be cursed with perpetual war. But a thought so weighty would not have been included in a single hemistich, nor can 'pugnent' well stand, apart from the context, for "bello aeterno exerceantur:" while Gossrau's attempt to give the sense to the previous sentence, which he would commence with v. 627—'Whenever the Romans shall gain strength, let them find themselves with the whole world in arms against them'—though ingenious, is by no means natural.

630—641.] 'Wishing to put an end to life at once, she sends away Sychaeus' nurse, who was with her, telling her to fetch her sister, who is to bring with her all that remains for the completion of the magic ceremony.'

630.] Comp. vv. 285, 286 above.

631.] 'Abrumpere vitam" occurs 8. 579., 9. 497, perhaps with a reference to the thread of life. 'Αποῤῥῆξαι βίον, πνεῦμα &c. are found in Greek (Eur. Or. 864 &c.).

632.] Serv. reminds us that Barca was the name of Hannibal's family. ['Sychaei est' Med.—H. N.]

633.] Heyne and others have suspected this line without reason. 'Suam' is peculiar, but not unexampled (see Madvig, § 490. b.) and was doubtless used partly for the sake of emphasis, partly as the only pronoun of the third person. 'Patria antiqua' is like "coniugis antiqui" v. 458 above. 'Cinis ater habebat' is a confusion between 'tellus habebat' and 'ea cinis erat' the natural identification of the human dust with the dust of earth. So the Greek κόνις, doubtless the same word as 'cinis,' is used of both, though such expressions as ἥδε κέκευθε κόνις (Thuc. 6. 59) in epitaphs do not prove, as Wagn. and Forb. appear to think, that the Greeks talked of a man as interred in his ashes. The line is a touch of circumstantial detail, which may very well have been invented by Virg. to give verisimilitude to his narrative, though it is possible that the legend may have mentioned the death of Dido's nurse.

634.] 'Mihi' doubtless with 'siste,' as Wakef. takes it. To connect it with 'cara' would have a long-drawn effect: nor is it likely that any emphasis should be intended, as Forb. thinks, as if Dido meant to say, 'I love you as well as Sychaeus did, though you are not my own nurse.'

635.] "Corpusque recenti Spargit aqua" 6. 635. The necessity of cleansing before approaching the gods is well known: comp. 2. 719 &c. Here 'spargere' seems to show that sprinkling with a lustral branch is intended, not bathing.

636.] "Monstratas excitat aras" G. 4.

Sic veniat; tuque ipsa pia tege tempora vitta.
Sacra Iovi Stygio, quae rite incepta paravi,
Perficere est animus, finemque inponere curis,
Dardaniique rogum capitis permittere flammae.
Sic ait. Illa gradum studio celerabat anili.
At trepida, et coeptis immanibus effera Dido,
Sanguineam volvens aciem, maculisque trementis
Interfusa genas, et pallida morte futura,
Interiora domus inrumpit limina, et altos

549. 'Enjoined' in this case by the priestess. 'Ducat' may have its sacrificial sense: comp. G. 2. 395. "Duc nigras pecudes: ea prima piacula sunto" (6. 153) is probably an exact parallel to Virg.'s words here, in sense as well as in language. The 'pecudes' are doubtless black cattle, being offered to Pluto (v. 638), the whole ceremony, as has been remarked on v. 496, partaking of the character of a sham funeral. Possibly the 'piacula' may be identical with the 'pecudes.'

637.] 'Sic' is emphatic: 'thus and only thus'—when she has done this and not till then, Dido's object of course being to gain time, while she professes to be anxious for her sister's presence. Serv. says well, "'Sic,' quemadmodum praeceptum est, ne praetermitteret aut praecederet," and adds, not less well, that the injunction to Barce to get a fillet for herself is given "ut et ipsa tardaret." 'Tege,' as the fillet would probably not be a mere wreath, but have its ends hanging down (Dict. A. 'vitta'). "Crinis umbrosa tegebat harundo" 8. 34. Comp. the use of 'velo' 3. 174.

638.] 'Quae rite incepta paravi' = 'quae rite paravi et incepi.' The two words are thus contrasted with 'perficere.' For the fact see vv. 504 foll. 'Iovi Stygio' is as old as Homer, who talks of Ζεὺς καταχθόνιος Il. 9. 457.

639.] "Susceptum perfice munus" 6. 629. The word is used of offerings also 3. 178, 548., 6. 637., 8. 307. 'Est animus' 11. 325 &c. ['Perficerest' Pal.—H. N.]

640.] 'Dardanii capitis' like "infandum caput" v. 613, the circumlocution being perhaps adopted for a similar reason. 'Rogum' with 'capitis.' "Bene suum rogum illius dicit, ne suspicionem faciat." Serv.

641.] For 'celerabat' Serv. mentions another reading, 'celebrabat,' which is found in Pal., Gud. a m. pr. and Med. a m. s., and adopted by Ribbeck. In 5. 609 'celebrans' is the original reading of Med. Attius appears to have used 'celeber' or some word connected with it in the sense of 'celer,' though Serv. and Nonius p. 89, who attest the fact, differ in their citations of the passage. 'Anili' is the reading of Med. and the majority of the MSS., 'anilem' being found in Gud. (from a correction) and some others, and supported by 'inilem,' the original reading of Pal. Ambrose (De Abrah. 1. 8) seems to have read the latter, Serv. and Aelius Donatus (on Ter. Eun. 5. 3) the former. With Ribbeck I have followed Heyne, as against most of the later editors, in reading 'anili,' chiefly on the ground of external evidence. The sense is rightly given by Serv. "pro industria qua utuntur aniculae"—she made such haste as an old woman would, her intentions being doubtless better than her powers. Perhaps Virg. was thinking of Euryclea at the beginning of Od. 23.

642—662.] 'When the nurse was gone, Dido mounts the pile and draws the sword. She says a few words, reviewing her life and pronouncing it happy and glorious but for this last sorrow, and plunges it into her bosom.'

642.] Her eyes are bloodshot, and red spots are burning on each cheek. Peerlkamp compares the appearances on the faces of the victims of the guillotine in France. Val. Fl. 2. 104, in an imitation of this passage, speaks of Venus in an infuriate mood as "maculis suffecta genas."

644.] "Pallentem morte futura" 8. 709, of Cleopatra. The sense of coming death makes her pale, casting as it were its shadow before. Cerda comp. Lucan 7. 129, "multorum pallor in ore Et mors ventura est [al. Mortis venturae], faciesque simillima fato."

645.] She had been in her palace-tower

Conscendit furibunda rogos, ensemque recludit
Dardanium, non hos quaesitum munus in usus.
Hic, postquam Iliacas vestes notumque cubile
Conspexit, paulum lacrimis et mente morata,
Incubuitque toro, dixitque novissima verba:
Dulces exuviae, dum fata deusque sinebat,
Accipite hanc animam, meque his exsolvite curis.
Vixi, et, quem dederat cursum fortuna, peregi;
Et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.

(v. 586), from which she now apparently descends. The pile was under the 'impluvium:' see on v. 494. The plural 'altos rogos' seems merely poetical.

646.] "Ense recluso" 9. 423.

647.] The difficulty of this line is well known. Its natural meaning is that the sword had been procured for or begged by Dido (according to the sense we give to 'quaesitum') as a present to herself from Aeneas. So the ancients seem themselves to have understood the passage, Ov. Her. 7. 184 foll. and Sil. 8. 148, speaking of Dido as slaying herself with the sword Aeneas had given her—if indeed the coincidence does not show that this was one of the points of the legend. Yet this seems inconsistent with the words of v. 507, which can hardly be understood of a thing which did not belong to Aeneas at the time of his departure. The alternative seems to be to suppose the sword to have been Dido's present to Aeneas, already mentioned v. 261 foll., which he may be assumed to have left behind him in his haste. 'Quaesitum' then would have to mean 'procured,' as Aeneas was not likely to have begged for it. In that case however we should have expected Virg. to have made more of the thought of Dido perishing by her own gift. On the whole I incline to the first interpretation, while professing myself unable to reconcile it satisfactorily with v. 507. Possibly it may be another instance of "Vergilius aliquando dormitans." The objection that a sword was not a natural present to a lady may or may not be valid in itself, but it proves nothing against the probability of the interpretation, as Ov. and Sil. clearly did not feel it.

648.] 'Hic' probably of time, as in 2. 122., 3. 369 &c., rather than of place. 'Vestes' are doubtless the 'exuviae,' vv. 496, 507, the garments left by Aeneas, not, as Heyne thinks, the presents originally given her by Aeneas, 1. 648 foll. 'Notumque cubile' v. 496.

649.] 'Lacrimis et mente' seems to be a modal abl., as we might say 'she paused awhile to weep and think,' or 'for tears and thought,' so that we may comp. 5. 207, "magno clamore morantur." Val. Fl. 2. 169 (quoted by Forb.), in an imitation of the present passage, has "lacrimisque iterum visuque morantur," of the Lemnian women before leaving their homes.

650.] So Deianira slays herself on her nuptial bed Soph. Trach. 912 foll. 'Dixitque novissima verba' 6. 231.

651.] 'Dear while fate and heaven allowed.' 'Sinebat' Med., Pal. a m. pr., 'sinebant' fragm. Vat., Pal. a m. s. On the whole Wagn. seems right in preferring the singular, as 'fata deusque' evidently make one notion.

652.] 'Animam dare' is a common phrase for dying, 10. 854, G. 4. 204 &c., so that 'accipere animam' may be used correlatively of the spot where a person dies.

653.] Comp. 3. 493 note, and, for 'vixi,' 9. 862, and the well-known 'vixi' of Hor. 3 Od. 29. 43. ['Quem dederat' &c. Henry comp. Cic. Mil. 35 "quemcunque cursum fortuna dederit."—H. N.]

654.] Henry comp. Turnus' language 12. 648, "Sancta ad vos anima atque istius inscia culpae Descendam, magnorum haud unquam indignus avorum." 'Magna' seems to include the notion of size greater than life (2. 773 note), as well as that of queenly majesty. 'Sub terras' may be illustrated by the Greek καταχθόνιος. Some have wished that this line should be placed before v. 657, so as to close Dido's enumeration of her actions; but independently of the authority of the MSS., which is unequivocal, with the exception mentioned in the next note, it is easy to see that as a matter of taste the present arrangement is preferable. Dido first says that she has lived her life, and will die a queen, and then briefly

Urbem praeclaram statui; mea moenia vidi;
Ulta virum, poenas inimico a fratre recepi;
Felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum
Numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae!
Dixit, et, os inpressa toro, Moriemur inultae?
Sed moriamur, ait. Sic, sic iuvat ire sub umbras.
Hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis ab alto
Dardanus, et nostrae secum ferat omina mortis.
Dixerat; atque illam media inter talia ferro
Conlapsam aspiciunt comites, ensemque cruore

but with dignity enumerates her actions as if she were writing an epitaph, adverting at the close to the one cloud on her history. 'Mei imago:' see Madvig § 297. b. obs. 1.

655.] "Urbem quam statuo" 1. 573. 'Mea moenia:' comp. 1. 437, "O fortunati quorum iam moenia surgunt." Possibly there may be an implied taunt against her wandering lover, whose city is still to build. Some MSS. reverse the order of this and the following line, "non male," says Ribbeck: but Dido follows the natural order of her own thoughts, not the order of time. Serv. strangely constructs 'statui' with 'vidi' as pass. inf.

656.] 'Recipere' is used of receiving the proceeds of anything (see Forc.), so that the transfer of it to the receipt of a penalty or satisfaction is not unnatural. Burm. very ingeniously conj. 'Poenos.'

657.] The construction is carried on from the preceding line. With the form of expression comp. E. 6. 45. Virg. was thinking of Catull. 64. 171, "Iuppiter omnipotens, utinam ne tempore primo Gnosia Cecropiae tetigissent litora puppes," and perhaps of Apoll. R. 4. 33.

659.] Dido kisses the couch like Medea Apoll. R. 4. 26. See on 2. 490. The imitation in Prop. 2. 9. 1, "Sic igitur prima moriere aetate, Properti? Sed morere," seems to show that we had better place a question after 'inultae' gains a force from 'ulta virum.' Having boasted of revenge, she would naturally feel the grief of being obliged to forego it.

660.] Dryden's lines are a good comment on Virg.:

> 'And must I die? she said,
> And unrevenged? 'tis doubly to be dead;
> Yet e'en this death with pleasure I receive:
> On any terms, 'tis better than to live.'

Serv. is probably right in supposing that in saying 'sic, sic' she twice stabs herself. 'Sic' goes with 'ire,' as in 10. 641, "sic itur ad astra." 'This, this is the road by which I love to go down to the shades.' 'Iuvat ire' 2. 27, of a pleasure-journey. ['Set' Med. 'Moriamur' fragm. Vat. originally.—H. N.]

661.] 'Hauriat,' as we might say, let him drink his fill. Comp. 12. 945. 'Hunc,' not, which I light now, but which will be lighted when I am dead. See on 5. 4.

662.] 'Dardanus' contemptuous: comp. 12. 14. 'Omnia:' "bene infausta omina imprecatur ei qui ad novi regni auspicia properat." Serv. Med. gives 'secum nostrae.'

663—692.] 'The alarm is given: it spreads through the city: her sister hears it and rushes to the spot, exclaiming vehemently against the cruel deceit, while she tries to staunch the wound: Dido struggles between death and life.'

663.] ['Adque' fragm. Vat.—H. N.] "Media inter talia verba" 12. 318. Some MSS. give 'mediam,' which Brunck adopts, connecting it with 'ferro conlapsam.' 'Ferro' = 'in ferrum,' 'ferro conlapsam' being probably a translation of such expressions as πεπτῶτα περὶ ξίφει (Soph. Aj. 828), φασγάνῳ περιπτυχής (ib. 899). Henry's 'collapsed in consequence of the sword-wound' is less likely.

664.] 'Comites,' her attendants, who were about the pile, but doubtless did not approach near it, as her sister or her nurse might have done. Serv. says, "Non induxit occidentem se, sed ostendit occisam: et hoc tragico (tragicorum?) fecit exemplo, apud quos non videtur quemadmodum fit caedes, sed facta narratur." ['Conlabsam' Med., Pal., and fragm. Vat. —H. N.]

Spumantem, sparsasque manus. It clamor ad alta
Atria; concussam bacchatur Fama per urbem.
Lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu
Tecta fremunt; resonat magnis plangoribus aether.
Non aliter, quam si inmissis ruat hostibus omnis
Karthago aut antiqua Tyros, flammaeque furentes
Culmina perque hominum volvantur perque deorum.
Audiit exanimis, trepidoque exterrita cursu
Unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora pugnis
Per medios ruit, ac morientem nomine clamat.
Hoc illud, germana, fuit? me fraude petebas?
Hoc rogus iste mihi, hoc ignes araeque parabant?
Quid primum deserta querar? comitemne sororem
Sprevisti moriens? Eadem me ad fata vocasses;

665.] 'Spargere' is so frequently used of sprinkling with blood that it can hardly bear any other sense in a context like this, so that we do not need Henry's ingenious vindication of Serv.'s other interpretation "morte resolutas," hands thrown apart in death. 'It,' from the 'comites.' With the passage generally Cerda comp. 2. 486 foll.

666.] "Fama concutit urbem et per eam bacchatur." Fame is personified as above vv. 173, 298.

668.] 'Tecta' would seem to refer to other houses, not to the palace: but the point is very doubtful; comp. 12. 607. The house itself is said 'fremere,' as it is said "ululare" 2. 488. 'Fremere' of grief 6. 175. "Plangore magno" Lucr. 5. 972, comp. by Forb. Wund. takes the word here strictly of beating the breast; but a comparison of 2. 487 will show that this can scarcely be pressed. Pal. and a few others have 'clangoribus.'

669.] The cry in the streets is as if the city were being sacked. The simile, as Macrob. Sat. 4. 6 observes, is from Hom. Il. 22. 410, where it is said of the lamentation for Hector τῷ δὲ μάλιστ' ἄρ' ἔην ἐναλίγκιον, ὡς εἰ ἅπασα Ἴλιος ὀφρυόεσσα πυρὶ σμύχοιτο κατ' ἄκρης. 'Ruat' of a sacked city 2. 363. There is a significance in the words 'if Carthage should one day fall' in the mouth of a Roman. Pal. originally had 'ruit . . . volvuntur.' ['Immissis' Med. and fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

670.] 'Antiqua' probably as distinguished from 'nova Carthago' (1. 366 &c.). The spelling 'Tyrus' is found in many MSS.

671.] 'Culmina' = "tecta," as in 5. 459, which accounts for its use with a genitive here, *not* of the thing which has a summit. Gossrau has a good note on the practice of placing prepositions after their cases, observing that it is usually found in the case of substantives, first, before an adj., as in "fronde super viridi" E. 1. 81; secondly, before a gen., as here; thirdly, before a second substantive similarly governed, as in "saxa per et scopulos" G. 3. 276: further that it is more common in the case of disyllabic than in that of monosyllabic prepositions, and after a pronoun, like 'qui' or 'hic' than after a substantive.

673.] Repeated 12. 871 and (substantially) 11. 86.

675.] 'Hoc illud' 3. 558. 'Was this the thing you had in view?' Forb. cites "fraude et insidiis petere" from Livy 40. 55.

677.] See above vv. 284, 371. The question in effect is how shall she best express her sense of her desertion. With 'comitemne sprevisti' Forb. comp. 9. 199.

678.] 'Comitem sprevisti moriens' is not equivalent to what follows. Anna first asks why Dido would not be attended on by her in death, then says that she ought to have died with Dido. Wagn. rightly understands 'vocasses' as = "vocare debebas," "utinam me vocasses," comp. 8. 643., 10. 854., 11. 162 foll. The explanation of the construction would seem to be that there is a suppressed

Idem ambas ferro dolor, atque eadem hora tulisset.
His etiam struxi manibus, patriosque vocavi
Voce deos, sic te ut posita crudelis abessem?
Extinxti te meque, soror, populumque patresque
Sidonios urbemque tuam. Date volnera lymphis,
Abluam, et, extremus si quis super halitus errat,

protasis: 'if I had had my will, you would have invited me to share your fate.'

679.] 'Ferro' modal or instrum. abl., probably however belonging to 'tulisset' only in the first clause, so that it nearly = "ferri dolor." 'Tulisset:' 2. 554, 600., 5. 356. With the general expression comp. Soph. Trach. 719, καίτοι δέδοκται, κεῖνος εἰ σφαλήσεται, Ταύτῃ σὺν ὁρμῇ κἀμὲ συνθανεῖν ἅμα. ['Adque' fragm. Vat. —H. N.]

680.] 'Struxi:' 'rogum,' which is too prominent in her mind to need to be formally expressed. 'Vocavi voce,' called aloud, 6. 247., 12. 638. We do not hear above that Anna did this, but it may well be assumed; and as we have seen on v. 497, the same thing is attributed to different actors, probably for the sake of poetical variety. It matters little whether we point this and the following line interrogatively, or with Ribbeck affirmatively.

681.] Comp. 2. 644 note. 'Crudelis' not of Dido, but of Anna herself, who taxes her own cruelty for the mischief in which she had unwittingly been an accomplice. So Sil. 13. 656, comp. by Wagn., "Nam cur Ulla fuere adeo, quibus a te saevus abessem, Momenta?"

682.] Pierius found 'extinxi' in almost all old copies; but 'extinxti' is the reading of fragm. Vat., Pal., perhaps Med. and others, besides being supported by Probus and Diomedes, and is much to be preferred intrinsically. As Heyne remarks, if the first person had been used, the sentence should have ended at 'soror,' as the rest would thus become frigid and rhetorical. 'Te meque' is also the reading of fragm. Vat., Pal., Med., &c., others having 'me teque.' 'Te' is clearly the natural word to follow 'extinxti,' at least in a context like the present, however true it may be, as Burm. urges, that the Romans made the speaker mention himself before others. ['Exstinxti' fragm. Vat.—H. N.] 'Populum' used loosely of the multitude as distinguished from the magnates. "Aenean acciri omnes, populusque patresque, Exposcunt" 9. 192.

683.] I have restored the old pointing, as against the later editors who read 'Date, volnera lymphis abluam.' Wagn. may be right in adducing instances in Greek like Il. 6. 340, ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν ἐπίμεινον, Ἀρήϊα τεύχεα δύω, ib. 23. 71, θάπτε με ὅττι τάχιστα, πύλας Ἀΐδαο περήσω, to show that there is a connexion between the imperative and the first person of the subjunctive, as he certainly is in quoting as parallel Anchises' words, 6. 883 (note), "manibus date lilia plenis . . . spargam . . . adcumulem . . . fungar;" but the last passage might have shown him that it is not necessary to such a connexion that 'date' should stand alone, unless we should there adopt, which he has not done, Gossrau's most improbable punctuation. On the contrary, a comparison of the two passages makes it, I think, highly probable that the first part of the sentence here would answer to "manibus date lilia plenis;" while 'date volnera lymphis' is a rhetorical inversion quite in Virg.'s manner, like "dare classibus austros" 3. 61, the water being represented as craving for the wounds which it is to wash. [Dr. Kennedy would make the subjunctive 'abluam' dependent on 'date,' and so "spargam," "adcumulem," in 6. l. c. 'Give me that I may cleanse.' —'Vulnera' Pal.—H. N.]

684.] 'Super' may either be physical, 'rising over the mouth,' like "faucibus exsuperat gravis halitus" Pers. 3. 89, or in the sense of 'remaining,' i. q. 'superstes,' as in 3. 489 above. Gossrau rightly remarks that Anna's wish to preserve the last spark of life in her sister is not to be confounded, as it has been by the commentators from Serv. downwards, with the custom of receiving in one's mouth the last breath of a dying person (Cic. Verr. 2. 5. 45, "Matres . . . nihil aliud orabant nisi ut filiorum postremum spiritum ore excipere liceret"); but the two things are so far analogous that one may be used to illustrate the other.

Ore legam. Sic fata gradus evaserat altos,
Semianimemque sinu germanam amplexa fovebat
Cum gemitu, atque atros siccabat veste cruores.
Illa, gravis oculos conata attollere, rursus
Deficit; infixum stridit sub pectore volnus.
Ter sese attollens cubitoque adnixa levavit;
Ter revoluta toro est, oculisque errantibus alto
Quaesivit caelo lucem, ingemuitque reperta.
Tum Iuno omnipotens, longum miserata dolorem
Difficilisque obitus, Irim demisit Olympo,
Quae luctantem animam nexosque resolveret artus.
Nam quia nec fato, merita nec morte peribat,

antime he cites a very apposite passe from Ov. M. 12. 424, "Impositaque au volnus fovet, oraque ad ora Admovatque animae fugienti obsistere temp-" Perhaps v. 686 refers to this mpt on Anna's part.

85.] 'Evaserat' 2. 458 note.

89.] 'Stridet,' the reading before ns., is in two of Ribbeck's cursives. reference is to the hissing and gurg- noise of the spouting blood. The tors comp. Ov. M. 4. 120:

Jt iacuit resupinus humi, cruor emicat alte,
Ton aliter quam cum vitiato fistula plumbo
cinditur, et tenuis stridente foramine longe
iaculatur aquas, atque ictibus aëra rumpit."

efecit' Ribbeck, from the original ling of Pal. See on v. 502 above. olnus' Med.—H. N.]

90.] 'Innixa' was read before Heins.

91.] Perhaps from Apoll. R. 3. 654, ulis errantibus' is illustrated by Val. 6. 277, "extremus cum lumina corriprror," to which Forb. refers. Stat. 5 . 1. 170 has "oculisque novissimus r," imitating Val. Fl.

92.] Henry says, "The ancients (incorly, I think) believed the light to be last object beheld by the dying per-" Forb. compares Enn. A. inc. 15, mianimesque micant oculi lucemque airunt;" Henry, Stat. 5 Silv. 1. 174, c sole supremo Lumina, sed dulci ult satiare marito," a thought reted Theb. 8. 649. Comp. also A. 10. . With 'ingemuitque reperta' comp. s. 3. 38, "Virtutem videant intabescantque relicta," where however the construction apparently is not quite the same. Some MSS. have 'repertam.' ["There is no so touching word in the whole Aeneid as this 'ingemuit,' placing as it does before the mind capable of such sympathies the whole heart-rending history in a single retrospective glance. Show me anything at all like it in the Iliad." Henry.—H. N.]

693—705.] 'Juno sends down Iris to cut the thread of life, and Dido dies.'

693.] A few MSS. give 'laborem,' a common variation.

694.] Iris is Juno's usual messenger, 5. 606., 9. 2, after Il. 18. 166 foll. She is here sent on an extraordinary mission, to do what is usually done by Proserpine. Whether there is any precedent for giving Iris a function in connexion with violent deaths, which of course formed a large class by themselves, or whether this is an isolated act on the part of Juno 'omnipotens,' does not appear. Perhaps we may compare the χθόνιον γέρας of Hermes, who is a sort of male Iris.

695.] 'To separate the struggling soul from the limbs that cling to it.' Cerda rightly remarks that the metaphor is throughout from the palaestra. Comp. Ov. M. 6. 242, "et iam contulerant arto luctantia nexu Pectora pectoribus." Not unlike is Lucr. 2. 950, "Vitalis animae nodos e corpore solvit." [Henry however would take 'nexos artus' as = "compaginem corporis."—H. N.]

696.] Henry rightly explains 'fato' of a natural, 'merita morte' of a violent death provoked by some action on the sufferer's part, comparing for the first "decessit . . . et quidem sponte . . . est enim luctuosissimum genus mortis quae non ex

Set misera ante diem, subitoque accensa furore,
Nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem
Abstulerat, Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco.
Ergo Iris croceis per caelum roscida pinnis,
Mille trahens varios adverso sole colores,
Devolat, et supra caput astitit: Hunc ego Diti
Sacrum iussa fero, teque isto corpore solvo.
Sic ait, et dextra crinem secat: omnis et una
Dilapsus calor, atque in ventos vita recessit.

natura nec fatalis videtur" Pliny Ep. 1. 12, "qui partim fato partim ferro periere" Justin 9. 8, for the second "Ut caderem meruisse manu" above 2. 434, "Si nocentem innocentemque idem exitus maneat, acrioris viri esse merito perire" Tac. H. 1. 21. The opposite of these kinds of death is expressed in the next line, "misera ante diem, subitoque accensa furore:" she did not wait till fate summoned her: her death was not predestined but sudden. The distinction which Virg. intends is practical rather than philosophical, and the words employed must not be weighed too nicely. Serv. felt there was an inconsistency, asking how Dido's death 'ante diem' can be reconciled with Jupiter's declaration 10. 467, "stat sua cuique dies;" but his distinction between 'fatum denuntiativum' and 'fatum condicionale' scarcely removes it. In one of the passages quoted by Henry to substantiate the sense of 'fato,' Tac. A. 2. 71, the dying Germanicus says that if he were dying a natural death, "si fato concederem," he should still have to complain that his end was premature. 'Ante diem' may be the Homeric ὑπὲρ μοῖραν Il. 20. 336; in the Iliad however things do not happen ὑπὲρ μοῖραν, as we are expressly told Il. 6. 487 foll., though supernatural interference is sometimes required to prevent such a catastrophe, as in Il. 2. 155., 17. 321., 20. 30, 336 &c. The ὑπὲρ μόρον of Od. 1. 33, 34 is not quite the same thing.

697.] ['Sed' Pal.—H. N.]

698.] Pal. and Gud. have 'necdum,' apparently mistaking the construction. The cutting off of the lock of hair (a custom referred to by Eur. Alc. 76, as well as by later writers) is explained by Turnebus Adv. 19. 17 from the analogy of sacrifices, where a few hairs are plucked from the forehead of the victim as part of the κατάργματα ("libamina prima" 6. 246), a dying man being regarded as a victim to the powers below. Perhaps we may illustrate also from the story of Nisus and Scylla. "Flaventis comas" above v. 590. ['Flavom' Pal.—H. N.] 'Vertice' is emphatic, as the lock was taken from the crown of the head. Henry quotes Etym. M. s. v. ἀπεσκολυμμένος· σκόλλυς γὰρ ἡ θρὶξ ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄκρου ἣν ἐφύλαττον ἀκούρευτον, θεοῖς ἀνατιθέντες.

699.] 'Damnaverat' = "addixerat," had given over as a victim. So Juno, Hor. 3 Od. 3. 22, says that Troy is "mihi castaeque damnatum Minervae."

700.] 'Roscida' and 'adverso sole' belong to the physical rainbow, which in 5. 601, 658., 9. 15 Virg., unlike Hom., makes the accompaniment of the mythological Iris. 'Croceis' apparently as the colour of light, v. 585. 'Trahens' apparently expresses length.

702.] ['Adstitit' Med. corrected.—H. N.]

703.] 'Iussa:' Iris in performing an official act states that she does it under authority. 'Diti sacrum,' as Eur. Alc. 76 speaks of ἀγνίσῃ τρίχα.

705.] "Calor ossa reliquit" 3. 308 of fainting. "In ventos recessit" 5. 526. "Vitam dispergit in auras" 11. 617. ['Delabsus' Med.—H. N.]

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON V. 257.

As neither Heins., Heyne, nor Ribbeck specifies any MS. as containing the ordinary reading 'Litus harenosum Libyae,' I have examined ten of the Bodleian

MSS., the same which I examined in reference to 5. 573 (see the Preface). Five of them read 'ac Libyae,' four 'Libyae' one 'ad Libyae.' Those which read 'Libyae' are numbered respectively Auct. A. A. 1 (first half of 15th century), Auct. B. B. 1 (14th century), Auct. B. B. 2 (? apparently late), and Auct. F. 2. 5 (middle of the 15th century). In A. A. 1 and B. B. 2 'ac' is written above the line. In F. 2. 5 'ventoque,' appears for 'ventosque,' there being a blank space where 's' has been erased. In B. B. 2 'volabat' is written apparently by the same hand as the rest of the line, but at a later time, as if a blank space had been originally left and afterwards filled in. In A. A. 1 and B. B. 2 v. 257 precedes v. 256, but the order is corrected in the margin. The inverted order is also found in the text of one of the other MSS. which I examined, and in the margin of another. It appears then that the reading 'Libyae,' like 'Trinacriis' 5. 573 is at any rate prior to the invention of printing, so that it may have some better authority than critical conjecture.

P. VERGILI MARONIS

AENEIDOS

LIBER SECUNDUS.

In the first half of the Aeneid it would almost seem as if Virgil had intentionally relieved those portions of his narrative which possess the most absorbing interest with others of a more level and less exciting kind. The detailed account of the agonies of the one night of Troy's capture was succeeded by a rapid sketch of the events of seven years of travel; and now we pass from the spectacle of Dido's frantic love and (as a modern reader will regard it) Aeneas' faithlessness to a description of the games celebrated by the Trojan hero in Sicily on the anniversary of his father's death. This serves to conduct us from the tragedy of the Fourth Book to the mysterious solemnities of the Sixth. Aeneas does not pass at once from the terrible conflict of love and duty to the initiation which is reserved for the chosen favourites of Heaven, but is shown to us the pious and beneficent prince, reverentially dutiful to his father's memory, and kind and liberal to his followers and friends—encouraging the ambition of his own men and returning the courtesies of the Sicilians by a display in which it is his honour to be the dispenser of honour to others.

As usual, the subject and much of the treatment in detail are from Homer. The heroic courtesy of Achilles is never more conspicuous than in the games which he gives in memory of his dead friend, as described in the Twenty-third Iliad: and by treading in the steps of Homer, Virgil has succeeded in investing his own hero with similar associations of chivalrous magnificence. For the scene in which the action is laid, he was indebted to that variety of the Trojan legend which made Anchises die in Sicily, and to the tradition which had fixed a Trojan colony there already. That Aeneas should revisit the island by choice or accidentally, and that being there he should honour his father by a splendid funeral celebration, was a sufficiently plausible development of the story. The earlier games, it is true, are little more than a re-arrangement of the Homeric materials; but they are made interesting in themselves, and the few novelties introduced increase the reader's pleasure—such as the affection between Nisus and Euryalus, the defeat of the braggart by the veteran in the boxing-match, and the portent of Acestes' arrow. The tilt, which was Aeneas' surprise for his spectators, is Virgil's surprise for his readers; it is described with an ingenious felicity of language which exercises commentators and translators alike; and it must have been peculiarly flattering to Augustus to find an exhibition in which he took pleasure referred to his great progenitor. Virgil never seems to be more in his element than when he is speaking of the young; and the halo of hope which surrounds the sons of the conquerors of Italy is one of the most pleasing features in the Aeneid.

The burning of the ships by the Trojan women was a part of the Trojan legend, though the story was very variously told, as will be seen by any one who will consult Heyne's Excursus on the subject, some placing the scene in Greece, some in Italy, while one account connected it with the foundation of Rome. Dionysius agrees with Virgil in making it an incident in the voyage of Aeneas. In the account of the fate of Palinurus, with which the book closes, the poet, as usual, has combined an Italian tradition with an imitation of Homer. The promontory of Palinurus was supposed to have derived its name from the pilot of Aeneas, who was buried there: in the Odyssey, Menelaus' pilot dies at his post in the middle of his voyage: Ulysses loses one of his comrades just as he is about to visit the shades. Virgil has fitted these fragments into his tesselated work, and has thus, as Heyne remarks, secured an episode to give interest to the voyage from Sicily to Italy, which would otherwise have been uneventful.

It is no impeachment of the aptness and relevancy of this Book that it probably did not form part of Virgil's original conception. Conrads, whose views about the composition of the Aeneid have been mentioned in the Introduction to Book 3, has pointed out, what had occurred more or less distinctly to others, that the words 'Libyco cursu,' Book 6. 338, naturally mean that Palinurus was lost during the voyage from Carthage to Italy, which accordingly he supposes to have formed part of the story as Virgil first planned it. There are other points in the scene with Palinurus in Book 6, which it requires some ingenuity to reconcile with the narrative at the end of this Book; the mention of Apollo's prediction (6. 343 foll.), the stress laid on the stormy condition of the sea (vv. 354 foll.), and perhaps the time during which Palinurus represents himself as kept alive after his fall (*ib.*). Again, the request of Anchises that Aeneas would consult the Sibyl mentioned in Book 6. 115, would seem rather to have been an injunction given in life than identical with that which we read of vv. 731 foll. of this Book. Lastly, the supposition that this Book was an afterthought, would account at once for the doubt which existed in ancient times, whether the two first lines of Book 6 do not really belong to the present Book. Had Virgil lived to complete his work, he would doubtless have observed these discrepancies: as it is, they concern the critical scholar rather than the general reader. The introduction of Nisus and Euryalus in Book 9, as if they had not appeared in the narration before, may perhaps show that the present Book was composed later than Book 9.

INTEREA medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat
Certus iter, fluctusque atros aquilone secabat,

1—7.] 'Aeneas as he sails away sees the flame of Dido's pyre, and fears the worst.'

1.] [Of 'interea' Serv. remarks "hoc sermone librum, ut solet, superioribus iunxit." This is true of the tenth and eleventh books.—H. N.] 'Medium iter' is not to be pressed, merely meaning that he had got well on his way. Most of the instances quoted however for this loose use of the word are scarcely in point, e.g. G. 3. 486, 519, where though all that the context requires is that the operation spoken of should have begun, there is no reason why it should not have been exactly half finished at the time mentioned. In other words, Virg. assumes for rhetorical purposes that the thing is half done, an assumption which here is contrary to the fact, while there, for aught we know, it may be consistent with it. 4. 277 is nearer the mark, as we can hardly suppose that Mercury ceased to be visible in the middle of his speech, so that we may say that there the word stands for something more than half, as here for something less than half. 'Tenere iter' 2. 359.

2.] 'Certus,' unwavering, as an arrow going straight to its mark is called "certa sagitta." So Henry, rightly, reconciling Serv. and Wagn. Neither love nor stormy water deterred Aeneas from his purpose: he looked back to Carthage, but he went sailing on. 'Atros' with 'aquilone.' Gell. 2. 30 says, on the

Moenia respiciens, quae iam infelicis Elissae
Conlucent flammis. Quae tantum accenderit ignem,
Causa latet; duri magno set amore dolores
Polluto, notumque, furens quid femina possit,
Triste per augurium Teucrorum pectora ducunt.
Ut pelagus tenuere rates, nec iam amplius ulla
Occurrit tellus, maria undique et undique caelum,
Olli caeruleus supra caput astitit imber,
Noctem hiememque ferens, et inhorruit unda tenebris.
Ipse gubernator puppi Palinurus ab alta:
Heu! quianam tanti cinxerunt aethera nimbi?
Quidve, pater Neptune, paras? Sic deinde locutus
Colligere arma iubet validisque incumbere remis,

authority of Aristotle, "Austris spirantibus mare fieri glaucum et caeruleum, Aquilonibus obscurius atriusque." Aeneas encounters the danger Dido threatened (4. 310), and we see the consequence in the next paragraph.

4.] Dido did not light her own pile, as some of the commentators have fancied: but she had a pile made to burn, as she gave out, the effigy of Aeneas: she killed herself upon it, having ascended it apparently for the purpose of lighting it: and it would naturally be made use of to burn her body.

5.] ['Sed' Pal.—H. N.] 'Dolores' and 'notum' are the subjects of 'ducunt.' They are not properly co-ordinate: but 'dolores' is intended to stand for the *thought* of the pangs.

6.] 'Polluto:' see on 3. 61. 'Notum,' the knowledge; a use of the neuter participle often found elsewhere, especially in Livy, who has (7. 8) "diu non perlitatum tenuerat dictatorem." ['Posset' Med., which also originally had 'quit' for 'quid.'—H. N.]

7.] Their minds are led through a sorrowful presage: that is the course their thoughts are led to take. 'Augurium' means no more than conjecture, as "augurat" 7. 273, so that it is not a full realization of Dido's wish, 4. 661.

8—34.] 'Seeing a storm threaten, Palinurus suggested that they should make for Sicily. Aeneas assents, and they land there accordingly.'

8—11.] Nearly repeated from 3. 192—195. The old reading here in v. 9 before Heins. was "caelum undique et undique pontus," as in 3. 193. ['Adstitit' Med. corrected.—H. N.]

12.] 'Ipse' as in 3. 201. Things were so bad that even the pilot, &c.

13.] 'Quianam' 10. 6, an archaic word. Quint. Inst. 8. 3 thinks it, like 'olli,' lends dignity to the passage.

14.] 'Sic deinde locutus' below v. 400, where, as here and in 7. 135, 'deinde' is out of its place, belonging not to the participle but to the verb. Comp. 2. 391, and for the transposition of 'deinde,' 1. 195.

15.] 'Arma' of a ship's furniture, as to 6. 353, where the specific reference is to the rudder, and possibly in 3. 371., 4. 290, though there I have preferred the more ordinary interpretation. We have already had "armari classem" 4. 299. So ὅπλα Od. 2. 390, 423, 430., 12. 410, passages which may have suggested to Virg. this use of the word, as no instances are quoted in the lexicons from other Latin authors. [Serv. and Ti. Donatus agree in explaining 'colligere arma' as = "vela contrahere:" Nonius, p. 273, who says 'colligere' here = "in unum redigere," must have understood 'arma' of the ship's tackle. So Priscian, 2 p. 461 (Keil), "nautarum quoque instrumenta et pistorum *arma* dicuntur. Vergilius in quinto Aeneidos, 'colligere arma iubet.'" This is probably right, as Livy 36. 44 distinguishes "vela contrahit" from "armamenta componens." Plautus Mercator 192 (Ritschl) says, probably in the same sense, "armamentis complicandis componendis studuimus." Livy 21. 49 and elsewhere uses "armamenta demere," "tollere," for lowering or raising the masts and sails.—H. N.] M. Jal, in his 'Virgilius Nauticus' ('La Flotte de César,' &c.) explains it of stowing away

Obliquatque sinus in ventum, ac talia fatur:
Magnanime Aenea, non, si mihi Iuppiter auctor
Spondeat, hoc sperem Italiam contingere caelo.
Mutati transversa fremunt et vespere ab atro
Consurgunt venti, atque in nubem cogitur aër.
Nec nos obniti contra, nec tendere tantum
Sufficimus. Superat quoniam Fortuna, sequamur,
Quoque vocat, vertamus iter. Nec litora longe
Fida reor fraterna Erycis portusque Sicanos,
Si modo rite memor servata remetior astra.
Tum pius Aeneas: Equidem sic poscere ventos
Iamdudum et frustra cerno te tendere contra.
Flecte viam velis. An sit mihi gratior ulla,
Quove magis fessas optem demittere navis,

those parts of the ship's furniture that the wind might take hold of, streamers, &c. Mr. Long thinks Virgil means generally to make everything tight and prepare for a squall. "Validis incumbite remis" 10. 294.

16.] He turns the sails so that the wind may catch them sideways. Forb. comp. Livy 16. 39, "aliae ad incertos ventos hinc atque illinc obliqua transferentes vela in altum evectae sunt."

17.] 'Magnanime Aenea,' a Homeric address, like Τυδεΐδη μεγάθυμε Il. 6. 145. 'Auctor' has its technical sense of guarantee, its union with 'spondeat' implying that he who gives the promise is in this case the person to make it good, as Mr. Long remarks.

17.] 'Hoc caelo,' = "hac tempestate," as we might say 'with a sky like this.' 'Spero' with pres. inf. 4. 337, &c.

19.] 'Transversa' adverbially, as in E. 3. 8. The meaning seems to be, the wind is changed, and instead of being favourable blows right across our path. Comp. the metaphorical use of the word Cic. Brut. 97, "Cuius in adulescentiam per medias laudes quasi quadrigis vehentem transversa incurrit misera fortuna reipublicae." 'Vespere ab atro' is Homer's ζόφον ἠερόεντα. 'Ab alto' is the reading of Med. a m. sec. and two other MSS., and might perhaps be supported from G. 1. 443, 'ab alto' being separated from 'vespere.' But 'atro' is doubtless meant to be emphatic—'the west is blackening, and a wind is getting up there.'

20.] The opinion of the ancients, as Serv. remarks, was that clouds were produced by condensed air. Taubm. quotes Cic. N. D. 2. 39, "Exinde mari finitimus aër die et nocte distinguitur: isque tum fusus et extenuatus sublime fertur, tum autem concretus in nubes cogitur." Serv. well contrasts 1. 587 "scindit se nubes et in aethera purgat apertum," a passage which, taken in connexion with the present, illustrates the distinction between 'aër' and 'aether.'

21.] 'Contra' with 'tendere' as well as with 'obniti:' comp. v. 27 below. 'Tantum,' as much as is wanted. Comp. "subsistere tantum" 9. 806.

22.] Comp. vv. 709, 710 below; also 2. 387, 388. For the order 'superat quoniam,' see Munro on Lucr. 4. 752.

24.] 'Fraterna Erycis' = "fratris Erycis." So in v. 630 below 'fraterni' is nom. plural. See on v. 80 below. [Servius remarks that Virg. in 3. 692 lengthens the first syllable of "Sicanius."—H. N.]

25.] 'Rite' with 'memor' or 'remetior.' 'Servata' already observed, i. e. in their previous voyage to Sicily. 'Servare' of watching the stars 6. 338. G. 1. 205. With 'remetior astra' comp. "sidera emensae" v. 628 below.

27.] 'Iamdudum' probably with both 'poscere' and 'tendere.' ['Iandudum' Ribbeck, from Pal.—H. N.]

28.] 'Flecte viam velis' like "hanc arripe velis" 3. 477, "tendit iter velis" 7. 7, 'velis' being nearly = 'navigando,' so that 'flecte viam velis' = "flecte navis cursum." 'Sit,' apparently = "esse potest."

29.] ['Quoque' Priscian p. 775 P.—H. N.] 'Fessas navis' 1. 168. 'Demit-

Quam quae Dardanium tellus mihi servat Acesten,
Et patris Anchisae gremio complectitur ossa?
Haec ubi dicta, petunt portus, et vela secundi
Intendunt Zephyri; fertur cita gurgite classis,
Et tandem laeti notae advertuntur harenae.
  At procul excelso miratus vertice montis
Adventum sociasque rates occurrit Acestes,
Horridus in iaculis et pelle Libystidis ursae,
Troia Criniso conceptum flumine mater

tere' of bringing into harbour. Neither Forc. nor the commentators give any other instance of this use, which must doubtless have been an idiomatic one. We may compare it with 'devenire' of reaching a place, and κατελθεῖν &c. of returning home. This seems better than to suppose a special reason for the notion of descent here, such as that of the sea appearing higher than the land. [Pal. and Med. have 'dimittere,' and so one of the best MSS. of Priscian l. c. One of Ribbeck's cursives and another good MS. of Priscian give 'demittere.' Rom., it must be remembered, is wanting here. Servius, reading 'dimittere,' explains the word as = "inmittere:" but this seems a mere makeshift. If 'dimittere' can stand, it must mean 'to send away, dismiss from service:' but then how is 'quo' to be translated?—H. N.]

30.] 'Than where my friend Acestes yet lives.' Comp. for the thought 1. 550, for the language 1. 546. The living friend is contrasted with the dead father.

31.] Perhaps from Lucr. 1. 135 "Morte obita quorum tellus amplectitur ossa."

32.] Virg. seems to mean that the wind, which distressed them while they were sailing against it, was now in their favour. Thus 'Zephyri' here agrees with 'vespere' v. 19. This however, as Mr. Long remarks, obliges us to suppose that Virg. had misconceived the relative position of Carthage and the west part of Sicily. So perhaps 'gurgite' may intimate that the sea was still excited (comp. 1. 118, 3. 564 &c.), though elsewhere it simply means 'aqua,' e.g. below vv. 160, 209.

34.] 'Advertere' of bringing a ship to land, G. 4. 117 &c. Comp. also A. 1. 158. 'Tandem:' "periculis liberati" Serv.

35—41.] 'Acestes comes up and welcomes them.'

35.] Serv. raises a question between 'excelso' and 'ex celso.' The former has been generally preferred: but Wagn. and Forb. adopt the latter, on the ground that 'vertice' without a preposition could only mean 'on the top.' 'Vertice' however appears to mean 'from the top' 1. 403, and perhaps 4. 168, both of which in different ways are parallel to the present passage. On the other hand it does not seem likely that Virg. should have written 'ex celso,' thus creating an ambiguity which he might easily have avoided by writing 'e celso,' itself the reading of one or two MSS., recommended by Bentley. The choice then seems to lie between 'ex celso' and 'e celso,' and the weight of external evidence is decisive for the former. With this pregnant use of 'miratus' comp. v. 727 below, "caelo miseratus ab alto est." ['Ad' Pal. for 'at.'—H. N.]

36.] 'Adventum sociasque rates,' hendiadys.

37.] Wagn. rightly joins 'horridus in iaculis,' following the earlier editors against Heyne. The expression is unusual, but not unexampled. Ruhkopf (cited by Wagn.) comp. Stat. Theb. 4. 221, "gravi metuendus in hasta." Serv. comp. Enn. A. inc. 46, "levesque secuntur in hastis." Wagn. (ed. 3) comp. Aesch. Prom. 424, ὀξυπρώροισι βρέμων ἐν αἰχμαῖς. 'Libystis' is an adj. peculiar to Virg., here and 8. 368, where the half line recurs. Pliny 8. 228 denies that there are bears in Africa: but they are mentioned by Herodotus and Solinus: Virg. too is followed by Martial and Juvenal, the latter perhaps an independent authority. They do not appear to have been found there by modern travellers.

38.] 'Crimiso' is the reading of only one MS., the great majority with Serv. giving 'Criniso.' The Greek name of the river was Κρίμισος or Κρίμισσος. The story as told by Serv. on 1. 550 is that Poseidon in punishment of Laomedon's

Quem genuit. Veterum non inmemor ille parentum
Gratatur reduces et gaza laetus agresti
Excipit, ac fessos opibus solatur amicis.
Postera cum primo stellas Oriente fugarat
Clara dies, socios in coetum litore ab omni
Advocat Aeneas, tumulique ex aggere fatur:
Dardanidae magni, genus alto a sanguine divom,
Annuus exactis conpletur mensibus orbis,
Ex quo reliquias divinique ossa parentis
Condidimus terra maestasque sacravimus aras.
Iamque dies, nisi fallor, adest, quem semper acerbum,
Semper honoratum—sic di voluistis—habebo.
Hunc ego Gaetulis agerem si Syrtibus exul,

fraud sent a sea-monster to ravage the Troad, that Trojan maidens were ordered to be given to it, that fathers in consequence sent their daughters away, that one Hippotas put his daughter Segesta or Egesta on board a ship, which carried her to Sicily, and that there a union took place between Segesta and the river-god Crimissus, the fruit of which was Egestus or Acestes. Serv. there says Virg. calls Crimissus Crinisus by poetic licence. The common construction is 'concipere de' or 'ex aliquo.' Pliny 8. 42. has [according to some MSS.] "conceptus leone."

39.] 'Veterum parentum,' his mother's Trojan ancestry. ['Immemor' Med.—H. N.]

40.] No authority is quoted for this construction of 'gratatur' with an acc. Perhaps it is best to understand 'esse.' Comp. Tac. A. 6. 21, "Complexus eum Tiberius praescium periculorum et incolumem fore gratatur," where the sense is 'congratulates him on his foresight and on the safety which will be his in consequence.' 'Gaza' is a Persian word transferred into Greek and Latin, and signifying 'royal treasure;' so that with the epithet 'agresti' it produces a kind of oxymoron, like "dapibus inemptis" G. 4. 133. ['Gazza,' Med.—H. N.]

41.] 'Amicos,' as might be expected, is the reading of a few MSS.

42—71.] 'The next day Aeneas summons his comrades, reminds them that it is the anniversary of Anchises' funeral, a day which he always intends to observe, orders festivities and announces games for the occasion to take place nine days after.'

42.] 'Primo Oriente:' see on 3. 588. 'Cum primo' is doubtless meant to recall "cum primum."

43.] 'Litore ab omni:' they would naturally be lodged near their ships.

44.] Aeneas speaks from a mound, like a Roman general, as Heyne remarks.

45.] "Genus alto a sanguine Teucri" 6. 500 note. Some MSS. have 'Teucri' here. The Trojans are called the descendants of the gods, because Dardanus was the son of Jupiter, 7. 219. ['Divum' Med. and Pal. corrected.—H. N.]

46.] Comp. 1. 269. 'Exactis mensibus' G. 3. 139. ['Completur' Med.—H. N.]

47.] "Stant Manibus arae Caeruleis maestae vittis atraque cupresso," 3. 63.

49.] Wagn. has restored 'nisi fallor,' from Med., Rom., Pal., &c., for 'ni fallor,' the old reading. Either might stand. Serv. has a curious fancy that the saving clause is thrown in on account of the confusion in the calendar which existed before Cæsar. 'Iamque dies adest:' the day on which he is speaking is the actual anniversary: comp. 104 below, "exspectata dies aderat."

50.] 'Sic di voluistis' is a formula of resignation. Standing where it does, it seems to mean that the gods willed the day to be one which should excite mingled grief and reverence by willing the event which invested it with that character.

51.] 'Hunc' with 'agerem.' To understand 'agerem' as = 'essem' and explain 'hunc' by an anacoluthon, as if Virg. had intended to end with 'celebrarem,' which is Heyne and Wagn.'s view, is to introduce a needless irregu-

Argolicove mari deprensus et urbe Mycenae,
Annua vota tamen sollemnisque ordine pompas
Exequerer, strueremque suis altaria donis.
Nunc ultro ad cineres ipsius et ossa parentis,
Haut equidem sine mente reor, sine numine divom,
Adsumus et portus delati intramus amicos.
Ergo agite, et laetum cuncti celebremus honorem;
Poscamus ventos, atque haec me sacra quot annis

larity. Aeneas' language is of course hyperbolical, his meaning being that he would celebrate the anniversary under the most adverse circumstances. The Gaetulian Syrtes, like the Argive (Aegaean) sea, are doubtless chosen as associated not only with natural dangers, but with human enemies.

52.] 'Deprensus,' surprised, not however [as Henry thinks] by a storm, which is a common application of the word (see G. 4. 421, where I have too hastily referred to this line as parallel), but by the arrival of the day at an inopportune time. So Heyne, rightly. 'Et' couples Mycenae with the Aegaean as distinguished from Aeneas' African foes. ['Arce' Pal. originally for 'urbe.'—H. N.] 'Mycenae' Med., Pal., Gud., from a nom. 'Mycena;' 'Mycenis' Rom. Other variations are 'Mycene,' 'Mycena.' [Serv., if I understand his note rightly, must have had before him a variant 'Mycenes.' —H. N.] With the gen. comp. "urbem Patavi" 1. 247.

53.] 'Pompa' is to be understood strictly, of a funeral procession. Here as elsewhere Virg. is thinking of Roman observances. 'Sollemnis pompas' G. 3. 22. 'Ordine' = "rite," as in 3. 548.

54.] 'Exequi' of funerals: see Forc. 'Struere,' to pile up: 1. 704. 'Suis' = "debitis," as in 6. 142. 'Altaria' here and in v. 93 seems to be used vaguely for 'arae,' if the view is true which restricts 'altaria' to the superior gods. ['Exsequerer' Med. and Rom.—H. N.]

55.] 'Ultro' has its primitive sense of 'beyond.' 'Not only has the day returned, bringing back its obligations, which I should have discharged in any case, but more than this, a thing which we had no right to expect, we are at the very spot.' See on 2. 145. 'Ipsius' virtually = 'ipsos.'

56.] It is true, as Forb. contends, that 'equidem' may be used with other persons than the 1st sing.; but that is no reason for taking it with 'adsumus' here, when usage is in favour of taking it with 'reor.' Comp. 6. 848, G. 1. 415, where, as here, the clause is constructed parenthetically. Comp. also 4. 45, "Dis equidem auspicibus reor et Iunone secunda Hunc cursum Iliacas vento tenuisse carinas." 'Haut' goes not with 'reor' but with 'sine mente' &c. The confusion of the order, which may readily be paralleled, is easily accounted for by supposing a half confusion between the two modes of expression, 'reor' parenthetical and 'reor adesse.' 'Mente' with 'divom,' like 'numine.' "Deorum mente atque ratione omnem mundum administrari et regi" Cic. N. D. 1. 2. "Sine mente sonum" occurs 10. 640 of a voice without meaning. "Sine numine divom" 2. 777, 'numen' meaning will or purpose, as in 2. 123 note. It is the Homeric οὐκ ἀέκητι θεῶν.

57.] "Delati portus intravimus" 3. 219. Lachm. on Lucr. 5. 396 explains 'intramus' as a contraction for 'intravimus;' but it seems more likely that a poet like Virg. should have simply used the present for the perf., as is frequently done by Pope and his school.

58.] 'Cuncti laetum,' the order before Heins., seems to have little or no authority. 'Laetum honorem:' Aeneas means to say, Let our service be a cheerful one: the gods have done well in bringing us here, and are intending to do well to us hereafter. The word 'laetus' is rather a common one in connexion with sacrifices, e. g. 8. 267 (where "celebratus honos" is found), 279 (comp. "volentes" ib. 275).

56.] It is natural enough, as the later commentators remark against Heyne, that the Trojans should take this opportunity of asking for a prosperous voyage, especially as the satisfactory observance of this sacred anniversary is in the next clause adroitly made conditional on their landing in Italy. But a question still

Urbe velit posita templis sibi ferre dicatis.
Bina boum vobis Troia generatus Acestes
Dat numero capita in navis; adhibete Penatis
Et patrios epulis et quos colit hospes Acestes.
Praeterea, si nona diem mortalibus almum
Aurora extulerit radiisque retexerit orbem,
Prima citae Teucris ponam certamina classis;

remains, whether the prayer is made to the winds themselves, or to Anchises. The latter interpretation, which perhaps is that more obviously suggested by the context, was evidently maintained by Lactantius, who says of Anchises (Inst. 1. 15) "cui Aeneas non tantum inmortalitatem, verum etiam ventorum tribuit potestatem." Klausen too, in his work on Aeneas and the Penates, considers that Anchises is recognized as a god of the winds. On the other hand offerings were made as a fact to the winds themselves at the end of the. ceremonies to Anchises, v. 772 below, as we have seen done already 3. 115 foll., where "placemus ventos" is like 'poscamus ventos' here. Possibly too Virg. may have had in his mind the prayer which Achilles offers to the winds just before the funeral of Patroclus, Il. 23. 194, though the object there is quite different. For 'me' some MSS. and Lact. l. c. have 'mea,' which has found its way into some editions. ['Quodannis' Pal., and so Ribbeck.—H. N.]

60.] The abl. abs. 'urbe posita' really contains the gist of the prayer. In Soph. El. 457 Electra prays for victory over her mother and Aegisthus that she may be able to honour her father better.

61.] Acestes, like a true son of Troy, supplies the material for the sacrifice. 'Troia generatus' shows the spirit in which the present is made, like "dederatque abeuntibus heros" 1. 196, also of Acestes. With the division according to ships comp. 1. 193.

62.] 'Capita' of animals numerically, 8. 391. Virg. was also thinking of βοῶν ἴφθιμα κάρηνα Il. 23. 260 (the book of the Games for Patroclus), which Heyne compares. 'Adhibete' with 'epulis,' as in Hor. 4 Od. 5. 32, "Te mensis adhibet deum," comp. by Heyne. 'Adhibere' is correlative to 'adesse,' being the word for invoking or inviting the presence of the gods. Comp. (with Forb.) Ov. F. 4. 827 foll.:—

"Vox fuit haec regis: Condenti, Iuppiter, urbem,
Et genitor Mavors, Vestaque mater ades,
Quosque pium est adhibere deos, advertite cuncti:
Auspicibus vobis hoc mihi surgat opus."

In this feast, as in the games shortly to be mentioned, Virg. follows the Roman custom. Comp. Dict. A. 'Funus.' "Public feasts and funeral games were sometimes given on the anniversary of funerals. Faustus, the son of Sulla, exhibited in honour of his father a show of gladiators several years after his death, and gave a feast to the people, according to his father's testament (Dio 37. 51, Cic. pro Sull. 19)."

64.] This use of 'si' where 'cum' might have been expected has given some trouble to the commentators. Serv. suggests that the contingency may lie in the word 'almum'—if the day should be fine. It would seem to be a modest, perhaps religious way of speaking of a future event. "Nam, si luxerit, ad librariorum Curram scrinia" Catull. 14. 17. Other instances given in Forc. are perhaps to be explained somewhat differently. 'Nona:' the ninth day after the anniversary. Virg. is here thinking of the 'novemdiale,' the festival on the ninth day after death, when the mourning ceremonies were brought to an end. There was another festival of a different kind which bore the same name, lasting nine days, and Virg. seems to have blended the characteristics of the two: see v. 762. We may comp., as the commentators have done, Il. 24. 664 foll., where Priam proposes that the mourning for Hector should last nine days, the burial and funeral feast take place on the tenth, and the tomb be raised on the eleventh.

65.] See 4. 119 note.

66.] 'Prima' doubtless means first in order, though the other games are not

Quique pedum cursu valet, et qui viribus audax
Aut iaculo incedit melior levibusque sagittis,
Seu crudo fidit pugnam committere caestu,
Cuncti adsint, meritaeque exspectent praemia palmae.
Ore favete omnes, et cingite tempora ramis.

distinguished numerically. 'Ponam certamina:' note on G. 2. 530. 'Certamina classis' for 'certamina navium,' the collective noun for the distributive, not merely for metrical purposes, but because the race was open to the whole fleet, and, as we might say, an encouragement to the naval interest. See v. 115. ['Citatae' Rom., an obvious gloss.—H. N.]

67.] 'Pedum cursu' 7. 807. 'Viribus audax,' βίῃ πεποιθώς.

68.] In the actual games the 'caestus' precedes the archery. 'Iaculo' seems to point to a different kind of contest, throwing spears: comp. G. 2. 530, Il. 23. 884 foll., where a darting-match is proposed, but not carried out. Either Virg. has expressed himself loosely, or when he wrote this line he thought of introducing one more game. In any case 'levibusque' (Med., Pal.) seems better than 'levibusve' (Rom.). 'Incedit' is used rather strangely, as it can hardly refer to the way in which the competitors carry themselves during the contest, which is what we should have expected. Probably it is to be explained of the proud bearing of those who anticipate victory or have actually gained it. Comp. Hor. Epod. 15. 17, "quicunque es felicior atque meo nunc Superbus incedis malo." 'Melior iaculo' like "haud furto melior sed fortibus armis" 10. 735. "Iaculo celerem levibusque sagittis" 9. 178.

69.] 'Aut' and 'seu' are treated as equivalents, as in 12. 685, 686. 'Crudo caestu' G. 3. 20. 'Fidit' seems here = "audet." In Lucan 4. 615 "parum fidens pedibus contingere matrem," the meaning appears to be that Antaeus placed little confidence in the fact that he touched his mother earth with his feet—a somewhat different use of the construction. In the two other instances of 'fido' with an inf. quoted by Forc. the inf. has a different subject.

70.] 'Praemia palmae' G. 3. 49. Here there seems to be a confusion between two notions, the competitors awaiting the award of the prize of victory, which would fall to the one who deserved it, and the competitors looking forward to a number of prizes which would be awarded according to their several deserts. ['Expectant' Pal.—H. N.]

71.] Henry raises a question about the meaning of 'ore favete,' which he thinks has been wrongly interpreted of silence. But a reference to Forc. 'faveo,' where the matter is fully treated, will show that the common interpretation is substantially right. The point was that none but good words should be uttered before a sacrifice, and the spectators in consequence either repeated what the priest said or did not speak at all. It may be worth while to extract in extenso two of the most important passages which Forc. quotes. The first is from Ov. M. 15. 677 foll.:—

"Et Deus en, Deus en, linguisque animisque favete,
Quisquis ades, dixit. Sis, o pulcherrime, visus
Utiliter, populosque iuves tua sacra colentis.
Quisquis adest, iussum venerantur numen, et omnes
Verba sacerdotis referunt geminata, piumque
Aeneadae praestant et mente et voce favorem."

The other is from Pliny 28. 11, "Videmus certis precationibus obsecrasse magistratus, et ne quid verborum praetereatur aut praeposterum dicatur, de scripto praeire aliquem, rursusque alium custodem dari qui attendat, alium vero praeponi qui faveri linguis iubeat, tibicinem canere, ne quid aliud exaudiatur." On certain occasions the same proclamation was made with an opposite though parallel object, that people should abstain from good words: see Forc. Here the injunction means that the sacred rites are going to begin. Comp. the use of 'faventes' 1. 735., 8. 173, where it would seem from the context that good words are intended rather than silence, the term being perhaps understood liberally on festive occasions. 'Cingite tempora' Med., Pal., 'tempora cingite' Rom. Putting on wreaths was part of the ceremonial: comp. 7. 135., 8. 274.

Sic fatus velat materna tempora myrto.
Hoc Helymus facit, hoc aevi maturus Acestes,
Hoc puer Ascanius, sequitur quos cetera pubes.
Ille e concilio multis cum milibus ibat
Ad tumulum, magna medius comitante caterva.
Hic duo rite mero libans carchesia Baccho
Fundit humi, duo lacte novo, duo sanguine sacro,
Purpureosque iacit flores, ac talia fatur:
Salve, sancte parens, iterum: salvete, recepti

-103.] 'Having put on wreaths of e, they proceed to the tomb. Aeneas libations, and addresses his father's . A large rainbow-hued serpent from the tomb, tastes the libations, nters the tomb again. Aeneas, raged, pursues the ceremony, and ces victims. A banquet succeeds crifice.'

| Comp. G. 1. 28. 'Velat:' see on ., 3. 174.

] Helymus is named by Dionys. . 52 as having accompanied Acestes Troy to Sicily. Strabo 13, p. 608 B. s him land in Sicily with Aeneas, makes him a companion or retainer cestes, but younger, vv. 300, 301 . In any case his name was con- l with Sicily, as the mythic founder Elymi, a people there, Thuc. 6. 2. urus aevi' means merely of ripe , not necessarily implying old age: urus' however is frequently used of ld, with reference either to their ience or to their age, and is in effect parative term. Comp. 9. 246, "annis s atque animi maturus Aletes," who tinguished in this way from Nisus Euryalus, to whom he is speaking, rom Ascanius, who follows him. So 4 Od. 4. 55, "Natosque maturosque s;" id. A. P. 115, "Maturusne senex dhuc florente iuventa Fervidus." it discriminates Acestes from Asca- and perhaps from Helymus and the cetera pubes.'

] "Sequitur tum cetera pubes" 7. 'Sequi' of following an example 1.

] ['Millibus' Rom.—H. N.]

] ['At' Pal. and originally Med.— .]

] 'Carchesia' G. 4. 380 note. For libations to the dead generally . 3. 66 (note), E. 5. 67: also Il. 23. 219 foll. 'Mero Baccho,' a solitary instance in Virg. of the use of the word in its proper adjectival sense. The abl., for which the gen. would be more usual, may be called material or descriptive. Comp. E. 3. 39 note.

78.] 'Sanguine sacro' 3. 67.

79.] "Purpureos spargam flores" is said by Anchises himself of funeral offerings to young Marcellus 6. 884. The custom was the same in Greece, Aesch. Pers. 618, Soph. El. 895.

80.] It is very doubtful whether 'iterum' refers to Aeneas' second visit to the tomb, or simply to the repetition of the address 'salve'—in other words, whether it should be connected in pointing with the first or the second clause in the line. Serv. says the address to the dead was repeated thrice, "salve, salve, resalve ter." On the whole I have not thought it worth while to disturb the pointing of Heyne and Wagn., who place a semicolon after 'iterum,' though Ribbeck punctuates differently. The 'salve' was either equivalent to the final 'vale,' or accompanied it. So 11. 27, "Salve aeternum mihi, maxime Palla, Aeternumque vale," Aeneas' final address to the dead Pallas. Thus also the "ave atque vale" of Catullus 101. 10 to his dead brother. At any rate 'recepti' has nothing to do with this second visit, as no such sense can be got out of the word. The ashes welcomed Aeneas again, not he them. Henry is evidently right in explaining 'recepti nequiquam' of Aeneas' rescue of his father from Troy, which he calls in vain, as he was to lose him after all, and comparing 3. 711, "heu tantis nequiquam erepte periclis," and 6. 111, "Eripui his umeris medioque ex hoste recepi." In that case however it would be very harsh to make 'recepti' agree with 'cineres,' so that we shall probably do well to make 'recepti' the gen. sing., combined with 'paternae' like "mea

Nequiquam cineres, animaeque umbraeque paternae.
Non licuit finis Italos fataliaque arva,
Nec tecum Ausonium, quicumque est, quaerere Thybrim.
Dixerat haec, adytis cum lubricus anguis ab imis
Septem ingens gyros, septena volumina traxit,
Amplexus placide tumulum lapsusque per aras,
Caeruleae cui terga notae maculosus et auro
Squamam incendebat fulgor, ceu nubibus arcus
Mille iacit varios adverso sole colores.
Obstipuit visu Aeneas. Ille agmine longo
Tandem inter pateras et levia pocula serpens
Libavitque dapes, rursusque innoxius imo

unius opera," "vestram omnium caedem," and similar expressions. Comp. v. 24 above, "litora fraterna Erycis." Serv., connecting it with 'cineres,' as all the commentators appear to do, explains it ingeniously of the story already mentioned on 4. 427 of the recovery of Anchises' ashes by Diomed, which is of course out of the question.

81.] For 'umbrae' used of the appearance of a single person see 4. 571. [For a similar use of 'animae' comp. Sen. Contr. 7. 17. 5 (p. 198 Burs.), "Di Manes Popilli senis, et inultae patris, Cicero, to persecuntur animae." Ti. Donatus adopts an interpretation mentioned by Serv., making 'animae' and 'umbrae' gen. sing. —H. N.] The Verona Scholia observe that Virg. has enumerated the three parts of man, the dust that returns to earth, the spirit that goes into heaven, and the shade that dwells below.

82.] 'Non licuit' as in 4. 550. 'Why was it not permitted me?' 'Fataliaque arva' 4. 355.

83.] 'Quicumque est:' "Aut quia adhuc eum nusquam vidit, aut taedio longae navigationis hoc dicit," Serv. Virg. was thinking of Apollonius R. 3. 266.

84.] 'Adytis' is perhaps meant to indicate the sanctity of the tomb.

85.] It may be doubted whether there is any special meaning in the seven coils of the snake, though Serv. thinks they indicate the seven years of Aeneas' wandering, comparing the portent of the serpent in Iliad 2, and Heyne thinks seven is chosen as a mystical number. 'Gyri' and 'volumina' are probably the same; Wagn. however explains it as a sort of hendiadys, "septem gyros in se replicatos"—"ne tinnire inania poetam putes." [Henry takes 'gyros' of the circuits round the tomb, 'volumina' of the coils of the snake: so that the snake makes seven 'volumina' to each 'gyrus.'—H. N.]

86.] As Heyne remarks, this is the first we hear of the altars, which were doubtless erected as soon as they came to the tomb. Comp. 3. 63., 4. 509. ['Labsus' Med.—H. N.]

87.] 'Auro,' might go either with 'maculosus' or with 'incendebat:' but Sil. 15. 678, "clipeumque accenderat auro," quoted by Wagn., rather makes for the latter.

89.] 'Iacit' Med., Pal., 'trahit' Rom. There is little to choose between the two words on the ground of intrinsic propriety, though some of the later critics think otherwise; but it seems more likely that Virg. should have varied the line 4. 701 than simply repeated it. Either gives a vivid poetical image, 'trahit' of the length of the bow, 'iacit' of the glancing brightness of the colours, 'iacere colores' being used like 'iacere radios,' as Forb. remarks. Lucr. has "ex albis album pinnis iactare colorem" 2. 823, and "membrana coloris Cum iacitur" ('membrana' of the coating or film which he supposes to be given off from the surface of visible things), 4. 95: indeed the words 'iacere' and 'iactare' figure rather largely in his philosophical descriptions. This is an additional reason why the use of the word here should be attributed to Virg. rather than to a transcriber. 'Nubibus' may = 'in nubibus,' or may be connected with 'iacit,' flings on the clouds.

90.] Comp. 2. 212, which this line generally resembles.

91.] 'Tandem' expresses the slowness of the process.

92.] 'Dapes,' probably the offerings on

Successit tumulo, et depasta altaria liquit.
Hoc magis inceptos genitori instaurat honores,
Incertus, Geniumne loci famulumne parentis
Esse putet; caedit binas de more bidentis,
Totque sues, totidem nigrantis terga iuvencos;
Vinaque fundebat pateris, animamque vocabat
Anchisae magni Manisque Acheronte remissos.
Nec non et socii, quae cuique est copia, laeti
Dona ferunt, onerant aras, mactantque iuvencos;
Ordine aëna locant alii, fusique per herbam

e altars, which, though not mentioned, course must be assumed. It may how-er refer to the libations and flowers. e on 3. 301.

93.] 'Depasta' is explained by 'liba-t.' ['Linquit' Med. originally.—H. N.]

94.] 'Instaurat' because of 'inceptos.' e 4. 63 note, and comp. Livy 25. 16 ere referred to. The meaning is not, Forb. thinks, that he renews the cere-onies of the year before, but that he rries on what had been begun before e appearance of the serpent.

95.] 'Genium loci' 7. 136. The enius was frequently represented under e form of a serpent. Comp. Lersch, nt. Verg. § 57. 21, where instances from erculaneum and Pompeii are cited. ersch also quotes a passage from Livy i. 16, where two serpents appear during sacrifice performed by Gracchus and eat e liver of the victim, remarking that ch a visitation might be interpreted fferently according to the will of the ruspex, the omen having been in that se thought a bad one. The discovery serpents in tombs seems to have sug-sted the notion mentioned in Ov. M. i. 389 in a speech of Pythagoras, and ferred to by the Verona scholia and rv., that the human marrow when composed became a serpent. 'Famu-m:' Anchises as a god might have had animal to attend him. Sil. 6. 288 eaks of a serpent as "famulus sororum aiadum," Val. F. 3. 458 of "angues mbrarum famuli." Sil. 13. 124 speaks a doe as "famula Dianae," and Ov. I. 8. 272 of the Calydonian boar as infestae vindex famulusque Dianae."

96.] Pal., Verona fragm., Gud., &c., ave "quinas," which was the old read-g, a mistake probably originating in an ametrical variant "caeditque binas," hich is found in Rom. ['Quinas' is supported by Nonius p. 272, and Serv. on v. 78 above.—H. N.] There is no authority for the number 5, whereas 2 was one of the sacred numbers, as we have just seen, v. 77. 'Binas' for 'duo' as in E. 3. 30 &c. The three kinds of victims are the same as those sacrificed at the Suovetaurilia or Solitaurilia. Comp. 1. 634, 635.

97.] Comp. 6. 153, 243 foll.

98.] This invocation seems to be paral-lel to the 'inclamatio' mentioned 3. 68., 6. 506.

99.] 'Remissos,' the shade being as-sumed to be present in order to partake of the funeral offerings. Comp. the words of the shade of Darius, Aesch. Pers. 689, οἱ κατὰ χθονὸς θεοὶ λαβεῖν ἀμείνους εἰσὶν ἢ μεθιέναι. Perhaps the appearance of the serpent encouraged the feeling in Aeneas.

100.] "'Quae cuique est copia,' pro sua quisque facultate," Serv. 'Laeti:' note on v. 58 above.

101.] 'Dona ferunt' G. 3. 22. 'One-rantque,' the reading of the early edi-tions, is found in one of Ribbeck's cur-sives. Jahn seems right in supporting the omission of the copulative on the ground that 'onerant mactantque' de-velops the notion of 'dona ferunt.' As Wagn. remarks, Virg. is here describing the occupations of some of the Trojans only, 'alii' being supplied from the next verse, as in 4. 592. 'Onerant aras mac-tantque iuvencos' may be a ὕστερον πρότερον, as the altars would be loaded with dishes of entrails &c. from the slain victims ("cumulantque oneratis lancibus aras" 8. 284., 12. 215): but the meaning may be that while some are making offerings from victims already slain, others are slaying fresh victims.

102.] 'Ordine,' in turn, G. 4. 376. For the rest of the line see on 1. 213, 214, where the same words occur.

Subiciunt veribus prunas et viscera torrent.
Exspectata dies aderat nonamque serena
Auroram Phaethontis equi iam luce vehebant,
Famaque finitimos et clari nomen Acestae
Excierat; laeto complebant litora coetu,
Visuri Aeneadas, pars et certare parati.
Munera principio ante oculos circoque locantur
In medio, sacri tripodes viridesque coronae
Et palmae pretium victoribus, armaque et ostro
Perfusae vestes, argenti aurique talenta;
Et tuba commissos medio canit aggere ludos.

103.] ['Subiciunt:' "such was the ancient mode of roasting: the fire was under, the meat to be roasted not before, but over." Henry.—H. N.] 'Viscera' 1. 211 note. "Pinguiaque in veribus torrebimus exta colurnis" G. 2. 396.

104—113.] 'The day arrives: a great concourse is collected: the prizes are placed in public view: and the games begin.'

104.] ['Expectata' Pal.—H. N.]

105.] Φαέθων is the Homeric and Hesiodic epithet of the sun (Il. 11. 735 &c.), and is used by later writers as the name of the sun-god (e. g. Val. Fl. 3. 213, "trepidam Phaethon adflavit ab alto Tisiphonen"). This is doubtless its sense here, as a reference to the adventure of the legendary Phaethon with his father's horses would be obviously out of place. As Gossrau remarks, the epithets of the gods were not unfrequently made into children of the gods, demi-gods, &c. In Od. 23. 244 foll. the dawn-goddess has horses of her own, one of which is actually called Phaethon. 'Serena luce:' abl. of circumstance.

107.] I have restored 'complebant' for 'complerant' from Med. and two other MSS. Perhaps it is scarcely worth while, as the transcriber may have altered the less usual form; but there is a slight advantage in the imperfect, which is thus shown to be the effect of which the pluperfect 'excierat' is the cause. The whole passage, and this line in particular, seems to be imitated from Catull. 6, 31 foll.:

"Quae simul optatae finito tempore luces
Advenere, domum conventu tota frequentat
Thessalia: oppletur laetanti regia coetu."

['Conplerant' Pal.—H. N.]

108.] "'Visuri Aeneadas:' expressit plenissimam laudem Troianorum," Ti. Donatus. We may remember that Virg. might have said "Visuri ludos." 'Certare parati:' comp. E. 7. 5.

109.] The enumeration of the prizes is from Il. 23. 259 foll., though the details are not the same. 'Circo:' we must either suppose Virg. to have forgotten himself here, as it is not until v. 289, after the ship-race is over, that they go into the circus, or take 'circo' of the concourse of people, used perhaps proleptically. Hom. l. c. has ἵζανεν εὐρὺν ἀγῶνα.

110.] Tripods are given in Hom. vv. 259, 264 &c. 'Sacri,' to be used in sacrifice.

111.] The 'palmae' (G. 3. 12 note), a post-Homeric institution, were confined to the conquerors: see below, vv. 472, 519.

112.] 'Perfusae,' dyed or saturated. "Omne genus perfusa coloribus in genere omni" Lucr. 2. 821. 'Talenta' fragm. Vat., Rom., 'talentum' Med., Pal., Gud. The latter was restored by Wagn., but Ribbeck seems right in recalling the former, as it appears from v. 248 that the crew of each ship received a talent of silver, unless Heyne is right in supposing that a talent was divided among the crews. Hom. talks of two talents of gold. The meaning then will be that there was several talents' weight of gold and silver (comp. 10. 526, 531), the talent of course not being a coin but a weight. In 11. 333, "aurique eborisque talenta," 'talenta' seems to be dual, denoting a talent's weight of each.

113.] The trumpet, as is well known, is not heroic, appearing only in a Homeric simile; but it was one of the ways of commencing the shows at the circus.

Prima pares ineunt gravibus certamina remis
Quattuor ex omni delectae classe carinae.
Velocem Mnestheus agit acri remige Pristim,
Mox Italus Mnestheus, genus a quo nomine Memmi,
Ingentemque Gyas ingenti mole Chimaeram,
Urbis opus, triplici pubes quam Dardana versu

ımmittere ludos' occurs in Cic. ad Q. ꝫ. 4. 6, Fin. 3. 2. 'Medio aggere,' a ınd in the centre of the company, haps the same as in v. 44.

14—123.] 'The first is a race of four ps from the fleet, commanded respecıly by Mnestheus, Gyas, Sergestus, l Cloanthus, founders of great Roman ıses.'

15.] Virg. naturally substitutes the p-race for Homer's chariot-race, which ıeas' wandering heroes could not well e conducted: he has kept his eye rever on the incidents of the Homeric test. Wagn. thinks 'pares' must r to swiftness, not to size, supposing Chimaera to be larger than the rest, ıg a trireme, while the others are ımed to have been biremes. In v. however the weight of Cloanthus' ıel is said to be the reason why he not get ahead of Gyas, so that the ships probably did not differ much ize. It seems more likely that in the ›wing description Virg. as usual has lied variety, calling the Pristis swift the Scylla sea-coloured without ıning that the others were not swift, mplying any thing about their colour, thus that in dwelling on the size of Chimaera he has no intention of disıging that of the rest. 'Gravibus ıis' of course does not mark out the ›s as adapted for swift sailing, but leads to think of the difficulty of the feat, le indicating their actual character.

16.] 'Pristim' Rom., fragm. Vat. [and MSS. of Nonius p. 535], 'Pristin' l. and Pal. Virg. seems generally to fer the Latin to the Greek terminaı. For the word see on 3. 427. The ›s doubtless derived their names from 'insignia' on their prows. Comp. description of Aulestes' Triton 10. foll. [For the word 'pristis' see on 2.—H. N.]

17.] 'Soon to be founder of an Italian se.' The connecting of Roman families h Trojan heroes is not a fancy of g.'s, but dates from an earlier period. ›ro wrote a book 'de familiis Troianis.' Virg. may or may not have derived Mnestheus from μεμνῆσθαι, Memmius from 'meminisse:' but he evidently follows the analogy of those words in his etymology. As μεμνῆσθαι became 'meminisse,' so 'Mnestheus' was supposed to become 'Memmius.' It is disputed whether 'Memmi' is nom. pl. or gen. sing., but perhaps the latter is the simpler, as Wagn. remarks, comp. v. 123. 'Mnestheus,' 4. 288.

118.] Wagn. thinks 'ingentem' refers to bulk generally, 'ingenti mole' to height; but Gossrau's view seems more natural: "duplicato adjectivo magnitudo navis extollitur," like Homer's μέγας μεγαλωστί. [Henry, with more reason takes 'mole' of motion, impetus: comparing Lucr. 4. 902 "trudit agens magnam magno molimine navem."—H. N.] It is singular that Gyas is not mentioned as the founder of any house, as it appears from Serv. that the Geganii, a great Alban family, afterwards a patrician house at Rome (Livy 1. 30), regarded him as their progenitor. It is supposed however that they may have died out before Virg.'s time, as they are not mentioned in the later history of the republic. At any rate Virg. indemnifies Gyas by dwelling at much greater length on the points of his ship. 'Gyas' 1. 222. ["Chimeram' Med., Rom., and fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

119.] 'Urbis opus' is a singular expression for "urbis instar." It occurs again Ov. F. 6. 639, of a house built by Vedius Pollio and left to Augustus, who pulled it down. The lines are worth quoting:—

"Disce tamen, veniens aetas, ubi Livia nunc est
Porticus, immensae tecta fuisse domus.
Urbis opus domus una fuit, spatiumque tenebat
Quo brevius muris oppida multa tenent."

Stat. Theb. 6. 86 imitates it, calling a funeral pile "montis opus," if the reading is certain, and again Silv. 2. 2. 31, "Inde

Impellunt, terno consurgunt ordine remi;
Sergestusque, domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen,
Centauro invehitur magna, Scyllaque Cloanthus
Caerulea, genus unde tibi, Romane Cluenti.
Est procul in pelago saxum spumantia contra
Litora, quod tumidis summersum tunditur olim
Fluctibus, hiberni condunt ubi sidera Cori;
Tranquillo silet, inmotaque attollitur unda
Campus et apricis statio gratissima mergis.

per obliquas erepit porticus arces, Urbis opus," which however the commentators explain "opus urbe dignum." Gossrau comp. Cic. Verr. 5. 34, "Quae (navis) si in praedonum pugna versaretur, urbis instar habere inter illos piraticos myoparones videretur." [Henry takes the words as meaning 'a work reminding you of a city,' 'a city in miniature.'—H. N.] Cerda comp. 8. 691, of the battle of Actium, "pelago credas innare revolsas Cycladas, aut montis concurrere montibus altos," where however see note. 'Versus' of a tier of oars, Livy 23. 30. Virg. has been guilty of an anachronism, as triremes were not invented till the historic period (Thuc. 1. 13), about B.C. 700, at the same time that he must have failed to impress a notion of vastness upon his readers, who had known ships of ten tiers at the battle of Actium, and had heard of others of sixteen, thirty, and even forty. See Dict. A. 'Ships.'

120.] 'Terno ordine' for "tribus ordinibus." 'Consurgunt,' the tiers rising one above another, though not perpendicularly. Ribbeck brackets 'terno—remi' as tautologous, as if Virg. never said the same thing in two different forms. [And, as Henry well remarks, there is no tautology, 'versu' expressing one aspect of the ship, 'ordine' another. —H. N.]

121.] 'Sergestus' 1. 510. 'Tenet nomen,' derives the name it still bears. Comp. 6. 235., 7. 412.

122.] 'Magna,' rather than 'magno' (which is however the reading of a few copies, supported by Nonius), agreeing with 'navi' understood. Forb. cites "Praeneste sub ipsa" (urbe) 8. 561, "Eunuchus bis die acta est" (fabula), Suet. Tib. 2. 'Cloanthus' 1. 222.

123.] Scylla's dogs are spoken of as 'caerulei' 3. 432 (note), and the 'insigne' of Scylla would doubtless be painted of this colour, if not the whole vessel. Sen. Ep. 76 alludes to the custom of painting ships, "Navis bona dicitur, non quae pretiosis coloribus picta est . . . sed stabilis et firma."

124—158.] 'Aeneas sets up a goal on a rock, round which they are to turn. They range themselves in order and prepare to start. The signal is given: they are off: the scene is more exciting than a chariot-race: the spectators are all enthusiasm. Gyas takes the lead, then Cloanthus, lastly Mnestheus and Sergestus, nearly abreast.'

124.] From the description it is supposed that the race is meant to take place in the Sinus Longuri, under Mount Eryx. The description of the goal is modelled, mutatis mutandis, upon that of the goal in Hom.'s chariot-race (Il. 23. 327 foll.). The rock is well out at sea, 'procul in pelago,' and faces the shore, 'contra litora.'

125.] In a storm the rock is covered—in a calm it stands out. Heyne comp. Apoll. R. 1. 365, λείῳ ἐπὶ πλαταμῶνι, τὸν οὐκ ἐπέβαλλε θάλασσα Κύμασι, χειμερίη δὲ πάλαι ἀποέκλυσεν ἅλμη. 'Olim' followed by 'ubi:' see on G. 2. 403. Forb. comp. Lucr. 6. 148, "Ut calidis candens ferrum e fornacibus olim Stridit, ubi in gelidum propere demersimus imbrem." ['Submersum' Pal. and Med. corrected.—H. N.]

126.] 'Condunt' with clouds. 'Cori:' see on G. 3. 278. [The MSS. give 'Chori' —H. N.]

127.] 'Tranquillo' abl. of circumstance. 'Tranquillum' is frequently used as a subst., and hence 'tranquillo' is sometimes found adverbially, a step beyond its use here. See Forc. It matters little whether 'saxum' or 'campus' be regarded as the subject of 'silet,' 'campus' being in this case = 'saxum.'

128.] 'Campus,' a table-land, like 'aequor' (applied to a rock Lucr. 3. 892) or 'planities.' 'Apricis' is half proleptic.

Hic viridem Aeneas frondenti ex ilice metam
Constituit signum nautis pater, unde reverti
Scirent et longos ubi circumflectere cursus.
Tum loca sorte legunt, ipsique in puppibus auro
Ductores longe effulgent ostroque decori;
Cetera populea velatur fronde iuventus,
Nudatosque umeros oleo perfusa nitescit.
Considunt transtris, intentaque bracchia remis;
Intenti exspectant signum, exultantiaque haurit
Corda pavor pulsans laudumque arrecta cupido.
Inde, ubi clara dedit sonitum tuba, finibus omnes,
Haut mora, prosiluere suis; ferit aethera clamor

pleasant standing-place for sea-birds sun themselves upon.' Comp. G. 4. l, "Deprensis olim statio tutissima utis." The poetical reader will be re-nded of Wordsworth's 'sea-beast.' lergis:' note on G. 1. 361.

129.] The meaning seems to be that a e is cut down or torn up and set on the :k, leaves and all, as a goal. 'Fron-nti' and 'viridem' form a contrast to mer's ξύλον αὖον.

130.] It is difficult to give the force 'pater,' which doubtless is intended to aracterize the act, like "dederat heros" 196. "dea fudit" ib. 412, "dea tollit" 692. Perhaps on a comparison of . 358. 424 below we may say that it notes Aeneas' acting as the president d patron of the games, directing the rts of those who are mostly younger n himself. In v. 521 it indicates estes' display of his prowess as a teran.

131.] They had probably to sail round goal; at any rate it served as the ning-point of the race, which was like Greek δίαυλος. "Longos et circum-ctere cursus" 3. 430.

132.] They chose their places by lot, it was an object to secure the place iich as nearest to the goal involved the ortest turn. Comp. Il. 23. 352, where e result of the lot-drawing is given at igth, as below vv. 409 foll.

133.] 'Ductores,' the commanders, as stinguished from 'rectores,' the pilots . 161).

134.] The rowers are partially naked, d wear garlands of poplar. 'Velatur' 174. Serv. says the poplar was chosen cause these were funeral games, that tree having been brought from the shades by Hercules when he went to fetch Cerberus. See on E. 7. 61.

136.] 'Considunt transtris' 2. 289. 'Intentaque bracchia remis' followed immediately by 'intenti' has given some trouble to the commentators. Probably the repetition is intentional, as Gossrau remarks, to enforce the notion of intense eagerness. There is something strange to a modern judgment in the use of the same word first in a literal and immediately afterwards in a transferred sense; but the contrast between the two was doubtless not so sharply present to the poet's mind. 'Intendere bracchia' occurs below, v. 403. Here the meaning seems to be that every nerve and muscle is strained in expectation of the contest. There is some resemblance between this passage and Enn. A. 7. fr. 6, "tonsas ante tenentes Parerent, observarent, portisculus signum Cum dare coepisset." ['Trastris' Ribbeck, from Rom.—H. N.]

137.] "Exultantiaque haurit Corda pavor pulsans." G. 3. 105 note. [Comp. Lucr. 3. 141 "Hic" (viz. in the breast) "exultat enim pavor ac metus." 'Expectant' Pal.; 'exsultantia' fragm. Vat. —H. N.]

138.] "Spes arrectae iuvenum" G. 3. 105. "Tantus amor laudum" ib. 110.

139.] 'Finibus,' from their respective places, which were their limits until the signal was given. It is the 'limen' of v. 316, the 'carcer' of the circus. Ribbeck reads 'funibus,' seemingly from his own conjecture.

140.] 'Prosiluere' apparently expresses both the onward bound of the vessel and the rising of the rowers. "Ferit aurea

Nauticus, adductis spumant freta versa lacertis.
Infindunt pariter sulcos, totumque dehiscit
Convolsum remis rostrisque tridentibus aequor.
Non tam praecipites biiugo certamine campum
Corripuere ruuntque effusi carcere currus,
Nec sic immissis aurigae undantia lora
Concussere iugis pronique in verbera pendent.
Tum plausu fremituque virum studiisque faventum

sidera clamor" 2. 488. 'Clamor nauticus' 3. 128. ['Haud' Pal. and fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

141.] It is doubtful, as was intimated on 3. 668, whether 'versa' here and 'verso' in the parallel passage 10. 208, "spumant vada marmore verso," come from "vertere" or from "verrere." "Verrere" is used several times of rowing (see 3. 668), while to support the use of "vertere" in that sense we must perhaps look to the analogy of ploughing, "vertere terram," &c. [The meaning would be much the same in either case: see on 3. 668. 'Abductis' fragm. Vat. —H. N.]

142.] "Telluri infindere sulcos" E. 4. 33. 'Pariter' expresses the regular movement of the oars of each vessel; or it may refer to the ships as abreast of each other at starting. 'Dehiscit' as in a storm, 1. 106.

143.] Repeated 8. 690. In both passages an unmetrical reading 'stridentibus' seems to have got early possession of the text, to the perplexity of the grammarians, who had recourse to various ways of scanning it, a molossus or amphimacer in the fourth foot, the suppression of *s* as a consonant which the Etruscans scarcely sounded at all, and the shortening of *i* by the poet 'auctoritate sua.' Pierius, who mentions these devices, himself asks "sed quid obsecro magis proprium quam in eo strepitu exprimendo, per eam syllabarum asperitatem, ut vastum nescio quid praeter etiam rationem musicam audiatur, legere 'convolsum remis rostrisque stridentibus aequor'?" Others, less ready for metrical tours de force, omitted 'que:' while others again changed 'stridentibus' into 'sonantibus,' 'ruentibus,' 'rudentibus.' The reading 'tridentibus' was mentioned to Pierius, apparently as a conjecture, "ab Academia Neapolitana profectam," by Angelus Colotius. It is found in Med., fragm. Vat. (originally), Pal., and some other copies, and is unquestionably the true one, expressing as it does accurately the shape of the ship's beak (Dict. A. 'Ships'). It is supported also by an imitation in Val. Fl. 1. 688, "volat inmissis cava pinus habenis, Infinditque salum et spumas vomit aere tridenti." Rom., Gud., &c., have 'stridentibus.' ['Convulsum' Med. and fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

144.] Virg. may be said to glance indirectly at his master in asserting that the ships moved faster and the rowers showed more eagerness than the chariots and their drivers. The comparison of a ship to a car at full speed is Homer's own, Od. 13. 81 foll., while the lines descriptive of the chariots and their drivers are partly taken from Virg.'s previous description of a chariot-race, G. 3. 103 foll., which is itself modelled on the chariot-race in Il. 23. "Praecipiti certamine campum Corripuere ruuntque effusi carcere currus" G. 3. 103, 104, where see notes. 'Biiugo certamine' is the poetical equivalent of "biiugorum" or "bigarum certamine."

146.] 'Inmissis' expresses the darting forward of the horses. So G. 2. 364, "laxis per purum inmissus habenis" (note).

147.] Emm. comp. Ov. M. 5. 403, "quorum per colla iubasque Excutit obscura tinctas ferrugine habenas." Heins. ingeniously but needlessly conj. 'iubis' here. ['Iugis' not the yokes, but the pairs of horses, as Cic. (Verr. 2. 3. 11 "qui singulis iugis arant," a pair of oxen apiece. So Henry.—H. N.] 'Pronique in verbera pendent' 10. 586. 'In verbera' may mean either, as Forb. thinks, "ut verbera dent," or literally and physically, over the blows they give, which is the same thing as saying, over the horses. "Illi instant verbere torto Et proni dant lora" G. 3. 106. The image, as Heyne remarks, seems to be Virg.'s own.

148.] 'Faventum' may be taken either with 'virum' or separately.

Consonat omne nemus, vocemque inclusa volutant
Litora, pulsati colles clamore resultant.
Effugit ante alios primisque elabitur undis
Turbam inter fremitumque Gyas; quem deinde Cloanthus
Consequitur, melior remis, sed pondere pinus
Tarda tenet. Post hos aequo discrimine Pristis
Centaurusque locum tendunt superare priorem;
Et nunc Pristis habet, nunc victam praeterit ingens
Centaurus, nunc una ambae iunctisque feruntur
Frontibus et longa sulcant vada salsa carina.
Iamque propinquabant scopulo metamque tenebant,

149.] "Consonat omne nemus strepitu, collesque resultant" 8. 305. Here we must suppose wooded hills near the coast. 'Consonat' is explained by Wagn. from 'omne.' Perhaps it is rather to be explained by the echo, 'fremitu' &c. however not being taken as datives, but as instrumental ablatives expressing the cause of the echo. 'Inclusa,' confined by the hills. "Vocemque per ampla volutant Atria" 1. 725.

150.] 'Clamore' with 'pulsati.' The hills are said to rebound because the noise rebounds from them (G. 4. 50), a variety which has found its way into English poetry, being common in Pope's Homer.

151.] 'Primis' was restored by Heins. for 'primus,' which is the first reading of one of Ribbeck's cursives. 'Effugit' and 'elabitur' both give the notion of escape from the mêlée of competitors. So Il. 23. 376, ἔκφερον ἵπποι. 'Turbam inter fremitumque' is rightly understood by Wagn. of the hurry and noise of those whom Gyas is leaving behind.

154.] 'Aequo discrimine,' an equal distance behind the two first. "Bene variat, nunc naves, nunc ductores commemorans.' Serv. Fragm. Vat. originally had 'aliquo.' ['Pistris' originally Rom. See on 3. 427.—H. N.]

155.] 'Locum superare priorem' seems to be a mixture of two notions, overcoming each other, and overcoming the difficulty of gaining the better place. In Greek τὰ πρότερα νικᾶν would be explained as a cognate accusative; but such constructions are much rarer in Latin.

156.] 'Habet' was restored by Heins. from Med. and others for 'abit,' the old reading (found in one of Ribbeck's cursives), which might stand as in v. 318 in the sense of 'effugit,' v. 151, though perhaps it would apply better to one competitor outstripping the rest than to one of two getting ahead of the other. 'Habet,' "locum priorem."

158.] "Et longa sulcat maria alta carina" 10. 197. Here the reading before Heins. was 'longe' or 'longae—carinae.' The reading in the text is well explained by Henry. "The simple idea, stripped of its ornament, is that of the two vessels moving on, abreast in front, and side by side in their length . . . but Virg. for the sake of variety and according to his usual custom . . . alters the latter clause, and instead of saying 'with bows abreast and hulls side by side, says 'with bows abreast, and furrow the salt waters with their long keels.' Thus used, the epithet 'longa' is not only not 'otiosum' (Heyne) but in the highest degree useful and ornamental: (a) because it serves to place before the mind not only the length of the vessels, with their consequent size and stateliness, but their parallel position with respect to their length (which latter sense appears more evidently on our supplying 'una' from the preceding clause, as suggested by Wagn.), and (b) because it thus prepares for the succeeding account (v. 186), of the one vessel passing the other, not by the whole, but only by part of its length 'nec tota tamen illa prior praeeunte carina.'"

159—182.] 'Gyas was just half-way when he complained of his pilot for steering too far out. The pilot refusing to steer for the shore, Cloanthus passes him. Gyas throws the pilot overboard and steers himself. The pilot swims ashore amid the laughter of the bystanders.'

159.] 'Scopulo,' the place where they were to turn, v. 124. [For the structure

Cum princeps medioque Gyas in gurgite victor
Rectorem navis compellat voce Menoeten:
Quo tantum mihi dexter abis? huc derige gressum;
Litus ama, et laevas stringat sine palmula cautes;
Altum alii teneant. Dixit; sed caeca Menoetes
Saxa timens proram pelagi detorquet ad undas.
Quo diversus abis? iterum, Pete saxa, Menoete!
Cum clamore Gyas revocabat; et ecce Cloanthum
Respicit instantem tergo, et propiora tenentem.
Ille inter navemque Gyae scopulosque sonantis
Radit iter laevum interior, subitoque priorem

of the line my friend Mr. J. C. Wilson, of Oriel College, compares 9. 371, "Iamque propinquabant castris, muroque subibant."—H. N.]

160.] 'Medio' is not explained by the commentators; but it seems to mean 'half-way,' 'medio in gurgite' being = 'media in via per gurgitem.' Perhaps we may be meant to connect 'medio in gurgite victor,' the conqueror of the half-way.

161.] "Ratem rexit" v. 868 below: "cursus regebam" 6. 350: "clavum regit" 10. 218. So 'gubernator.'

162.] ['Dirige' Med.—H. N.] Heins. restored 'gressum' for 'cursum.' 'Cursum' is a later correction in Med., supported by two of Ribbeck's cursives and the MSS. of Sen. De Ben. 6. 7. 'Gressum' has the advantage of being the more difficult reading, involving a bold and perhaps a harsh metaphor, as Gell. 10. 26 tells us that Asinius Pollio censured the use of 'transgressus' as applied to navigation in Sallust. On the other hand 'derige gressum' occurs elsewhere in Virg., 1. 401, 11. 855, the last a compound of the present line, and v. 166 below, while 'derige cursum' occurs nowhere else, so that a transcriber may very well have slipped into the expression with which he was more familiar. With Wagn. and Ribbeck I have, after considerable hesitation, allowed 'gressum' to stand.

163.] 'Litus ama,' as we talk of 'hugging the shore.' Forb. comp. "amat Ianua limen" Hor. 1. Od. 25. 3. 'Litus' here is the rock which Gyas wished to pass as closely as possible, as Antilochus is advised to pass the goal by Nestor, Il. 23. 338 foll. From 'dexter' and 'laevas' it appears that they were to pass the goal on the left. 'Stringat' gives briefly what Hom. l. c. expresses more fully, ἐγχριμφθήτω· Ὡς ἄν τοι πλήμνη γε δοάσσεται ἄκρον ἱκέσθαι Κύκλου ποιητοῖο. Possibly the diminutive 'palmula,' may be intended further to express the delicacy of the operation. Med., Pal., and Gud. a m. p. have 'laeva,' which might be defended metrically, but would only produce a less Virgilian combination (see above on v. 151), while the omission of *s* is easily accounted for by the beginning of the next word. See on G. 2. 219. Germ. comp. Prop. 4. (3) 3. 23, "Alter remus aquas, alter tibi radat harenas; Tutus eris; medio maxima turba mari est."

164.] 'Alii,' others, who have not the command of the way.

166.] 'Iterum' belongs to 'revocabat.' Serv. as an alternative proposes to connect it with 'abis,' observing that it is not to be taken with 'pete.'

167.] 'Revocabat:' "a cursu quem ingressus erat" Wagn. rightly. It might possibly be explained 'rursus vocabat;' but this would be less likely. Rom. and a few others omit 'et,' a mistake which some of the early editors and Ladewig among the moderns follow deliberately. See on v. 480.

168.] "'Propiora' metae loca" Forb. I would rather take it "propiora Gyae." ['Propriora' Pal.—H. N.]

169.] Cloanthus gets between Gyas and the rock, as Antilochus passes Menelaus in the narrow part of the road, Il. 23. 416 foll.

170.] "'Radit iter:' radit mare remis, ut alibi." Heyne. Rather, "facit viam radendo litora." Comp. 3. 700., 7. 10, and the passage from Prop. quoted on v. 163. "Radit iter liquidum" below, v. 217, which Forb. compares, contains a different image. ['Laevom' Pal. origi-

Praeterit et metis tenet aequora tuta relictis.
Tum vero exarsit iuveni dolor ossibus ingens,
Nec lacrimis caruere genae, segnemque Menoeten,
Oblitus decorisque sui sociumque salutis,
In mare praecipitem puppi deturbat ab alta;
Ipse gubernaclo rector subit, ipse magister,
Hortaturque viros, clavomque ad litora torquet.
At gravis, ut fundo vix tandem redditus imo est,
Iam senior madidaque fluens in veste Menoetes
Summa petit scopuli siccaque in rupe resedit.
Illum et labentem Teucri et risere natantem,
Et salsos rident revomentem pectore fluctus.
Hic laeta extremis spes est accensa duobus,
Sergesto Mnestheique, Gyan superare morantem.

nally.—H. N.] 'Subitusque,' a former reading, seems to have no MS. authority.

171.] 'Tuta,' safe from any danger of collision, there being no rock to graze. 'Metis' seems merely a poetical plural, to avoid the repetition of the same termination.

172.] Menelaus is angry at being passed by Antilochus, Il. l. c., but the tears are borrowed from Diomed, ib. 385, when Apollo takes away his whip just as he is trying to pass Eumelus. 'Ossibus' is taken by Forb. as a second dative, epexegetic of 'iuveni:' but it seems simpler to regard it as an abl., as it doubtless is in 9. 66, "duris dolor ossibus ardet," which he quotes.

174.] The contracted form 'socium' is found in prose, Livy 22. 27 &c.

175.] "Deturbavit equis in terram" Lucr. 5. 401, of the fall of Phaethon.

176.] 'Subit' i.q. "succedit." 'Rector' and 'magister' are here the same (comp. vv. 224, 867, below 6. 353), though 'magister' is sometimes (not in Virg.) used of the captain.

177.] 'Clavus' usually means the tiller ("fustis gubernaculi" Serv.): here however we must either give it the sense of the rudder, or suppose that Virg. expresses himself loosely, meaning merely that Gyas turns the tiller so as to bring the ship towards the rock. ['Clavum' Rom.—H. N.]

178.] 'Gravis,' partly with age, partly with his soaked dress, as the next line explains. Forb. comp. 6. 359, "madida cum veste gravatum." The description, down to v. 182, is modelled on Od. 5. 319 foll.:

τόνδ' ἄρ' ὑπόβρυχα θῆκε πολὺν χρόνον.

* * * * *

εἵματα γάρ ῥ' ἐβάρυνε, τά οἱ πόρε δῖα Καλυψώ.
ὀψὲ δὲ δή ῥ' ἀνέδυ, στόματος δ' ἐξέπτυσεν ἅλμην
πικρήν, ἥ οι πολλὴ ἀπὸ κρατὸς κελάρυζεν.

179.] 'In veste' 4. 518. 'Fluens' seems to combine the notion of dripping ("Ille, cruore fluens, cubito tamen adlevat artus" Ov. M. 7. 343) with that of the clothes hanging about him. ['Scopulis' Rom.—H. N.]

182.] 'Rident' refers to the time mentioned in v. 180. Menoetes is drying himself on the rock: the Trojans had laughed when they saw him falling, laughed when they saw him rising and swimming: and now they laugh when they see him disgorging the water. 'Risere' of course is not put for 'riserant,' which would make a sharper contrast with 'rident' and bring the latter out into greater prominence than Virg. intends. 'Pectore' here stands for the stomach. Virg. was thinking of Il. 23. 781 foll., where the lesser Ajax stands *ὄνθον ἀποπτύων . . . οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἡδὺ γέλασσαν.*

183—200.] 'Sergestus and Mnestheus conceive the hope of overtaking Gyas. Mnestheus encourages his men, reminding them of what they have done under former difficulties, and urging them at all events not to be last.'

184.] Two of Ribbeck's cursives have

Sergestus capit ante locum scopuloque propinquat,
Nec tota tamen ille prior praeeunte carina;
Parte prior; partem rostro premit aemula Pristis.
At media socios incedens nave per ipsos
Hortatur Mnestheus: Nunc, nunc insurgite remis,
Hectorei socii, Troiae quos sorte suprema
Delegi comites; nunc illas promite viris,
Nunc animos, quibus in Gaetulis Syrtibus usi
Ionioque mari Maleaeque sequacibus undis.
Non iam prima peto Mnestheus, neque vincere certo;
Quamquam o!—Sed superent, quibus hoc, Neptune, dedisti;

'Mnestheo,' the reading before Heins. The Greek form is more probable, as in E. 4. 57. ['Mnesti' Med. and Rom.—H. N.]

185.] 'Capit ante locum' seems to mean gets the choice of water, or gets the desired water first, viz. the water near the goal. 'Scopulo propinquat,' not as in v. 159, comes near the goal as he advances, but gets the near side to the goal. Comp. vv. 202, 203.

186.] Many copies consulted by Pierius give "Nec tamen ille prior tota."

187.] 'Partim' (Pal., Rom., Gud.) was restored by Heins. as the older form of the acc. Wagn. however has replaced 'partem' (Med.), remarking that in the golden age 'partim' had come to be used only as a sort of undeclined noun, in constructions like 'partim eorum,' 'partim ex iis,' and so could not stand here either as an accusative proper or as an adverb proper. Ribbeck however gives 'partim.' 'Premit,' if taken literally, must refer not to contact behind but to contact alongside.

188.] Mnestheus talks to his men as Antilochus Il. 23. 403 foll. talks to his horses. 'Per ipsos:' he mixes with them and addresses them personally. ['Ad' Pal. for 'at.'—H. N.]

189.] 'Insurgite remis' 3. 207.

190.] Forb. seems right in adopting Serv.'s second interpretation of 'Hectorei,' "quondam Hectoris." Mnestheus tells his men that they once fought by the side of Hector, and afterwards, when Troy fell, were chosen by himself as his own comrades. To understand 'Hectorei' as = 'Troiani' with Heyne (comp. 1. 273, "gente sub Hectorea") would, as Forb. remarks, be rather feeble, and would make 'socii' somewhat tautologous with 'comites.' Mnestheus speaks as if he had raised a company to sail with Aeneas. The time referred to is either that mentioned 2. 799, or that mentioned 3. 8. So "Troiae supremum laborem" 2. 11, "Phrygiae casus venisse supremos" Claud. Eutrop. 2. 289, "supremae clarorum virorum necessitates" Tac. H. 1. 3.

192.] 'Gaetulis Syrtibus' above v. 51. For the omission of the verb subst. see on 1. 237.

193.] I. e. when they were sailing from Crete, 3. 190 foll. The headland of Malea was proverbially dangerous. Strabo 8. p. 250 has preserved a saying Μαλέας δὲ κάμψας ἐπιλάθου τῶν οἴκαδε. 'Sequacibus,' because when the ship was once entangled in them she would find it hard to escape; following the ship, as Serv., not, as Heyne, following each other.

194.] 'Non iam' 4. 431. There seems a mixture of pride and modesty in Mnestheus' mentioning his own name, 'being the man I am.' The disclaimer is from Il. 23. 404 foll., where Antilochus says he does not contend with Diomed, who has just been helped miraculously. 'Prima,' τὰ πρωτεῖα, v. 338.

195.] 'Quamquam o' is the contraction of a wish, "quamquam o si possem vincere," or something of the sort. Comp. 11. 415, "Quamquam o si solitae quicquam virtutis adesset!" The rest of the line is not intended, as Gossrau and Forb. think, for a consolation, as if Mnestheus meant that Cloanthus, who was certain to beat him, would do so by the favour of Neptune. Antilochus might express himself so, but no special mark of divine favour had been vouchsafed to Cloanthus, who being second already, had just become first by the misfortune of his rival. The meaning plainly is that in a contest like this it is no disgrace not to be first

Extremos pudeat rediisse; hoc vincite, cives,
Et prohibete nefas. Olli certamine summo
Procumbunt; vastis tremit ictibus aerea puppis,
Subtrahiturque solum; tum creber anhelitus artus
Aridaque ora quatit; sudor fluit undique rivis.
Attulit ipse viris optatum casus honorem.
Namque furens animi dum proram ad saxa suburget

ıt it is to be last; the former conıgency cannot be certainly gained, but e latter may be certainly averted; nestheus accordingly leaves the one the hands of Neptune, and urges his ew to see to the other. ['Set' Med. H. N.]

196.] It is very doubtful whether 'hoc' to be taken together with 'nefas' or parately, 'hoc vincite' meaning 'gain is point.' The latter is rendered highly obable by an apparent imitation in Sil. 429, "primum hoc vincat, servasse paatem:" in the very same context hower, v. 412, we find "hoc arcete nefas," ııle "hoc prohibete nefas" occurs Ov. . 10. 322. Stat. Theb. 6. 181. 'Vincere fas' might stand, in the sense of overming a disgrace (comp. v. 155 above); ıt 'hoc vincite,' as explained above, ems more idiomatic, and brings out tter the allusion to the victory that nestheus has disclaimed v. 194. 'Let is triumph be yours, not to have been st.' Nor does it seem that Wagn. is ght in saying that 'nefas' could not ınd without a pronoun. Why should it t stand here as well as in 2. 585? Here there, we may render it 'a disgrace not be named,' indefinitely. 'Nefas' is erely a strong term used by Mnestheus his excitement, with no reference, such Gossrau supposes, to the dishonour ne to the deified Anchises by failing a contest instituted in his honour, a me which one of the four competitors ıs certain to commit. [Henry translates o better than that' ('hoc vincite'), e not guilty of that sin:' maintaining at 'nefas' has its ordinary sense.— N.]

198.] 'Procumbunt' stronger than 'inmbunt:' they throw themselves forward. tibus' of the oars, like "verberat" 10. 8. 'Aerea' = "aerata." Serv. supposes e word to mean no more than strong, serving that it was the prow, not the rn, that was armed with brass. If this nark is just, 'puppis' had better be taken as a mere poetical equivalent to 'navis.' Jal however (Virg. Naut. p. 403), who will not allow this use of 'puppis,' wishes 'aerea' to mean reverberating like brass. It is singular that both Med. and Pal. originally had 'aurea.'

199.] ["Sic intenti plenis studiis remis incumbebant, ut nihil praeter se et navem viderent," Ti. Donatus. Henry explains the words as follows: 'the oars can no longer catch the *solum* or water, they are carried away from it by the already acquired impetus before they can strike it, and further rowing becomes impossible until the already acquired impulse slackens of itself.'—H. N.] "'Solum' navis est mare: quod subtrahi videtur cum navis celeriter percurrit," Gossrau. The panting and the sweat are from the description of Ajax Il. 16. 109 foll. 'Anhelitus artus quatit' below v. 432. Comp. also 9. 812 foll.

200.] 'Fluit rivis' 8. 445. 'Undique' is Homer's πάντοθεν ἐκ μελέων.

201—243.] 'Sergestus, steering too near the rock, is caught and disabled. Mnestheus shoots past him, passes Gyas easily, and strains every nerve to overtake Cloanthus, who however comes in first, having made vows to the sea-gods and obtained their aid.'

201.] 'Viris,' the crew of the Pristis. 'Ipse casus' seems to mean, as Wagn. thinks, chance and nothing but chance, mere chance. 'Honorem,' of getting before the Centaur, and so not being last, v. 196 above.

202.] 'Furens animi:' see on 2. 120. Here some of Pierius' MSS. give 'animis' (comp. 8. 228), Gud. a m. pr. and Pal. 'animo.' 'Prora' Med. Wagn. objects that the change of nom. would make it necessary to connect 'furens animi' with 'haesit,' contrary to the sense. But 'prora' might be defended as the abl. It is more probable however that the final letter was omitted in consequence of the elision, as Wagn. contends. ['Suburguet' Rom.—H. N.]

Interior spatioque subit Sergestus iniquo,
Infelix saxis in procurrentibus haesit.
Concussae cautes, et acuto in murice remi
Obnixi crepuere, inlisaque prora pependit.
Consurgunt nautae et magno clamore morantur,
Ferratasque trudes et acuta cuspide contos
Expediunt, fractosque legunt in gurgite remos.
At laetus Mnestheus successuque acrior ipso
Agmine remorum celeri ventisque vocatis
Prona petit maria et pelago decurrit aperto.

203.] 'Interior,' between Mnestheus and the rock: see on v. 185, and comp. v. 170. 'Iniquo,' apparently because he was hemmed in between the rock and his rival's ship close following him. They seem to have sailed out to sea (v. 124), so that there cannot have been a naturally narrow passage between the rock and the shore, as in the parallel case of Antilochus and Menelaus Il. 23. 416 foll. In other respects Sergestus' misfortune resembles that of Eumelus, Il. 23. 391 foll.: see below on v. 270.

204.] 'Procurrentibus,' jutting out probably under water, as Gossrau suggests, comp. v. 164. 'Procurrere' is frequently used of land projecting into the water: see Forc.

205.] 'Murex' seems to have been used technically of a jagged piece of rock resembling a shell fish. "Murices petrae in litore, similes muricibus vivis, acutissimae et navibus periculosissimae," Isid. Orig. 16. 111, quoted by Forb. Pliny 19. 24 (cited by Forc.) says that Cato suggested that the forum should be paved with 'murices,' to make it less comfortable for litigants. Pal. and Gud. have 'acuto murice.'

206.] 'Obnixi,' dashed against the rock. So of 'butting,' G. 3. 222, 223. 'Crepuere,' being broken, v. 209. 'Pependit,' being entangled in the rock: comp. 10. 303, "inflicta vadis dorso dum pendet iniquo."

207.] Wagn. thinks 'morantur' weak, and supposes it either to have some unknown technical force or to be corrupt. It has been suggested to me that the notion may be that of backing water. But surely the simple meaning of the word is significant enough in a passage where we have just had the notion of the highest competitive speed impressed upon us. Instead of straining every nerve to push on, Sergestus' crew is now brought to a standstill, and we know that Mnestheus must be improving the opportunity. 'Clamore:' they cry aimlessly, or perhaps for help, v. 221.

208.] Heins. restored 'trudes,' which is found in Pal., Rom., and Gud. The old reading 'sudes' however is supported by Med. [and Ti. Donatus]. 'Trudes' is doubtless the better word, as explained by Isid. Orig. 18. 7, "Trudes amites sunt cum lunato ferro, ab eo quod trudunt et detrudunt," since it does not appear that 'sudes' were ever shod with iron. Comp. 1. 144, 145, "acuto Detrudunt navis scopulo." For the difference of quantity between the noun and the verb Pierius comp. "duces" and "ducere," "dicax" and "dicere" &c. [For the structure of the line Mr. J. C. Wilson compares G. 2. 25 "quadrifidasque sudes et acuto robore vallos."—H. N.]

210.] Comp. v. 231 below, "Hos successus alit."

211.] 'Agmen' seems rightly explained by Forc. of the motion of oars, in the same way as the word is applied to a serpent, v. 90 above, to a river 2. 782. Possibly however 'agmen' may = "ordo," as in Stat. Theb. 5. 509, where "terna agmina adunci Dentis" seems to mean three rows of teeth. 'Ventis vocatis' 3. 253. Here, as there, it seems simply to mean 'with the winds at his call,' as to suppose that Mnestheus formally invoked the winds would scarcely be consistent with Cloanthus gaining his victory by invoking the sea-gods. Comp. also 4. 223 note.

212.] ['Prona maria,' the smooth sea: Pliny Paneg. 87. "stetit Caesar in illa amicitiae specula, stetit, precatusque est abeunti prona maria celeremque recursum." The notion in the word 'pronus' is of sloping forward, so, of a road, downward, easy: in Pliny H. N. 2. 179

Qualis spelunca subito commota columba,
Cui domus et dulces latebroso in pumice nidi,
Fertur in arva volans, plausumque exterrita pinnis
Dat tecto ingentem, mox aëre lapsa quieto
Radit iter liquidum, celeris neque commovet alas:
Sic Mnestheus, sic ipsa fuga secat ultima Pristis
Aequora, sic illam fert impetus ipse volantem.
Et primum in scopulo luctantem deserit alto

"pronum mare" is opposed to "adversum." For 'decurrere' comp. Catull. 64. 6 "Ausi sunt vada salsa cita decurrere puppi."—H. N.]

213.] Virg. may have had his eye, as the commentators suppose, upon Il. 21. 493 foll., where Artemis flying from Hera is compared to a dove taking refuge from a hawk in a hollow rock, as the words κοίλην πέτρην, χηραμόν resemble 'latebroso in pumice,' though here the dove flies not into the rock, but from it, leaving her young behind her. 'Commovere' of startling or rousing an animal 7. 494.

214.] This line explains how the dove comes to be in the cave. 'Dulces nidi:' see on G. 4. 17. "Latebroso in pumice" 12. 587. We need not press the termination in 'latebrosus,' which probably means no more here than adapted for shelter.

215.] 'Fertur in arva volans' is said generally of the direction she takes, applying to the whole of her flight, the circumstances of which are developed in the clauses that follow, 'plausum—ingentem' denoting her first fluttering and tumultuous escape, 'mox—alas' the after stage, when she recovers herself and flies swiftly and smoothly. "Fertur in arva furens" 2. 498. "Timuitque exterrita pinnis" below v. 505.

216.] 'Tecto' is apparently to be joined with 'exterrita,' like "exterrita somno" Enn. Ann. 1. fr. 34. The 'tectum' is the same as the 'spelunca.' 'Quieto:' the sky is undisturbed, and the alarming cause which had driven the bird from the cave does not follow her when she is on the wing: everything suggests calm, and she falls in with the temper of the heaven. ['Labsa' Med. and Pal.—H. N.]

217.] A line well known for its imitative rhythm. 'Radit iter liquidum' is possibly a translation of λευρὸν οἶμον αἰθέρος ψαίρει πτέροις Aesch. Prom. 394, 'radit' being used here not of grazing or skirting a boundary, but of skimming a smooth surface, as in Ov. M. 10. 654. "Posse putes illos sicco freta radere passu," of the race between Hippomenes and Atalanta. This part of the simile is taken from some pleasing lines in Apoll. R. 2. 934 foll., where the bird described is a hawk:

ταρσὸν ἐφεὶς πνοιῇ φέρεται ταχύς, οὐδὲ τινάσσει
ῥιπήν, εὐκήλοισιν ἐνευδιόων πτερύγεσσιν.

218.] Henry is right again in explaining 'ultima aequora' of the latter part of the course, that which remained after the goal had been passed. Comp. "ipso in fine" v. 225, and also "ultima signant" v. 317. Virg. is here speaking generally of Mnestheus' course (just as he spoke generally of the dove's flight in the words "fertur in arva volans"), contemplating him as he darts rapidly along. Afterwards he steps back, as it were, to regard the various stages through which the hero advances towards success. Sergestus can hardly be said to be in the 'ultima aequora,' being apparently entangled with the rock which formed the goal before he turns: Mnestheus is not in them while he passes him, but reaches them the moment after, when he leaves his rival behind him, 'deserit.' 'Ipsa' is explained by 'impetus ipse' in the next line. The force which Mnestheus has employed in the critical moment of turning the goal carries him swiftly on, as it were without further exertion, just as the dove when fairly launched into the sky appears not to be moving her wings. Gossrau comp. Cic. De Or. 1. 33, "Concitato navigio, cum remiges inhibuerunt, retinet tamen ipsa navis motum et cursum suum, intermisso impetu et pulsu remorum."

219.] "Pelagoque volans da vela patenti" G. 2. 41.

220.] Med. omits 'in' before 'scopulo,' which may be right. 'Alto' is explained by Henry of the height of the rock from

Sergestum brevibusque vadis frustraque vocantem
Auxilia et fractis discentem currere remis.
Inde Gyan ipsamque ingenti mole Chimaeram
Consequitur; cedit, quoniam spoliata magistro est.
Solus iamque ipso superest in fine Cloanthus:
Quem petit, et summis adnixus viribus urguet.
Tum vero ingeminat clamor, cunctique sequentem
Instigant studiis, resonatque fragoribus aether.
Hi proprium decus et partum indignantur honorem
Ni teneant, vitamque volunt pro laude pacisci;
Hos successus alit: possunt, quia posse videntur.

the bottom of the sea, as from v. 124 foll. it can hardly have risen very high above the surface. This however seems to be torturing a word too far. It is more probable that Virg. took 'alto' as an ordinary epithet of 'scopulo' without considering its special propriety here. In any case the rock was 'altus' compared with the water below it. In his view of 'brevibus vadis' as hidden, not apparent shoals, Henry is doubtless right against Jacob, whom Wagn. quotes.

221.] "'Frustra:' quis enim ei relicta victoria subveniret?" Serv.

222.] "'Fractis discentem currere remis:' iocose et argute. Et habet speciem proverbii, in eos qui tenui praesidio nituntur." Taubm. 'Currere' as below v. 235., 3. 191 &c.

223.] 'Ipsam:' the great vessel itself, 'ingenti mole.' Comp. v. 118. ['Chimeram' Med.—H. N.]

224.] "Spoliata armis, excussa magistro" 6. 353. Virg. perhaps thought of Il. 23. 368, *οἱ δέ οἱ ἐβλάφθησαν, ἄνευ κέντροιο θέοντες*, of Diomed's horses after he had lost his whip.

225.] 'Iamque' second in a sentence, as in 3. 588. 'Fine,' the end of the course v. 328. By the time Mnestheus passed Gyas, there was not much longer space.

226.] 'Adnixus' Med., Rom., 'enixus' Pal., Gud. ['Urget' Pal.—H. N.]

227.] The difference between Ovid's treatment of a subject and Virg.'s is amusingly exemplified in the description of the race of Hippomenes and Atalanta M. 10. 656:

"Adiciunt animos iuveni clamorque favorque
Verbaque dicentum: Nunc, nunc incumbere tempus,
Hippomene propera: nunc viribus utere totis:
Pelle moram: vinces."

Virg. has followed Il. 23. 766, *ἴαχον δ' ἐπὶ πάντες Ἀχαιοὶ Νίκης ἱεμένῳ, μάλα δὲ σπεύδοντι κέλευον.*

228.] 'Resonatque fragoribus' was restored by Heins. from Med. and Rom. for 'resonat clamoribus,' the reading of Pal. and Gud. One MS. gives 'resonatque clamoribus,' and Pierius hints at the possibility of an amphimacer. Quint. 8. 3 speaks of "fragor plaudentium et acclamantium."

229.] Possibly Virg. may intend a Greek construction, "indignantur honorem, ni illum teneant;" but it is simpler not to place a comma after 'honorem.' 'Proprium,' like 'partum,' already made their own.

230.] In 12. 49 Turnus says to Latinus "letumque sinas pro laude pacisci," where, though the contrary word is used, the sense is the same. As Heyne well remarks on the latter passage, in the one case a covenant is made about life, as a thing to be given up, in the other a covenant is made about death, as a thing to be undergone. He might have observed further that there is great propriety in the change of terms: Cloanthus and his crew do not look upon death as a serious thing, so that the mention of it would strike a wrong chord: with Turnus death is only too stern a reality.

231.] 'Videntur:' i. e. 'sibi,' not as Serv., Ti. Donatus, and some of the later commentators think, 'spectantibus.' Their success makes them believe that they have the power, and the belief gives them it. So Henry. [Comp. Caes. B. G. 3. 72 "ut non de ratione belli

Et fors aequatis cepissent praemia rostris,
Ni palmas ponto tendens utrasque Cloanthus
Fudissetque preces, divosque in vota vocasset:
Di, quibus imperium est pelagi, quorum aequora curro,
Vobis laetus ego hoc candentem in litore taurum
Constituam ante aras, voti reus, extaque salsos
Porriciam in fluctus et vina liquentia fundam.
Dixit, eumque imis sub fluctibus audiit omnis
Nereidum Phorcique chorus Panopeaque virgo,

cogitarent, sed vicisse iam viderentur." —H. N.]

232.] The form of expression is from Hom., who is fond of introducing an unexpected event as something but for which things would have taken a different turn, e. g. Il. 23. 382. 'Aequatis rostris' like "iunctis frontibus" above v. 157.

233.] In Il. 23. 768 foll. Ulysses wins the foot-race by praying to Athena, by whose special favour Diomed had won the chariot-race (ib. 399). The language of this line is perhaps from Il. 1. 350. For the irregular 'palmas utrasque' for 'palmam utramque' see Madv. § 495, obs. 2, where instances are given from Caesar, Sallust, and Livy.

234.] "In vota vocavit" v. 514 below. 7. 471., 12. 780. The more common expression is 'votis vocare' (G. 1. 157 &c.), which Heyne regards as precisely parallel to this, supposing 'votis' to be dat.; a comparison however of the constructions "votis exposcere" (3. 261), "venerari" (7. 597), "optare" (10. 279), "petere" (12. 259), will show that it is probably abl. The meaning here doubtless is, summons or invites them to be parties to his vow, like "vocamus In partem praedamque Iovem" 3. 222, which Heyne comp.

235.] 'Est pelagi,' the reading of Pal. and Gud., is supported by 6. 264, "Di, quibus imperium est animarum." 'Pelagi est' was adopted by Wagn. from Rom. Med. has 'est pelagi' in the text, but marks have been added reversing the words. Some MSS. omit 'est' altogether. It was doubtless the omission in some early copy, if not in Virg.'s own autograph, that led to the diversity of order. 'Aequora curro' 3. 191. Rom. and Gud. have 'aequore.'

236.] 'Laetus' v. 58 above, note. "Nitentem . . . mactabam in litore taurum" 3. 20. Comp. ib. 119, where a bull is sacrificed by Neptune.

237.] 'Constituam' G. 4. 542 note. So the victim is said "stare" G. 2. 395. 'Voti reus' E. 5. 80 note. 'Reus' is used in Roman law with a gen. of the thing in respect of which a person is bound, "reus pecuniae," "dotis," "satisdandi" &c.: see Forc.

238.] ['Proiciam' Med. (originally), Pal., Rom., and Gud.: 'porriciam' Med. (corrected) and Macrobius Sat. 3. 2. Servius says "exta proiciuntur in fluctus, aris porriciuntur, hoc est porriguntur: nisi forte dicamus etiam fluctibus offerri. Quod si est, 'porriciam' legendum est, id est porro iaciam." 'Porricere' was no doubt a technical term applied to sacrifice, meaning, apparently, to hold forward a thing, to offer it: Macrob. l. c. quotes from the first book of the antiquarian Fabius "exta porriciunto, dis danto in altaria aramve focumve eove quo exta dari debebunt." Macrob. l. c. strongly defends 'porriciam' here, and he may be right, but the point is doubtful. In Livy 1. 29, which used to be quoted for "porricit," the manuscript reading is "exta . . . in mare proiecit," and in v. 776 below the manuscripts agree in reading 'proicit.' So in Varro L. L. 6. 16, 31, 54, and Cic. Att. 5. 18. 1, 'proicio' is the manuscript reading, altered by modern edd. into 'porricio:' in Varro R. R. 1. 29. 3 and Arnobius 2. 68, where the editions give 'porricere,' the manuscripts have 'porrigere.'—H. N.] 'Lĭquentia' here: 'līquentia' 1. 432 &c. The one may be from 'liquēre,' the latter from 'liqui.' 'Ac vina' Pal. and Gud., as in v. 776.

239.] ἔκλυε . . . ἡμένη ἐν βένθεσσιν ἁλὸς Il. 1. 357. Rom. has 'audit et omnis.'

240.] "Glauci chorus . . . Phorcique exercitus omnis . . . Panopeaque virgo"

Et pater ipse manu magna Portunus euntem
Impulit; illa Noto citius volucrique sagitta
Ad terram fugit, et portu se condidit alto.
Tum satus Anchisa, cunctis ex more vocatis,
Victorem magna praeconis voce Cloanthum
Declarat, viridique advelat tempora lauro;
Muneraque in navis ternos optare iuvencos
Vinaque et argenti magnum dat ferre talentum.
Ipsis praecipuos ductoribus addit honores:
Victori chlamydem auratam, quam plurima circum

below v. 823. 'Nereidum' 3. 74 note. Heyne suggested that 'Panopeaque virgo' should be coupled with 'impulit,' comparing 1. 144, where Cymothoe and Triton join to push the ships off the rock. With the present pointing Panopea is distinguished from the rest for the sake of poetical variety.

241.] 'Pater:' see on G. 2. 4. "Impulit ipsa manu" 7. 621. 'Manu magna impulit' is from Enn. A. 558, preserved by Schol. Veron. here: but Virg. may also have thought of Il. 15. 694, τὸν δὲ Ζεὺς ὦσεν ὄπισθεν Χειρὶ μάλα μεγάλῃ. It is used of Portunus as a god, as "ingenti manu" below v. 487 of Aeneas as a hero. Portunus comes in appropriately here as the Roman sea-god, identified with the Greek Melicerta or Palaemon (v. 823 below, G. 1. 437). The circumstance is perhaps from Apoll. R. 2. 598, where Athene pushes the Argo through the Symplegades, Id. 4. 930, where the Nereids and Thetis push it through the Planetae, ib. 1609, where Triton performs a similar office for it, besides the passages in Il. 23 already referred to.

242.] ἡ δ' ἰκέλη πτερόεντι μετήορος ἔσσυτ' ὀιστῷ Apoll. R. 2. 600.

243.] 'Portu alto,' λιμένος πολυβενθέος Il. 1. 432. ['At' for 'ad' Pal., Verona fragm., and originally Med.—H. N.]

244—267.] 'Aeneas proclaims Cloanthus conqueror, and rewards the three crews and their captains.'

244.] 'Satus Anchisa' v. 424. In both places there may be a force in the designation, as the games were given in honour of Anchises, though elsewhere it seems to be a mere poetical variety, as in 6. 331. Aeneas, as Henry remarks, distributes the prizes as ἀγωνοθέτης, like Achilles in Il. 23. 'Cunctis vocatis,' as they would naturally have crowded round the shore to see the race.

245.] The announcement of the conqueror in the Greek games was made by the herald. In Homer the competitors seize on their prizes as soon as they come in.

246.] 'Advelare,' a rare word, the only other instance being quoted from Lampridius' life of Commodus 15.

247.] 'Aptare,' the reading before Heins., is found in Gud. a m. s., and three other of Ribbeck's cursives: but it would be difficult to give it any good sense. For the construction of 'optare,' 'ferre' see on 1. 319. So Hom. Il. 23. 512, δῶκε δ' ἄγειν ἑτάροισιν ὑπερθύμοισι γυναῖκα Καὶ τρίποδ' ὠτώεντα φέρειν. 'In navis' shows that the reward is given to all the crews, and so 'ipsis ductoribus,' who are mentioned in contrast. Comp. v. 62 above. 'Optare' however seems to have a special reference to the winner, who takes his choice, leaving the rest to follow him.

248.] 'Magnum:' the silver talent was heavier than the gold: see Dict. A. 'Talent.' Comp. note on v. 112 above, and see on 9. 265.

249.] ['Praecipuos' in its strict sense of chosen out before the rest are allotted: "praecipua dicuntur quae praeter communionem singulis proprio nomine deputantur, ut fit saepe in testamentis, cum aliqua perceptionem" (surely "praeceptionem") singulorum heredum censuerit esse testator," says Ti. Donatus. Med. and Nonius p. 320 have 'praecipue.'—H. N.]

250.] A 'chlamys' (Dict. A. s. v.), or scarf embroidered with gold, with a double border of purple. ['Clamydem' Med. and originally Rom.—H. N.]

Purpura Maeandro duplici Meliboea cucurrit,
Intextusque puer frondosa regius Ida
Velocis iaculo cervos cursuque fatigat,
Acer, anhelanti similis, quem praepes ab Ida
Sublimem pedibus rapuit Iovis armiger uncis;
Longaevi palmas nequiquam ad sidera tendunt
Custodes, saevitque canum latratus in auras.
At qui deinde locum tenuit virtute secundum,

251.] 'Purpura Meliboea' is from cr. 2. 500. 'Maeander' or 'Maeanns' is used metaphorically by Cic. in on. 22, "quos tum Maeandros . . . ae deverticula flexionesque quaesisti?" re it implies that the border (usually led "limbus" 4. 137) was a wavy one. th 'sucurrit' the commentators comp. ἡ δὲ χρύσεος θέε πόρκης Il. 6. 320. mp. also Il. 23. 561, ᾧ πέρι χεῦμα εινοῦ κασσιτέροιο Ἀμφιδεδίνηται, which s evidently in Virg.'s mind, though it said of the border of a breastplate. It lisputed whether Meliboea is the town Thessaly, which is evidently intended Lucr. l. c. "Meliboeaque fulgens Purra Thessalico concharum tacta colore," an island at the mouth of the Orontes, ich was famous for purple-fish. 'Meliəus' is formed from it as an adj. by poetilicence, as in 3. 401 "ducis Meliboei."

252.] The picture is embroidered on scarf, not, as Forb. apparently thinks, the border. 'Intextus' is loosely conucted with the clause 'quam—cucur-' as if "et cui" had preceded. 'Fronsa Ida,' a local abl. Henry is probably ht in supposing that two scenes are resented, Ganymede hunting and nymede carried away. Heyne's notion it the early part of the description is rely intended to inform us that the rying away took place while Ganyde was hunting is inconsistent with cer, anhelanti similis,' which is evintly pictorial, at the same time that it ald not have been represented as Ganyde's expression while he was in the gle's talons: and Wagn.'s solution of knot by saying "bonum Vergilium dormitasse" is not very likely in a se like this, where the inconsistency ist have been as obvious to the poet as his readers. [Statius imitates this passe Theb. 1. 548 foll.—H. N.]

254.] So of the representation of Porına on the shield of Aeneas, 8. 649, llum indignanti similem, similemque minanti Aspiceres." 'Ab Ida' seems to belong to 'rapuit,' not to 'praepes.' [So Henry, who quotes Horace, 3. Od. 20. 15, "aut aquosa Raptus ab Ida."—H. N.] It thus answers the purpose of telling us that the scenery is the same as in the former representation. 'Praepes' means no more than swift, without indicating whether the motion is up or down. Ovid is fond of using the word as a subst., like "ales" (comp. M. 4. 714, where he calls the eagle "Iovis praepes"), and this may be the meaning here: but the use occurs nowhere else in Virg., and in 9. 564, where part of v. 255 is repeated, 'Iovis armiger' is a subst., not an epithet. The story of Ganymede is glanced at in Il. 20. 234, where it is merely said that the gods carried him off for his beauty, that he might dwell with them and be Zeus' cupbearer, and referred to more at length in the Hymn to Aphrodite, vv. 203 foll., where we are told that he was carried away by a storm.

256.] The picture is not unlike that in v. 669 below, where Ascanius' keepers try in vain to hold him. The attitude is that of despairing supplication and appeal to heaven: comp. 2. 405, 406.

257.] 'Custodes' v. 546. 'Saevitque canum latratus in auras' is said by Macrob. Sat. 6. 2 to be taken from a passage in Varius, a simile of a dog looking for a deer, where, however, the resemblance of the thought is entirely general, and the verbal similarity is confined to the words "Saevit in absentem." 'Saevit latratus in auras' means more than "furit aestus ad auras" 2. 759, "quis tantus plangor ad auras" 6. 561, containing, as Wagn. remarks, not only the notion of the bark ascending to the sky, but that of its being directed against the sky, the dogs baying savagely at the eagle as he loses himself in the clouds, and so at the heaven itself, as they are said to howl at the moon. ['Ad auras' Pal.—H. N.]

258.] Serv. fancies 'virtute' is meant

Levibus huic hamis consertam auroque trilicem
Loricam, quam Demoleo detraxerat ipse
Victor apud rapidum Simoenta sub Ilio alto,
Donat habere viro, decus et tutamen in armis.
Vix illam famuli Phegeus Sagarisque ferebant
Multiplicem, conixi umeris; indutus at olim
Demoleus cursu palantis Troas agebat.
Tertia dona facit geminos ex aere lebetas,
Cymbiaque argento perfecta atque aspera signis.
Iamque adeo donati omnes opibusque superbi
Puniceis ibant evincti tempora taenis,

to contrast with the favour of the gods by which Cloanthus won. He might have supported the view by quoting Il. 23. 515, *κέρδεσιν οὔτι τάχει γε, παραφθάμενος Μενέλαον.* Virg. however can have had no such meaning, though he doubtless meant to indicate that Mnestheus' place was well won.

259.] See on 3. 467.

260.] *Δώσω οἱ θώρηκα, τὸν Ἀστεροπαῖον ἀπηύρων*, Il. 23. 560. Comp. also Il. 15. 529 foll. Demoleos does not appear in Hom., so that, if not invented by Virg., he probably comes from the cyclic writers. For the spelling and inflexion of his name see on 2. 371.

261.] 'Sub Ilio alto,' the Greek rhythm as in 3. 211, G. 1. 437 &c. A few MSS. give 'alta,' which might stand either on the principle mentioned above on v. 122, or by taking 'Ilio' from 'Ilios.' [Pal. originally had 'Ilion.'—H. N.]

262.] *ἔδωκεν . . . Ἐς πόλεμον φορέειν, δηΐων ἀνδρῶν ἀλεωρήν*, Il. 15. 532, 533. 'Viro' after 'huic,' like "virgo" after "illa" below v. 610, "puella" after "illa" G. 4. 458, rather rhetorically than for the sake of clearness, the force of the word here being that the present was a proper one for a hero.

263.] Phegeus and Sagaris of course are personages created by Virg. Possibly they may be the same whom we hear of again 9. 575, 765. ['Phygeus' Rom.—H. N.]

264.] 'Multiplicem' referring to the numerous lines of chainwork. 'Conixi umeris' like "obnixae umeris" 4. 406., 9. 725. Comp. also "toto conixus corpore" 9. 410., 10. 127, which seems to show that 'conixi' here does not mean using their joint powers, but severally using all their powers. ['Ad' Pal. for 'at.'—H. N.]

265.] 'Cursu' is emphatic: not only was he able to wear the mail, but he could run with it on him. Virg. probably thought, as Heyne suggests, of Il. 5. 303, *ὃ οὐ δύο γ' ἄνδρε φέροιεν . . . ὁ δέ μιν ῥέα πάλλε καὶ οἶος.* Thus 'cursu' will go with 'agebat,' not with 'palantis,' though that might possibly be defended, as the speed of the fugitives would imply the speed of the pursuer. "Cursu timidos agitabis onagros" G. 3. 409. 'Demoleus' Med., 'Demoleos' Rom., Pal., Gud.: see on 2. 371. "Palantis agit" 11. 734.

266.] 'Facit' is Homer's *θῆκε*, Il. 23. 263, 265, &c. A *λέβης* is the third prize in the chariot-race, ib. 267.

267.] 'Cymbia' 3. 66, probably answering to *φιάλη* Il. 23. 270. Virg. doubtless means that there were two of them, so that we must either supply 'gemina' or take 'cymbia' as a dual. "Argento perfecta atque aspera signis" 9. 263. 'Argento' with 'perfecta,' = "argento affabre facta." Virg. judiciously gives less space to the third prize than to the others.

268—285.] 'When the rest had been rewarded, Sergestus arrived, rowing helplessly, like a wounded snake. He gets a prize too.'

268.] 'Iamque adeo' 2. 567., 9. 585. It is very doubtful whether 'donati' is a finite verb, 'erant' being supplied, or a participle co-ordinate, not with 'evincti,' but with 'superbi.' 'Opibus superbi' like "tauro superbus" below v. 473.

269.] They wore a ribbon or 'lemniscus' (Dict. A. s. v.) intertwined with the bay or olive wreath, the ends, 'taeniae,' hanging down. Serv. refers to Varro as saying that the addition of the 'lemniscus' made the decoration more honourable. The contracted form 'taenis' is

Cum saevo e scopulo multa vix arte revolsus,
Amissis remis atque ordine debilis uno,
Inrisam sine honore ratem Sergestus agebat.
Qualis saepe viae deprensus in aggere serpens,
Aerea quem oblicum rota transiit, aut gravis ictu
Seminecem liquit saxo lacerumque viator,
Nequiquam longos fugiens dat corpore tortus,
Parte ferox, ardensque oculis, et sibila colla
Arduus attollens; pars vulnere clauda retentat
Nexantem nodis seque in sua membra plicantem.

found in Med., Pal., Rom., Verona fragm., and Gud., and approved by Lachm. on Lucr. 5. 85; so I have followed Ribbeck and Haupt in restoring it. ['Evictis' Pal.—H. N.]

270.] 'Saevo scopulo' like "saevis vadis" 10. 678. ['Revulsus' Med., Verona fragm. 'Revolsam' Rom.—H. N.]

271.] 'Debilis' is exactly 'disabled,' being 'de-habilis,' as 'debeo' is 'dehabeo.' Heyne thinks 'ordine debilis uno' means that one whole side was disabled, not one tier only. In that case we may comp. Ov. 3 ex Ponto 1. 67 (quoted by Forc.), "Cumque ego deficiam, nec possim ducere currum, Fac tu sustineas debile sola iugum."

272.] "Navim agere" Hor. 2 Ep. 1. 114, where however it seems to be said of the pilot. In Il. 23. 532 Eumelus comes last, ἕλκων ἅρματα καλά, ἐλαύνων πρόσσοθεν ἵππους.

273.] The comparison seems to be Virg.'s own. There is an illustration from a serpent cut in pieces Lucr. 3. 657 foll., but the resemblance to Virg. is extremely faint. 'Saepe' in comparisons below v. 527 &c. Heins. ingeniously fancied that it might here be the abl. of 'saepes.' 'Aggere viae' = "via aggesta." Turnebus Adv. 11. 6 quotes two instances from Sidonius Apollinaris, Carm. 24. 5, Epist. 1. 5 (to which Forb. adds Rutilius 1. 39), where 'agger' alone = 'via.' A slightly different explanation is suggested in Dict. A. 'viae:' "The centre of the way was a little elevated, so as to permit the water to run off easily, and hence the terms 'agger viae' (Isidor. 15. 16. § 7, Ammian. Marcellin. 19. 16: comp. Virg. A. 5. 273), and 'summum dorsum' Stat. 4 Silv. 3. 44, although both may be applied to the whole surface of the 'pavimentum.'" [Add Servius on this passage.—H. N.] 'Deprensus,' surprised by the wheel or blow: comp. v. 51 above.

274.] ['Obliquum' Rom., 'oblicuum' Med. originally.—H. N.] Ribbeck reads 'transit' from Rom., in obedience to a decision of Lachmann's on the quantity of the final syllable in that and similar words, the propriety of which I have ventured to question on 2. 497. Wagn. Lectt. Virg. pp. 316 foll. argues elaborately against the change in the present case, as introducing a rhythm avoided by Virg. 'Ictu' with 'gravis.' See note on G. 3. 506.

275.] 'Seminecem' and 'lacerum' both with 'saxo.' Comp. the description of an attack on a serpent G. 3. 420 foll. [Henry however would take 'saxo' as = on the stone, on the 'agger viae.'—H. N.]

276.] 'Dare tortus' for "torquere se" like "dare motus" G. 1. 350 for "movere se." 'Fugiens:' the serpent tries to effect a retreat, menacing however while doing so.

277.] "Attollentem iras et sibila colla tumentem" 2. 381. "Arduus ad solem" ib. 475.

278.] For 'clauda' Med. (originally), Pal. a m. s., and Verona fragm. have 'cauda.' 'Retentare' is found in Lucr. 2. 728, "terras ac mare totum Secernunt caelumque a terris omne retentant." ['Volnere' Med.—H. N.]

279.] The reading of the first two words of this line is involved in considerable doubt. 'Nixantem nodis' is found in Med. (corrected, according to Henry, into 'netentem'), in Pal., and Gud. a m. p.: "nexantem nodis" in the Verona fragm. (according to Henry), Rom., Gud. a m. s., and the Medicean of Pierius, supported by Prisc. 861 P, 904 P, and Eutyches 2. 17: 'nexantem nodos,' the common reading before Heins., in some old MSS.

Tali remigio navis se tarda movebat;
Vela facit tamen, et velis subit ostia plenis.
Sergestum Aeneas promisso munere donat,
Servatam ob navem laetus sociosque reductos.
Olli serva datur, operum haut ignara Minervae,
Cressa genus, Pholoe, geminique sub ubere nati.
  Hoc pius Aeneas misso certamine tendit

which Pierius does not name (a suspicious circumstance which throws doubt on many of his readings), and two later copies. Wagn. and the later editors restore 'nixantem nodis,' which they understand of the serpent working itself on with its coils, that being its normal state of motion, which its mutilation retards. The fact however is traversed by Mr. Long, who observes to me that the motion of a serpent is laterally sinuous, not vertically sinuous or in coils; and the argument for 'nexantem,' like that for "subnexus" 4. 217, is not easily to be resisted, viz. the improbability that Virg., speaking of twines and coils, should have passed over 'nexare' and chosen a word so nearly resembling it. 'Nexantem nodis' too will enable us to account readily for the variations: the construction was seen to be an unusual one: so while one set of correctors altered the abl. into the acc., another altered the verb. (Wagn. however argues with some plausibility that 'nixantem' was first altered into 'nexantem' as the more natural word, and then 'nodis' into 'nodos.') 'Nexantem nodis' then will be a Virgilian variety for 'nexantem nodos' or 'nexantem se in nodos,' 'nexantem' being used intransitively, like other transitive words in Virg., and 'nodis' a modal abl. It is not easy to say whether the line is meant to represent the serpent's state as effected by the wound or as struggling against it. "'Membra:' etiam hoc ab homine transtulit" Serv., who had made the same remark about 'clauda.'

280.] 'Se tarda movebat:' comp. 1. 314. Pal. and Gud. have 'ferebat.'

281.] The ship made slow way with rowing, but she spread her sails. 'Vela facere' was a phrase for this, as appears from Cic. Tusc. 4. 4, "statimne nos vela facere, an quasi a portu egredientis paululum remigare?" the first alternative being explained afterwards by "utrum panderem vela orationis statim." So "velificare." "Pleno subit ostia velo" 1. 400. The order 'plenis—velis' is found in some MSS. here, including Med.; but Wagn. seems right in his remark that as the second clause repeats the first, it is better that 'velis' should stand at the head of it.

282.] 'Promisso' is a piece of indirect narrative. Virg. does not, like Homer, tell us at the beginning of this first race what the prizes are to be; but we now learn, what might be inferred from the analogy of the subsequent games, that every competitor understood that he was to receive a prize. The rewarding of Sergestus is parallel to the rewarding of Eumelus Il. 23. 534 foll.

283.] "Reduces socios classemque relatam" 1. 390.

284.] θῆκε γυναῖκα ἄγεσθαι ἀμύμονα ἔργ' εἰδυῖαν Il. 23. 263, where the woman and a tripod together make up the first prize. The beaten candidate in the wrestling-match, ib. 704, 705, is to receive a female slave, πολλὰ δ' ἐπίστατο ἔργα, τίον δέ ἑ τεσσαράβοιον. Gossrau has a quaint note: "Non ex nostro more id donum iudicandum est. Americanus homo non mirabitur si haec legit."

285.] 'Cressa,' Κρῆσσα, G. 3. 345. 'Genus' a Greek acc., as in 8. 114, "Qui genus?" 12. 25, "Nec genus indecores." "Circum ubera nati" 3. 392. 'Sub ubera' has the united support of Pal. a m. p., Med., Rom., and Gud.; but it would not be easy to discover the propriety of the acc.

286—314.] 'Aeneas, followed by the spectators, goes to an inland circus and proclaims a foot race. Many enter, both Trojans and Sicilians. He promises a prize to all, and three more conspicuous presents to the first three.'

286.] 'Misso certamine' of the completion of the contest, below v. 545. Cic. Fam. 5. 12 has "ante ludorum missionem." Gossrau comp. the Roman "missa est." Thus it is not the same as λῦτο δ' ἀγών Il. 24. 1, which implies the breaking up of the assembly.

Gramineum in campum, quem collibus undique curvis
Cingebant silvae, mediaque in valle theatri
Circus erat; quo se multis cum milibus heros
Consessu medium tulit exstructoque resedit.
Hic, qui forte velint rapido contendere cursu,
Invitat pretiis animos, et praemia ponit.
Undique conveniunt Teucri mixtique Sicani,
Nisus et Euryalus primi,
Euryalus forma insignis viridique iuventa,
Nisus amore pio pueri; quos deinde secutus
Regius egregia Priami de stirpe Diores;

287.] 'Curvus' of a hill, as of a valley 2. 748, of a ravine 11. 522. 'Collibus curvis' is the instrumental, not the local abl., though the meaning of course is that wooded hills surrounded the plain. Comp. 8. 598, "undique colles Inclusere cavi," a passage which, as compared with the present, shows that 'curvus' to a certain extent is parallel with "cavus:" see on 2. 748.

288.] 'Media—erat' is coupled with 'quem—silvae,' as though it had been "et ubi theatri circus erat." So Wagn., rightly. 'Theatri' with 'circus,' as the older commentators take it, not with 'valle.'

289.] ['Millibus' Rom.—H. N.]

290.] 'Consessu' dative, for 'in consessum' Thiel. Strictly speaking, this is hardly consistent with 'multis cum milibus;' but Virg. doubtless meant to show us the numbers accompanying Aeneas as flocking to the seats at once, so as to be already set down when he takes his place in the centre. Or we may take 'consessu' of the place before it was occupied, as it had probably been already prepared for the spectators in however rough a fashion: at any rate it was adapted for sitting. 'Exstructo' is not, as Serv. and the earlier commentators thought, to be constructed with 'consessu,' but from a subst. 'exstructum,' which, though found nowhere else, may be unparalleled by 'aggestum. [So apparently Ti. Donatus, who says, "ubi exstructum habuit sessum." —H. N.] All that we can tell from the word is that it means something raised, whether a mound or a more elaborate seat. ['Consensu' Med. 'Extructo' Pal. Ribbeck thinks that a verse has dropped out between this and the following line.—H. N.]

291.] 'Contendere' with each other, perhaps with a further reference to the other use of 'contendere' of exertion in running. The foot-race is from Il. 23. 740 foll., where only three start.

292.] 'Pretiis' v. 111. 'Animos' might be constructed with 'qui,' i. q. "iuvenes animosos" (comp. the use of the word below, v. 751); but it is simpler to supply the antecedent. See on 4. 598, and comp. 6. 468 note. "Praemia ponit" v. 486, ἄεθλα θῆκε Il. 23. 262. The verb is doubtless to be understood literally of bringing them forward from the place where they had already been exposed to view (v. 109), that the spectators might see the prizes of each contest.

293.] 'Sicani:' see on 1. 258. 'Mixti' does not of itself imply, as Thiel thinks, that the Sicilians held a secondary place: comp. E. 10. 55. "Interea mixtis lustrabo Maenala Nymphis." As a matter of fact the proclamation was made in the first instance to the Trojans, as a reason for detaining them in the island, and they had doubtless more strong men than the subjects of Acestes, who can only have been king of a small portion of the island.

295.] Pal. has 'insigni.' 'Viridi iuventa' may be either constructed with 'insignis,' or taken as a descriptive abl. For a similar doubt comp. 6. 861.

296.] 'Pius' of a natural and honourable love. "Quo pius adfectu Castora frater amat," Ov. 4 Tr 5. 30. Nisus and Euryalus we shall meet again in Book 9. ['Quem' Pal. for 'quos.'—H. N.]

297. 'Regius' of royal blood, v. 252 above. Diores was a son of Priam, Hygin. f. 273. A Diores is killed by Turnus 12. 509, but probably not the same, as he is mentioned there with a brother, and without any ancestral designation.

Hunc Salius simul et Patron, quorum alter Acarnan,
Alter ab Arcadio Tegeaeae sanguine gentis;
Tum duo Trinacrii iuvenes, Helymus Panopesque,
Adsueti silvis, comites senioris Acestae;
Multi praeterea, quos fama obscura recondit.
Aeneas quibus in mediis sic deinde locutus:
Accipite haec animis, laetasque advertite mentes:
Nemo ex hoc numero mihi non donatus abibit.
Gnosia bina dabo levato lucida ferro
Spicula caelatamque argento ferre bipennem;
Omnibus hic erit unus honos. Tres praemia primi
Accipient, flavaque caput nectentur oliva.
Primus equum phaleris insignem victor habeto,
Alter Amazoniam pharetram plenamque sagittis

298.] Salius is mentioned by Festus s. v. 'Salios,' on the authority of Polemon, as an Arcadian who accompanied Aeneas into Italy, Patron by Dionys. 1. 51 as having settled in the territory of Aluntium in Sicily, so that Virg. did not invent their names. See Heyne's Third Excursus on this book. [Rom. reads 'Alius.'—H. N.]

299.] 'Tegeaeae' Pal. a m. p. 'Tegeae de' Med. a m. sec. ('Tegere' a m. pr.), Pal. a m. s., 'Teguea de' Rom. 'Tegeae de' might stand if we were to adopt 'Arcadia,' from Pal. and Gud., as Τέγεος seems to be a possible form, like 'Nemeus' 8. 295 for 'Nemeaeus.' In 8. 459 Med. and Rom. have "Tegeum" unmetrically. There can be little doubt however that the two diphthongs led to the corruption, and that 'de' was added as a prop to the verse. 'Tegeaeus' occurs 8. 459, G. 1. 18. [Serv. recognizes both readings.—H. N.]

300.] 'Helymus' v. 73. note. Panopes seems not to occur elsewhere. Rom. has 'Helymusque,' Med. 'Panospesque,' readings which might possibly stand if combined.

302.] Macrob. Sat. 6. 1 quotes from Enn. Alex. fr. 5 (Vahlen), "Multi alii adventant, paupertas quorum obscurat nomina." "Fama est obscurior annis" 7. 205.

303.] "In mediis" 8. 696., 11. 237.

304.] Comp. 3. 250., 4. 611. "Huc advertite mentem" 8. 440.

305.] 'Abibit' below v. 314.

306.] 'Gnosia' is the spelling of Med. and Rom., 'Cnosia' of Pal. and Gud. 'Bina' is used in its proper sense, which makes it unnecessary to express 'cuique' after 'dabo.'

307.] 'Caelatam argento' doubtless refers to the handle, which Gossrau supposes to have been of wood ornamented with silver. In Dict. A. 'Securis,' it is explained as if the head were of silver; but would not this be too costly for a present given to each of a large number of competitors?

308.] No distinction can be made between the words 'honos' and 'praemium,' the former word being applied to a prize several times in this book, e. g. vv. 342, 365 below. The things are sufficiently distinguished by the context.

309.] Comp. vv. 494, 539 below, vv. 246, 269 above. 'Flava' like "pallenti olivae" E. 5. 16, ξανθῆς ἐλαίας, Aesch. Pers. 617. Serv. perhaps read 'fulva.' [Henry has an interesting note. "The epithet 'flavus,' taken literally, is strictly proper and correct, and signalizes a very remarkable and distinctive characteristic of the olive, its yellow pollen, which it sheds so copiously in the flowering season as not only to cover the leaves, trunk, and branches of the tree, but even the ground and neighbouring objects with a yellow dust." 'Nectuntur' Pal.—H. N.]

310.] A mare with foal is the second prize for the chariot-race in Il. 23. 265. Horses with 'phalerae' were sometimes given by the Roman senate, as Gossrau remarks, e. g. to Masinissa, Livy 30. 17. ['Equm' Pal. originally, 'equam' originally Med.—H. N.]

311.] The quiver may have been actually Amazonian, as the Amazons came

Threiciis, lato quam circum amplectitur auro
Balteus, et tereti subnectit fibula gemma;
Tertius Argolica hac galea contentus abito.
Haec ubi dicta, locum capiunt, signoque repente
Corripiunt spatia audito, limenque relincunt,
Effusi nimbo similes, simul ultima signant.

to help the Trojans (see 1. 490); the arrows too may have been Thracian, Thrace being allied with Troy (3. 15), as Gossrau observes, adding however, what is as likely, that Virg. may have merely added the epithets as a poetical way of saying that the things were the best of their kind, as he seems to have done G. 3. 345.

312.] "Lato balteus auro Praetegit" Pers. 4. 44. Here, as there, it matters little whether 'lato auro' be taken with the verb or as a descriptive abl. with 'balteus.' The belt was probably embossed with gold, like that of Pallas 10. 499, though in Od. 11. 610 the spectre of Hercules has a χρύσεος τελαμών, which however need not imply that it was entirely of gold. 'Circumplectitur' Med., 'circum amplectitur' Pal., Rom., Gud., which I have restored after Ribbeck.

313.] It seems doubtful (comp. Dict. A. 'Balteus,' 'Fibula') whether the 'fibula' here is a buckle enriched with a gem, or the gem acting as a button.

314.] The Argive helmet, doubtless a piece of spoil, would probably be distinguished by its crest, as we have seen 2. 412.

315—361.] 'Nisus heads the rest till he is overthrown in a slippery part of the course, when he dexterously manages to secure the victory to his friend Euryalus. Salius, who would have had the prize but for Nisus' artifice, gets an extra reward, as does Nisus himself.'

315.] 'Locum capiunt:' they take their ground. The race seems merely to have been from point to point in a straight line, so that probably it did not signify in what order they stood. Thus there is no choice of ground, to be determined by lot, as in v. 132.

316.] 'Corripiunt spatia' G. 3. 104 note. 'Spatia' here merely denotes the extent of the course, which, as we have seen, was probably not a circular one. 'Limen,' the starting-point, what in the Roman circus would be called the 'alba linea' or 'calx.' The use of the word seems to be only a poetical metaphor of Virg.'s own. ['Relinqunt' Rom. and originally Med. 'Relinquunt' Med. corrected.—H. N.]

317.] ['Etfusi,' i. e. 'ecfusi,' Med.—H. N.] 'Effusi,' v. 145 above. 'Nimbo similes,' as being a confused mass. "Insequitur nimbus peditum" 7. 793. There is probably no reference to a cloud of dust, as in the chariot-race in G. 310 "fulvae nimbus harenae Tollitur," as here they seem to have run on the grass. 'Simul ultima signant:' "intuentes et notantes ultima spatia, id est finem cursus, aviditate vincendi: et deest 'visu,' ut Cicero, 'notat et designat oculis.'" Serv., followed by most commentators. [So Plaut. Cist. 4. 2. 27 "certe cum signat locum ubi ea (cistella) excidit:" has her eyes on the place.—H. N.] The ellipse however is harsh, and scarcely to be defended from 2. 423, "ora sono discordia signant:" and the parallel Il. 23. 757, Στὰν δὲ μεταστοιχεί, σήμηνε δὲ τέρματ' Ἀχιλλεύς, might suggest another interpretation, the indication of the goal by a line drawn or some other means. The subject of 'signant' then would have to be understood from the context, 'those whose business it was.' We might have expected 'signat:' but Aeneas was standing near the starting-place, and so could not be at the goal. This view seems to be as old as Ti. Donatus, "designabant locum qui finem cursibus daret," and was once supported by Henry, [who has now abandoned it for another explanation, 'at the same time the last trumpets sound.'—H. N.] Forb. objects that the goal ought to be marked out before the start, not simultaneously. This difficulty might be removed by understanding 'simul' = 'simul—atque;' but this would be weak in so spirited a passage, so that it would be better to say that either for the sake of variety or to give a greater notion of the rapidity of the proceeding, Virg. represents the line of the goal as being drawn at the very instant at which the competitors start. Those who adhere to the old interpretation may comp. Nestor's advice to Antilochus, Il.

Primus abit longeque ante omnia corpora Nisus
Emicat, et ventis et fulminis ocior alis;
Proximus huic, longo sed proximus intervallo,
Insequitur Salius; spatio post deinde relicto
Tertius Euryalus;
Euryalumque Helymus sequitur; quo deinde sub ipso
Ecce volat calcemque terit iam calce Diores,
Incumbens umero; spatia et si plura supersint,
Transeat elapsus prior, ambiguumque relinquat.

23. 323, where *ἀεὶ τέρμ' ὁρόων* is said of a good charioteer.

318.] 'Abit,' as we should say, gets away from the rest, like "effugit" v. 151. "Nisus abit" 9. 386. 'Corpora:' see on 2. 18. The word here is intended to give the picture of bodies flying through the air.

319.] The thunderbolt is actually represented on coins with wings. Heyne.

320.] Taubm. quotes the very same words from Cic. Brut. 47, "Duobus summis, Crasso et Antonio, L. Philippus proximus accedebat, sed longo intervallo tamen proximus." Heyne comp. Hor. 1 Od. 12. 19, where after saying of Jupiter "Nec viget quicquam simile aut secundum" the poet proceeds "Proximos illi tamen occupavit Pallas honores." Non. p. 524 notices that 'proximus' was used (like our 'next') of two objects at a considerable distance, provided there was no other object intervening. ['Set' Med.—H. N.]

321.] Forb. rightly remarks against Hand. Turs. 4. 502 that 'post deinde' is not a pleonastic expression as in Ter. And. 3. 2. 3 and other places, the construction being "deinde insequitur spatio post eum relicto."

323.] 'Sub ipso:' 'sub' frequently denotes proximity: the peculiarity here is that the proximity is of two persons in motion. 'Ipso' makes the proximity closer, as in 3. 5. The acc. is most usual in this sense; and Pal. a. m. p. actually has 'quem.'

324.] The picture is from Il. 23. 763 foll.:

αὐτὰρ ὄπισθεν
ἴχνια τύπτε πόδεσσι, πάρος κόνιν ἀμφιχυθῆναι·
κὰδ δ' ἄρα οἱ κεφαλῆς χέ' ἀϋτμένα δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,
αἰεὶ ῥίμφα θέων.

Virg. has however varied it slightly. The general meaning evidently is that Diores is just a step behind Helymus. It is a question however whether we are to take 'calx' as put for the whole foot (or, which is the same thing, say that 'calce' is used carelessly or hyperbolically where a stricter or more prosaic writer, e. g. Sil. 16. 491, comp. by Henry, would have said the toe), or whether it is meant that the heel of Diores' fore foot came into contact with the heel of Helymus' hind foot. Probably Virg. would himself have been at a loss to say which of these various considerations determined his choice of the word.

325.] 'Supersint—transeat,' the present subj. used rhetorically for the pluperf., as in 6. 293, 294.

326.] 'Transeat' = "praetereat." Perhaps we may say that Diores in passing his predecessor might have crossed his path so as to place himself actually before him. 'Elapsus prior:' comp. v. 151 above. ['Elabsus' Med.—H. N.] 'Ambiguumque' seems to be the reading of every known MS., though the common reading, 'ambiguumve,' was said by Heins. to have been found in all his copies. If by 'ambiguum relinquere' is meant to leave the contest undecided, which is the general opinion (Heyne, who adopts it, referring 'ambiguum' to Helymus as a person), there can be little doubt that 've' should be read, as it could not be said that in a context like this the two cases could be represented except as alternatives. And this interpretation seems to be exactly confirmed by Il. 23. 382, *καί νύ κεν ἢ παρέλασσ', ἢ ἀμφήριστον ἔθηκεν*, which Virg. probably had in his mind, as 'incumbens umero' seems to be modelled on Hom.'s description in the three lines immediately preceding. But there is another passage which also Virg. had before him, Il. 23. 526, *εἰ δέ κ' ἔτι προτέρω γένετο δρόμος ἀμφοτέροισιν, Τῷ κέν μιν παρέλασσ', οὐδ'*

Iamque fere spatio extremo fessique sub ipsam
Finem adventabant, levi cum sanguine Nisus
Labitur infelix, caesis ut forte iuvencis
Fusus humum viridisque super madefecerat herbas.
Hic iuvenis iam victor ovans vestigia presso

ἀμφήριστον ἔθηκεν, and this would suggest another interpretation of Virg.'s words, proposed long ago by Turnebus 14. 4, apparently adopted by Cerda, and now revived by Henry, who does not seem aware that he has been anticipated, giving 'relinquere' the special sense of leaving behind in a race, like the passive λείπεσθαι (comp. Hor. A. P. 417, "occupet extremum scabies: mihi turpe relinqui est," and other places), so that the meaning will be 'would pass him who is now doubtful,' i. e. would make him doubtful no longer, but clearly defeated. This view I now accept, as satisfactory in itself and recommended by the unanimous concurrence of the MSS. in 'ambiguumque,' though, had the preponderance been reversed, I should see no sufficient reason for leaving the ordinary interpretation. Against the new one it may perhaps be urged that it does not bring Virg. into absolute conformity with Hom., who does not mean that Menelaus and Antilochus were ἀμφήριστοι as it was, but that Menelaus in a longer course would not only have become ἀμφήριστος but superior, while Virg. on the other hand, as thus interpreted, represents Helymus as already no more than 'ambiguus;' and also that the case of Helymus and Diores is more like that of Eumelus and Diomed, who were nearly even from the first, than that of Menelaus and Antilochus, whose places were reversed during the race by an act of fraud, so that Menelaus, in passing his rival, would only have been asserting the intrinsic superiority which he had all along. But these points, though worth considering, do not seem to me sufficient to overbalance the general probability that this line is meant as a general translation of Il. 23. 527, not of ib. 382. I have therefore restored 'ambiguumque.' [Both Serv. and Ti. Donatus took 'ambiguum' as masculine, Serv. explaining it as = "minus firmum ad celeritatem," Donatus as = "incertum de spe victoriae." Something like this is Henry's present explanation, 'hesitating between two things, i. e. whether to give up without more ado, or strive to overtake the competitor who had so unexpectedly got the start of him.'—H. N.]

327.] ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ πύματον τέλεον δρόμον Il. 23. 768; ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τάχ' ἔμελλον ἐπαΐξασθαι ἄεθλον ib. 773. 'Fessi,' so that the order was not likely to be altered. Gossrau. 'Finis' fem. as in 2. 554., 3. 145. 'Ipsum' however is read by five MSS., including Med. a. m. sec.

328.] 'Levis' of blood, as of mud G. 3. 45.

329.] Nisus' accident is taken from Ajax's Il. 23. 774 foll. Mr. Gladstone (Homeric Studies, 3, p. 521) blames Virg. for introducing the slaughter of oxen here with the word 'forte,' without any such reason as is assigned by Hom. l. c., the sacrifice at the tomb of Patroclus. But without going back to the sacrifice nine days before, v. 97, we may suppose not unreasonably that a sacrifice had been performed to Anchises before the games, though Virg., true to his love of variety, even at the expense of perspicuity, has not chosen directly to inform us of it. We need not settle the topography of the circus; but it cannot have been at any great distance from the tomb. 'Forte' expresses, not that the slaughter was an ordinary occurrence, but that part of the course happened to pass over the ground where the slaughter had taken place—a thing which is fairly called accidental, as it cannot have been intended. Serv. says, "Bene rem notam per transitum tetigit: agonalis enim moris fuerat post sacrificia ad certamen venire."—'Ut' may be transferred from time to place, as in Catull. 11. 3, comp. by Wagn. "Sive ad extremos penetrabit Indos, Litus ut longe resonante Eoa Tunditur unda," Id. 17. 10, comp. by Cerda, "Verum totius ut lacus putidaeque paludis Lividissima maximeque est profunda vorago." Virg. however has no other instance of this sense, and 'ut forte' might be explained here 'just as it happened that,' as ὡς is used sometimes to denote the co-ordination of two things that are really cause and effect.

330.] 'Super' separated from 'fusus:' comp. 6. 254.

Haut tenuit titubata solo, sed pronus in ipso
Concidit inmundoque fimo sacroque cruore,
Non tamen Euryali, non ille oblitus amorum;
Nam sese opposuit Salio per lubrica surgens;
Ille autem spissa iacuit revolutus harena.
Emicat Euryalus, et munere victor amici
Prima tenet, plausuque volat fremituque secundo.
Post Helymus subit, et nunc tertia palma Diores.
Hic totum caveae consessum ingentis et ora

332.] 'Titubata' as if from a deponent 'titubor.' It appears to occur nowhere else, nor does there seem to be any other instance in which Virg. has ventured on a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον of the kind, though he has other participles similarly formed but in more common use, which Gossrau has collected, "cretus," "desuetus," "placitus," "praeteritus." See Madv. § 110, obs. 3. ['Set' Med.—H. N.]

333.] With some doubt I follow Ribbeck in changing the period after 'cruore' into a comma. He is perhaps too rigorous in proscribing the use of the participle as a finite verb (see on 1. 237), though we have as yet to judge him only by his practice, his theory not having been stated: in the present case, however, the change of punctuation adds elegance to the passage, which is thus assimilated to 1. 3, as at present pointed. ['Immundo' Rom.—H. N.]

334.] 'Amorum' may = "amati" as in G. 3. 227, or it may be the common use of the plural, as in 4. 28, 292. Some copies have 'amoris,' others 'amorum est.'

336.] 'Revolutus' rather than 'provolutus,' not only for the metre's sake, but, as Peerlkamp well remarks, because Salius coming on at full speed would be swung round by the shock. 'Iacuit' to express the suddenness of the action, Forb., who well compares 9. 771. 'Harena' probably with reference to the circus, as Wagn. suggests: it need not however be a carelessness, but may have been deliberately chosen, as the word is used elsewhere as a poetical synonyme for 'terra.' Serv. says "'Spissa:' tenui: quanto enim quid minutius, tanto est densius," which has apparently led to the insertion of 'tenui' as a correction of 'spissa' in one MS., and as a gloss in another. [Henry takes the same view as Serv., and rightly: "fine, thick sand, of which the particles are all of one size and fit well into each other so as to make a close, compact footing."—H. N.]

337.] 'Munere amici' like "vestro munere" G. 1. 7, as we might say, thanks to his friend. Med. a m. pr. has 'amico,' which Heins. and Forb. rather approve; but 'amici' is more idiomatic.

338.] 'Prima tenet' like "prima peto" above v. 194. 'Fremitu secundo' like "clamore secundo" below v. 491.

339.] ['Helemus' Rom. — H. N.] 'Tertia palma Diores' is a sort of loose apposition, into which those who have occasion to speak of 'prizes' in English not uncommonly fall, identifying the prizeman with the prize. No earlier instance of the expression is quoted, but it has been imitated by later writers, such as Silius: see Forcell. The use of 'palma' in G. 1. 59 is not quite parallel, as has been there remarked. Here we might have expected the word to be restricted to the victor, see v. 111 above, but it is extended to the three who stand in the relation of victors to the rest, receiving not only presents but prizes. 'Nunc,' having been originally fifth.

340.] Salius' complaint is taken partly from Antilochus' against the decision in favour of Eumelus Il. 23. 541 foll., partly from Menelaus' against Antilochus himself ib. 566. "Consessu caveae" 8. 636. Virg. is again using theatric language. The words are from Lucr. 4. 78, "consessum caveai." 'Ora prima patrum' is again Roman, an allusion to the "primus subselliorum ordo," the seats for senators and distinguished persons in the orchestra. 'Ora' is used doubtless of the 'patres' as spectators, perhaps also as expressers of a favourable or adverse opinion, but its combination with 'implet' is harsh, as the meaning cannot be that they echo Salius' clamours. There is a good parallel to the whole

Prima patrum magnis Salius clamoribus inplet,
Ereptumque dolo reddi sibi poscit honorem.
Tutatur favor Euryalum, lacrimaeque decorae,
Gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus.
Adiuvat et magna proclamat voce Diores,
Qui subiit palmae, frustraque ad praemia venit
Ultima, si primi Salio reddantur honores.
Tum pater Aeneas, Vestra, inquit, munera vobis
Certa manent, pueri, et palmam movet ordine nemo;
Me liceat casus miserari insontis amici.

line below, v. 577, "omnem laeti consessum oculosque suorum Lustravere;" but the harshness in "lustravere oculos" is considerably less. ['Consensum' Rom. and originally Med.—H. N.]

343.] 'Favor' is not quite co-ordinate with 'lacrimae' and 'virtus,' as the enthusiasm of the spectators was doubtless caused by Euryalus' graceful bearing; but it is possible that previous partiality may be meant. For the special use of 'favor' for theatrical enthusiasm see Forc. Euryalus' are tears at the threatened loss of his victory.

344.] 'Veniens' apparently means 'showing itself,' "veniens in conspectum." I find however no exact parallel.

345.] The old pointing connected 'adiuvat' with the preceding line; but though supported by Nonius, p. 501, it was rightly rejected by Heins. [See on 12. 219, "adiuvat incessu tacito progressus et aras Suppliciter venerans summisso lumine Turnus."—H. N.] 'Proclamare' is used of making a public appeal. "Adsunt, defendunt, proclamant, fidem tuam implorant" Cic. Verr. Act. 2. 5. 42. Hence it is used of a person claiming his liberty by appealing to a judge: see Forc.

346.] 'Subiit' = "successit" as in v. 176 above. It might be paraphrased "subiit loco, cui palma adiuncta est." 'Venit ad,' attained to, perhaps with a further notion of arriving at the goal.

347.] 'Reddantur' Med. a m. p., Rom., 'reddantur' Med. a m. s., and two of Ribbeck's cursives, 'reddentur' Pal. The subj., as Wagn., who restored it, remarks, expresses Diores' feeling on the matter. Forb. objects that in that case we should have expected 'subiit' and 'venit' to be in the oratio obliqua also, as equally forming part of Diores' plea. But Diores' plea is not really contained in those words, which are intended to express not the ground which he put forward in his appeal, but the reason why he made an appeal at all. On the other hand the indic., though more regular, would have been comparatively tame. The union of the two forms of expression is grammatically irregular, no doubt: but here as elsewhere the violation of grammar is a gain to rhetorical and poetical effect. We are told that Diores is speaking: we are reminded of what his real grievance is, not in his own words, but in those which would occur to a third person; and then we just catch, as it were, a few of the words which he actually utters. 'Reddi' as his due, v. 386 below.

348.] In Hom. Achilles would have given the second prize to Eumelus if Antilochus, who had gained it, had not protested: as it is, he gives an extra reward (Il. 23. 536—565). With 'vestra' &c. Forb. comp. 1. 257, "manent inmota tuorum Fata tibi." 'Vestra' and 'me' are strongly opposed by their position. 'This is not a question for you—you are not to be meddled with—it is for me to gratify my own feelings.'

349.] 'No one removes the prize from its succession:' i. e. no one disturbs the succession of the prizes—no one interferes with the distribution of the prizes to the first, second, and third comers in respectively. 'Nemo movet' apparently is not = "nemo movebit," but means 'no one is moving,' 'no one threatens to move.' 'Palmam' is meant to include all the three prizes: see on v. 338. Ladewig's punctuation (after Nauck) 'pueri et palmam movet ordine nemo' is no gain.

350.] 'Casus' was restored by Heins. for 'casum,' which has very slender MS. authority. Pal. a m. p. and Rom. have 'misereri.' "Casum insontis mecum indignabar amici" 2. 93. 'Casum' would

Sic fatus tergum Gaetuli inmane leonis
Dat Salio, villis onerosum atque unguibus aureis.
Hic Nisus, Si tanta, inquit, sunt praemia victis,
Et te lapsorum miseret, quae munera Niso
Digna dabis? primam merui qui laude coronam,
Ni me, quae Salium, fortuna inimica tulisset.
Et simul his dictis faciem ostentabat et udo
Turpia membra fimo. Risit pater optimus olli,
Et clipeum efferri iussit, Didymaonis artes,
Neptuni sacro Danais de poste refixum.

be awkward here, as it might be taken to mean literally 'fall,' which would hardly do, in spite of v. 354: see note there.

351.] 'Tergum' of a hide, as in 1. 368 &c. Aeneas has a lion's hide with the claws gilded as a horse-cloth 8. 552. 'Immani' Rom.—H. N.]

352.] "Loaded with a weight of shaggy hair and gilded claws."

354.] 'Et te lapsorum miseret' is said lightly, not, like Aeneas' words v. 353, gravely. Cerda comp. Il. 23. 548, εἰ δέ μιν οἰκτείρεις, καί τοι φίλος ἔπλετο θυμῷ. Nisus' humour is studied after Antilochus', as shown partly in the speech quoted from, partly in a later one, vv. 787 foll., where he jests at his own defeat by elder men. 'Niso' is probably to be constructed with 'dabis' rather than with 'digna;' comp. 1. 603 foll., 9. 252. ['Labsorum' Pal.—H. N.]

355.] 'Coronam' literally: comp. v. 309. 'Laude' = "virtute," as in 1. 461., 2. 252.

356.] Some copies have "quae et Salium." 'Tulisset' of fortune 2. 555, E. 5. 34.

357.] 'Simul his,' ἅμα τοῖσδε, a construction found in poetry and post-Augustan prose: see Forc. 'Turpia fimo' probably belongs to 'faciem' as well as to 'membra.' [More probably Henry is right in taking 'faciem' as = 'his plight, his condition, his appearance.'—H. N.]

358.] Aeneas' laughter partakes both of the smile of Achilles at Antilochus' humorous petulance, Il. 23. 555, and the mirth of the Greeks at Ajax's rueful appearance after his fall, ib. 784. 'Ridere' with dative E. 4. 62. Med. a m. p. has 'illi.'

359.] 'Efferri,' from the ships. ἐκέλευσεν . . . οἰσέμεναι κλισίηθεν Il 23. 564. Didymaon is not known otherwise as an artist. In Val. F. 3. 707 he appears as a warrior. 'Artes' of works of art, Hor. 4 Od. 8. 5 &c. The pl. is here used rather than the sing. for the sake of poetical variety, the artist's labour being regarded in detail rather than as a whole. Pal. and Rom. however have, 'artem' [and so Ribbeck.] Gossrau remarks that a shield may derive its reputation either from an illustrious maker or from an illustrious possessor. With the apposition he well comp. 8. 729, "clipeum Volcani, dona parentis."

360.] The meaning is generally supposed to be that the shield had been fastened by the Greeks on the gate of a temple of Neptune as an offering from their spoils, and reclaimed thence by Aeneas. But it is not so easy to see how this is to be obtained from the words. Serv. says "'Danais,' a Danais," which later commentators adopt, seemingly mistaking his meaning (Ladewig is an exception), which is that the shield was torn down from a Trojan temple by the soldiers of Pyrrhus, and given by Helenus to Aeneas. This would give a satisfactory construction: but the story which it tells is indirect, even for Virg. If we accept the sense given above, I have only to suggest that 'refixum Danais' may be a pregnant construction, "refixum de poste et ademptum Danais," though I have no satisfactory parallel to adduce. Aeneas himself hangs up in a Greek temple a shield taken from a Greek chief, 3. 286 foll. Cerda comp. Hor. 1 Od. 28. 11, "clipeo Troiana refixo Tempora testatus;" 1 Ep. 18. 56, "qui templis Parthorum signa refigit." Lersch § 50 quotes two instances from Livy of spoils thus removed from a temple 22. 57., 24. 21; but both of them are cases where men in want of arms take down offerings hung

Hoc iuvenem egregium praestanti munere donat.
 Post, ubi confecti cursus, et dona peregit:
Nunc, si cui virtus animusque in pectore praesens,
Adsit, et evinctis attollat bracchia palmis.
Sic ait et geminum pugnae proponit honorem,
Victori velatum auro vittisque iuvencum,
Ensem atque insignem galeam solacia victo.
Nec mora; continuo vastis cum viribus effert

up in their own temples, as David takes the sword of Goliah.

362—386.] 'Aeneas next proclaims two prizes for a boxing-match. Only one candidate comes forward, Dares, a Trojan, who claims the first prize unopposed.'

362.] 'Peragere dona,' to distribute all the prizes in succession, and so finish all about them. Not unlike is "sol duodena peregit Signa" Ov. M. 13. 617, of the sun passing through the signs of the zodiac.

363.] 'Praesens' with 'animus,' not with 'virtus.' The combination 'praesens animus' is very common, 'praesens' apparently meaning "promptus." "Animus acer et praesens et acutus idem atque versutus invictos viros facit" Cic. De Or. 2. 20. "Animo virili praesentique ut sis para" Ter. Phorm. 5. 8. 64. "Non plures tantum Macedones quam ante tuebantur urbem, sed etiam praesentioribus animis" Livy 31. 46. It hardly answers to our "presence of mind," which is restricted to collectedness, and does not include energetic vigour. The colloquial "having one's wits about one" is nearer to it. Virg. may conceivably have thought of Il. 23. 698, where the friends of the beaten boxer take him away ἀλλοφρονέοντα, as we might say 'all abroad,' though this is the result, not the cause of his defeat. In the combat between Amycus and Pollux, Val. Fl. 4. 303, we have "sentit enim Pollux rationis egentem" (Flaccus having had his eye on Virg., A. 8. 299), hitting about wildly. Comp. also Il. 13. 713 οὐ γάρ σφι σταδίῃ ὑσμίνῃ μίμνε φίλον κῆρ, where courage seems to be the notion. 'In pectore' may go with 'virtus' as well as with 'animus praesens:' but it signifies little. The early critics from the time of Serv. made some difficulty about the punctuation of the line, being inclined to connect 'adsit' with 'praesens.' This boxing-match is generally from Hom., Il. 23. 653 foll.

364.] 'Attollat bracchia' imitated from Il. 23. 660, πὺξ μάλ' ἀνασχομένω πεπληγέμεν. In Hom. we only hear of one of the candidates having his hands bound with thongs of leather (v. 684). For the different kinds of 'caestus' see Dict. A. s. v. ['Atsit' Pal., which also has 'vinctis' for 'evinctis.'—H. N.]

365.] 'Pugnae' gen. "Inferior pugnae nec honore recedes" 12. 630: "vitae mortalis honorem" G. 4. 326.

366.] 'Velatum auro vittisque' is variously taken to mean either 'velatum vittis auratis' or 'auratis cornibus et vittatum.' The first would be natural so far as mere language goes: but no instances are quoted of fillets intertwined with gold, whereas bullocks with gilded horns were not unfrequently offered in sacrifice, as in 9. 627, Hom. Od. 3. 384. The custom belonged to the old Romans no less than to the Greeks of the heroic time. Lersch Antiqq. Verg. § 63 refers to the Tables of the Fratres Arvales 19. 7 &c. We must then suppose 'velatus' to be used with both by a kind of zeugma, which is not unnatural. Hom. has χρυσὸν κέρασιν περιχεύας. The process is described ib. vv. 432 foll.

367.] So in Il. 23. 664 foll. Epeus comes forward at once. Virg. has softened the traits of his original, as the Homeric champion is more boastful and self-confident than Dares, and more successful also. 'Vastis viribus' without 'cum' would have been more usual: the addition of the preposition however seems to give the notion that he rose with all his bulk about him, as we might say. The expressions classified by Madv. § 257 obss. are not quite of the same kind. We may however comp. the use of σύν, as in Hom. Od. 24. 192, ἦ ἄρα σὺν μεγάλῃ ἀρετῇ ἐκτήσω ἄκοιτιν.

368.] 'Effert ora' = "effert caput." 'Murmure,' of approbation. Serv. ingeniously suggests that the lines that follow contain the substance of what the people

Ora Dares, magnoque virum se murmure tollit;
Solus qui Paridem solitus contendere contra,
Idemque ad tumulum, quo maximus occubat Hector,
Victorem Buten inmani corpore qui se
Bebrycia veniens Amyci de gente ferebat,

whisper: but the rules of construction will not admit this. We may however thank the critic for the hint, as Virg. may have intended us to fill up his description in this way, though there is nothing in his words to indicate it.

369.] We hear nothing of Paris' pugilistic skill in Hom.: other accounts however made him excel in athletic sports, the story being that having been brought up among shepherds, he first made himself known to his father by proving himself the conqueror in all of a series of games instituted by the king. (Hygin. Fabb. 91. 273.) It is remarkable that the champion in Il. 23. 670, proclaiming his own prowess, admits that he is inferior as a warrior: ἦ οὐχ ἅλις ὅττι μάχης ἐπιδεύομαι; οὐδ' ἄρα πως ἦν Ἐν πάντεσσ' ἔργοισι δαήμονα φῶτα γενέσθαι.

371.] 'Idemque' = 'et qui,' which Wagn. has made clear by changing the semicolon after 'contra' to a comma. 'Occubat' = "sepultus iacet," as in 10. 706. See on 1. 547. The mention of games at Hector's funeral is supposed to have been derived from the cyclic poets. Dares Phrygius briefly notices them, c. 25. ['At' for 'ad' Pal.—H. N.]

372, 373.] Butes is not known otherwise. 'Victorem,' "qui omnes devicerat" Gossrau, rightly, though no parallel instance of the word is quoted. 'Victorem perculit' is like 9. 571 foll., "sternit . . . Ortygium Caeneus, victorem Caenea Turnus." About the pointing and sense of the words that follow there have been many opinions. With much hesitation I have followed Peerlkamp in adopting Wakefield's punctuation, which connects 'inmani corpore' with 'se ferebat,' 'he stalked along with giant bulk, coming as he did to Troy, one of the Bebrycian house of Amycus.' 'Inmani corpore' is not needed grammatically, as Wakef. thinks, to qualify 'se ferebat,' the sense of which is sufficiently completed by the clause 'Bebrycia gente,' as Wagn. and Forb. contend: but other passages in Virg. are strongly for connecting 'se ferebat' with 'inmani corpore.' Comp. "illius atros Ore vomens ignis magna se mole ferebat" 8. 198, an almost exact parallel, "ingentem sese clamore ferebat" 9. 597, and such passages as v. 368 just above, "vastis cum viribus effert ora," "vasta se mole moventem" 3. 656. Heyne's pointing, which separates 'se ferebat' both from 'inmani corpore' and from 'veniens,' &c., is contrary to the usage of Virg., who never uses 'se ferre' without something to qualify and complete it, except where it is connected with words expressing the direction of the motion, as in 2. 672., 6. 241., 7. 492; and Jahn's (ed. 1), 'qui se ferebat (= "iactabat") Amyci de gente, Bebrycia veniens,' introduces a sense of 'se ferre' unknown to Virg., though justifiable in itself. [This explanation is as old as Ti. Donatus, who says, "hunc certe (Vergilius) voluit proferre, qui e Bebrycia veniret . . . Quasi ab Amyco degenerare non potuerit, ita sibi nobilitatem virtutis ex eius nomine vindicabat."—H. N.] 'Veniens,' coming to Troy to take part in the games, not = "ortus," a sense of the word which, as Wagn. says, is only found in the case of plants. 'Veniens de gente' however are to be connected, as if it were "veniens ex gente," though we have "Venerat antiquis Corythi de finibus Acron" 10. 719. Both the use of 'de gente' elsewhere in Virg., and the requirements of the present passage oblige us to take 'de gente' here not 'from the nation' but 'of the family,' so that it is to be constructed as if it were "veniens vir de gente" or "unus de gente." Comp. 7. 750 with ib. 803. It is more to the point to say that the pugilist was a descendant of the mythic champion Amycus, whom Pollux conquered and killed, than that he was merely one of the same nation. 'Bebrycia,' a poetical variety for 'Bebrycii,' as Amycus was king of the Bebryces: comp. 6. 2., 7. 207, 209.—This description of the champion, as Heyne remarks, is modelled on Il. 23. 679, where Euryalus, the less fortunate candidate, is characterized as having come to Thebes to the funeral of Oedipus, and having there conquered all the natives.

Perculit et fulva moribundum extendit harena.
Talis prima Dares caput altum in proelia tollit,
Ostenditque umeros latos, alternaque iactat
Bracchia protendens, et verberat ictibus auras.
Quaeritur huic alius; nec quisquam ex agmine tanto
Audet adire virum manibusque inducere caestus.
Ergo alacris, cunctosque putans excedere palma,
Aeneae stetit ante pedes, nec plura moratus
Tum laeva taurum cornu tenet, atque ita fatur:
Nate dea, si nemo audet se credere pugnae,
Quae finis standi? quo me decet usque teneri?
Ducere dona iube. Cuncti simul ore fremebant

374.] Rom. has 'percutit.' 'Fulva' seems a frigid epithet, like "aurea sidera" 2. 483. If we could suppose the mention of Dares' exploits to have been actually made by the spectators, the epithet might pass as one of those details which sometimes associate themselves in the memory with more important events, and so might have a psychological truth. Such a thing however is not likely to have occurred to Virg., whose style of art is different: so we must put down the use of the epithet to an unseasonable imitation of Homeric simplicity. More might have been said for it had it occurred in the course of the ordinary narrative, as there many details may bear to be enumerated, whereas in a brief recollection like this only the more important points can properly be noticed. In 9. 588 however, where the words are partially repeated, the epithet is exchanged for a less prominent, though not less expressive one, "multa porrectum extendit harena." Ov. M. 10. 716 (quoted by Forb.) has "fulva moribundum stravit harena," of the death of Adonis, where there is some force in the epithet, as used by a lively colourist, suggesting as it does a contrast with the white flesh and the red blood. 'Extendere' like ἐκτείνειν Eur. Med. 585, of laying low.

375.] 'Talis,' with such powers and the consciousness of such exploits. 'Prima in proelia,' for the beginning of the fray. Dares put himself into a combative attitude, though he has no antagonist. So 12. 193, "Mugitus veluti cum prima in proelia taurus Terrificos ciet." Comp. also G. 4. 314.

376.] The homoeoteleuton 'umeros latos,' as Wagn. remarks, is forcible here. So 2. 721. ["'Ostendit;' melius dixisset 'ostentat.'" Serv.—H. N.]

377.] Wagn. remarks that 'proludens' would be a plausible but unnecessary conjecture. "Calcibus auras verberat" 10. 892. St. Paul's οὕτω πυκτεύω, ὡς οὐκ ἀέρα δέρων, 1 Cor. 9. 26 (alluded to by Germ.), will occur to many readers. Comp. also G. 3. 233 note.

378.] 'Quaeritur,' is sought, implying that the search still goes on. 'Alius,' about which a question has been raised, need merely mean other than Dares, the game being one which required two to play at it. Possibly however it may have the sense of "alter," as it seems to have in 8. 399, so as to mean 'a match.'

379.] 'Adire' of confronting in conflict. "Quando ipsum horrebat adire" 11. 636.

380.] 'Alacris:' Madv. § 59. 2. obs. 1. The old reading, before Pier. and Heins., was 'pugna,' which Wagn. supposes to have arisen from "excedere pugna" 9. 789. The parallel at any rate may show us that the construction here is 'thinking that all were retiring from the prize,' not as Heyne offers as an alternative, 'thinking himself to surpass all in respect of the prize.'

382.] 'Tum' after 'moratus' like 'deinde' after 'fatus' 2. 391. So εἶτα after participles in Greek. Aeneas had the bull standing before him. In Il. 23. 666 Epeus instantly on rising seizes on the mule, which he declares to be his prize, whoever may be his competitor. 'Laevo' Pal., Gud. a m. p.

384.] For 'quae' three MSS. have 'qui,' three others 'quis.' See on v. 327.

385.] 'Ducere dona,' like δῶρον ἄγεσθαι, Theocr. 1. 11, of taking to one's self

Dardanidae, reddique viro promissa iubebant.
Hic gravis Entellum dictis castigat Acestes,
Proximus ut viridante toro consederat herbae:
Entelle, heroum quondam fortissime frustra,
Tantane tam patiens nullo certamine tolli
Dona sines? ubi nunc nobis deus ille magister
Nequiquam memoratus Eryx? ubi fama per omnem
Trinacriam, et spolia illa tuis pendentia tectis?
Ille sub haec: Non laudis amor, nec gloria cessit
Pulsa metu; sed enim gelidus tardante senecta

(comp. Il. 23. 263, Od. 10. 35, 36), not unlike 'ferre.' There may be a further reference here to leading away the bull, as in v. 534 below, "ducere honorem" to drawing a lot for a prize. "Cuncti simul ore fremebant Dardanidae" 1. 559 note.

387—423.] 'Acestes exhorts Entellus, an old Sicilian champion, to enter the lists. He demurs on account of his age, but eventually assents, and produces a terrible pair of gloves with nails of iron, in which he had been used to fight. Dares declines to meet an adversary so armed, and Entellus consents to have the combat equalized.'

387.] The name of Entellus is a Sicilian one, as appears from the city Entella. Serv. says that according to Hyginus 'de familiis Troianis' he was a Trojan. Here as elsewhere (above v. 73) Virg. has perhaps confused those born in Sicily, those who migrated thither from Troy before its destruction, and those who accompanied Aeneas. 'Gravis' qualifies 'castigat.' In Il. 23. 681 foll. Euryalus is backed by Diomed against Epeus, but there is no speaking.

388.] 'Ut,' as he happened to be sitting. Forb. comp. 7. 72, and adduces the use of 'ut forte.' It is in effect the same as the use of 'ut,' ὡς, &c. to express 'just as he was' (comp. αὔτως, οὕτως, 'sic')—a sense which Forb. well brings out by paraphrasing "sede quam forte tenebat non mutata, non surgens ex sede sibi commoda." It matters little whether "proximus—consederat' be applied to Acestes or to Entellus. 'Consederat' from 'considere,' had sat down, so that it practically = 'considebat." 'Toro herbae:' comp. "riparum toros" 6. 674.

389.] Heyne comp. Aeneas' address to Pandarus Il. 5. 171 foll., but the resemblance is not great. "Fortissima frustra Pectora" 2. 348. Here the meaning is that his former prowess is all in vain now. So 'nequiquam' v. 392.

391.] For 'sines' a few MSS. give 'sinis,' which some of the editors prefer: but the rhetorical difference between them is as slight as may be.—Henry is right in making 'nobis' the ethical dative, and comparing v. 646 below, "Non Beroe vobis, non haec Rhoeteia, matres, Est Dorycli coniunx." 'Where are we to look now for' &c. He is perhaps right too in pointing after 'ille,' though it is difficult to say, as 'deus ille magister' might mean 'your divine master.'

392.] "Fama multis memoratus in oris" 8. 565. 'Memoratus' is probably to be understood 'celebrated by us,' or 'by you.' It does not seem to have come to mean 'celebrated' simply till a later period: at least Forc. only quotes three instances from Gellius. 'Eryx:' Dict. Myth.

394.] The hint of Entellus' speech seems to be taken from Il. 23. 626 foll., where Nestor, on receiving a present from Achilles, laments the loss of his ancient prowess. 'Sub haec:' Forc. quotes Livy 35. 31, "Sub hanc vocem fremitus variantis multitudinis fuit." Id. 7. 31, "sub haec dicta omnes in vestibulo curiae procubuerunt." 'Gloria' seems to be used instead of "gloriae amor," by a tour de force similar to, though not identical with that by which "laus" has just been used (v. 355) for "merita." With 'cessit' and 'pulsa' comp. "fiducia cessit Quo tibi, diva, mei?" 8. 395, "quo tibi nostri Pulsus amor?" G. 4. 325.

395.] 'Sed enim' 1. 19 note. Nestor's language in Hom. l. c. is more lively, οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἔμπεδα γυῖα, φίλος, πόδες, οὐδ' ἔτι χεῖρες Ὤμων ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐπαΐσσονται ἐλαφραί. 'Tardant' and 'hebetant' are coupled 6. 731, 732. ['Set' Med.—H. N.]

Sanguis hebet, frigentque effetae in corpore vires.
Si mihi, quae quondam fuerat, quaque improbus iste
Exultat fidens, si nunc foret illa iuventas,
Haut equidem pretio inductus pulchroque iuvenco
Venissem, nec dona moror. Sic deinde locutus
In medium geminos immani pondere caestus
Proiecit, quibus acer Eryx in proelia suetus
Ferre manum duroque intendere bracchia tergo.
Obstipuere animi: tantorum ingentia septem
Terga boum plumbo insuto ferroque rigebant.
Ante omnis stupet ipse Dares, longeque recusat;
Magnanimusque Anchisiades et pondus et ipsa

396.] 'Hebet:' ἀμβλύς is used of sluggishness in Greek. ['Habet' Rom. and originally Med.—H. N.] 'In corpore vires' v. 475 below. Comp. generally 2. 638, 639.

397.] εἴθ' ὣς ἡβώοιμι βίη τέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἴη, Il. 23. 629. 'Fuerat' = "erat": see Madv. § 338 obs. 6, and 10. 613 note. 'Improbus' seems to have the notion here of shamelessness, the point noted in Dares being his self-assertion. 'Your shameless braggart there.'

398.] 'Iuventas' G. 3. 63. Here Pal. and Gud. a m. p. have 'iuventus,' others again 'iuventa.'

399.] ['Haud' Med.—H. N.]

400.] 'Deinde' v. 14.

401.] ['Inmani' Med.—H. N.]

402.] 'Quibus' instrumental, like "his" below v. 414.

403.] 'In proelia ferre manum' like "congressi in proelia" 12. 631, 'in proelia,' which occurs frequently in Virg., meaning 'for battle.' 'Ferre manum' of a single fighter, as 'conferre manum' or 'manus' is used of two, or of one viewed with reference to his antagonist. 'Duroque—tergo' an adjunct not grammatically connected with the relative clause: see on G. 2. 208. 'Intendere bracchia tergo:' see on 2. 236, 4. 506. It is only necessary to add here that in the present expression, besides the notion of binding, which is the prominent one, Virg. wishes to introduce a reference to the phrase "intendere bracchia" (above v. 136), to strain or string the arms, according to his custom, which has been elsewhere illustrated, e.g. on G. 2. 364.

404.] 'Obstipuere animi:' see on 2. 120. 'Tantorum' has given some trouble to the commentators, Serv. joining it with 'animi,' while others have wished to alter it into 'Teucrorum' (found in one MS.), 'totorum,' 'tanto nigrantia.' Virg. however merely means to say 'so huge and terrible were the weapons,' which with his usual love of approbation he expresses 'so great were the oxen whose seven huge hides were stiff,' &c. The size of the bulls and their hides is demurred to by Gossrau as irrelevant; but if the vastness and strength of the gauntlets is enforced by our being told that it required seven hides to make them, our sense of it is surely increased when we hear that the hides were large as well as numerous. Comp. σάκος ἑπταβόειον ταύρων ζατρεφέων, Il. 7. 222, which shows that Virg. does not mean merely seven folds of hide. 'Septem' better with 'terga' than with 'boum.' These monstrous implements, "covered with knots and nails and loaded with lead and iron," seem to answer to the μύρμηκες of the Greeks (Dict. A. 'Cestus'). [Henry comp. 1. 634 "magnorum horrentia centum Terga suum."—H. N.]

406.] 'Longe' is explained by Serv. 'valde.' But the word is doubtless to be taken here in its ordinary sense, meaning either that Dares actually recoils many paces from the weapons and will not come near them, or metaphorically that he shrinks from them utterly and declines the contest. So Lucr. 6 68, "Quae nisi respuis ex animo longeque remittis Dis indigna putare." (Comp. Id. 1. 410, "Quod si pigraris paulumve recesseris ab re.") Taubm. quotes from Prudent. Psychom. 149, "monumenta tristia longe Sperneit," and from Enn. Hect. Lust. 17, "ius atque aequum se a malis spernit procul." Comp. "aversari," "abhorrere," ἀποστρέφεσθαι, and the Scriptural expression "be it far from me."

407.] 'Ipsa' of the caestus itself (which

Huc illuc vinclorum inmensa volumina versat.
Tum senior talis referebat pectore voces:
Quid, si quis caestus ipsius et Herculis arma
Vidisset tristemque hoc ipso in litore pugnam?
Haec germanus Eryx quondam tuus arma gerebat;—
Sanguine cernis adhuc sparsoque infecta cerebro;—
His magnum Alciden contra stetit; his ego suetus,
Dum melior viris sanguis dabat, aemula necdum
Temporibus geminis canebat sparsa senectus.

is what is intended by 'vinclorum volumina," the hides or thongs twisted over and over), as distinguished from one of its attributes, its weight. Aeneas feels the weight, and turns the gauntlets wonderingly over and over. Thus 'versat' is used with 'pondus' by a kind of zeugma. Comp. 8. 619 foll., where 'versare' is used of Aeneas handling his new-made armour. Virg. may have thought of Od. 21. 400, νωμᾷ ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, of Ulysses handling the bow.

408.] ['Immensa' Rom.—H. N.]

409.] 'Fetched from his breast,' which is perhaps the explanation of 'refert' in such passages as 1. 94. Comp. the use of 'reddere' in such expressions as "sanguinem reddere." The notion perhaps is that in such natural processes as the utterance of words, discharge of blood, &c., the thing is as it were given back, given by what ought not to retain it to what ought to receive it.

410.] 'What would you say had you seen?' 'Caestus ipsius et Herculis arma' has the air of a double hendiadys, though 'ipsius' is not independent of 'Herculis,' any more than "nostra" of "Thalia" in E. 6. 2. See above on 3. 162. The meaning apparently is that Hercules' weapons were still more terrible than those of Eryx. We might however take this line as merely an ornamental amplification of the thought expressed in the next, understanding Entellus to mean 'What if you had seen a fatal combat between two champions like Hercules and Eryx, each armed with these weapons, in this very place?'

411.] 'Tristem,' because fatal to Entellus' friend and master. [Serv. seems to have had before him an alternative reading 'tristi,' for he says "aut in tristi litore, i. e. infecundo: Varro enim dicit sub Eryce monte esse infecundum campum fere in tribus iugeribus, in quo Eryx et Hercules dimicaverunt."—H. N.]

412.] Entellus is addressing Aeneas, and calls Eryx 'germanus tuus' as the son of Venus, thus conciliating sympathy for his patron's fate. So in 1. 667 Venus calls Aeneas "frater tuus," speaking to Cupid. Comp. v. 24 above.

413.] Not the blood and brains of Eryx himself, which could not well have been sprinkled on his own gauntlets (though Serv. says "Erycis, qui infecerat se tegendo," a view which might conceivably be supported by Val. Fl. 4. 298, 332), but those of the men he had slain in his time. 'Quondam gerebat' forms a sort of contrast with 'stetit,' the one referring to his whole pugilistic life, the other to his last fatal conflict. 'Sparso' Rom., Med., Pal., &c., 'fracto' some other MSS., which Heins. preferred and Heyne retained. But Wagn. rightly remarks that "effracto cerebro" v. 480 would hardly justify "fracto cerebro" here.

414]. 'His' was restored by Heins. from the best MSS. for 'hic.' 'Contra stetit' 11. 282, ἀντέστη. "Stat contra starique iubet" Juv. 3. 290. The second 'his' is doubtless the ordinary dative after 'suetus,' though it would be possible to complete the sentence 'his ego suetus sum stare contra adversarios.'

415.] 'Melior,' as we might say, in my better days. 'Aemula,' jealous of my glory. Old age is regarded as a rival to vigorous youth, which it seeks to impair. Not unlike is 8. 508, "Sed mihi tarda gelu saeclisque effeta senectus Invidet imperium." So Horace's "fugerit invida Aetas," 1 Od. 11. 7. [In Med. and Pal. 'viris' is altered to 'vires.'—H. N.]

416.] 'Sparsa' seems to refer to the sprinkling of white hair among the dark, not to the thinness of the white hair. Prop. 4. 5. 24 has "Sparserit et nigras alba senecta comas."

Sed si nostra Dares haec Troius arma recusat,
Idque pio sedet Aeneae, probat auctor Acestes,
Aequemus pugnas. Erycis tibi terga remitto;
Solve metus; et tu Troianos exue caestus.
Haec fatus duplicem ex umeris reiecit amictum,
Et magnos membrorum artus, magna ossa lacertosque
Exuit, atque ingens media consistit harena.
Tum satus Anchisa caestus pater extulit aequos,
Et paribus palmas amborum innexuit armis.
Constitit in digitos extemplo arrectus uterque,
Bracchiaque ad superas interritus extulit auras.

417.] 'If Dares with his Trojan gauntlets refuses to encounter me with mine.' See vv. 419, 420 below. ['Set' Med.—H. N.]

418.] It matters little whether we refer 'id' to what follows 'aequemus pugnas,' with Henry, or, as agrees better with the Latin usage, to something implied in the previous line, e.g. "his armis non esse utendum." "Sedet animo" of a fixed resolution 2. 660., 4. 15: here and in 11. 551 without 'animo.' In the latter place however there is a shade of difference in the meaning of the word, which is applied to the acquiescence of the mind in one course after weighing many others. Aeneas had already shown what his feeling was, if not by words, at any rate by his manner in handling the gauntlets. 'Auctor:' comp. 12. 159, "auctor ego audendi." The meaning seems to be not 'probat auctor,' sanctions by his authority, makes himself an 'auctor' by approving, but 'auctor Acestes,' Acestes, who is already my adviser, or as we might say, my backer.

419.] 'Remitto' = "concedo," as 11. 359. 'Solve metus' in the next line seems to be said contemptuously,

421.] Imitated from Od. 18. 66 foll., where Ulysses strips to fight with Irus. 'Duplicem amictum,' the δίπλαξ or διπλῆ of Hom. See Dict. A. 'Pallium,' where a distinction is made between this and the διπλοΐς ("duplex pannus" Hor. 1 Ep. 17. 25) of the Cynics. Virg. was thinking of the combat of Amycus and Pollux, Apoll. R. 2, where it is said of the former (v. 32) ὁ δ' ἐρεμνὸν δίπτυχα λώπην . . . κάββαλε. ['Deiecit' Pal. originally.—H. N.]

422.] 'Artus' are probably the joints, ἄρθρα (see Forc.), so there is nothing strange in their being distinguished from 'membra.' Macr. Sat. 6. 1 tells us that the rest of the verse is from Lucilius (17. fr. 6 Müller) "magna ossa lacertique Apparent homini." Virg. was prudent in borrowing the words, as the effect of the hypermeter is very happy.

423.] 'Exuere aliquem aliquo' occurs again 8. 567, comp. by Forb.

424—472.] 'The fight begins: after some time Entellus overreaches himself and falls: but he rises with renewed vigour and completely beats Dares, who is taken home battered and bleeding.'

424.] 'Satus Anchisa:' see on v. 244 above. 'Pater:' see on v. 130 above. 'Extulit,' perhaps from the ships, or from the place where he was lodged, though we should rather have expected Aeneas to have sent a message for them, as in v. 359. Comp. however 11. 72, "Tum geminas vestes auroque ostroque rigentis Extulit Aeneas," where the meaning evidently is 'brought them out of his tent.' νηῶν δ' ἔκφερ' ἄεθλα is said of Achilles Il. 23. 259. But the word need merely mean that Aeneas lifted them from the ground where they had been placed before him. In Apoll. R. 2. 51 foll. Amycus scornfully gives Pollux the choice of the gloves that have been set down at their feet; Pollux carelessly takes up those next him.

425.] In Hom. Il. 23. (v. 684) and Apoll. R. (vv. 52 foll.) the backer or backers tie on the gloves. ['Intexuit' Med. originally.—H. N.]

426.] ἐπ' ἀκροτάτοισιν ἀερθεὶς Apoll. R. v. 90, referring however to a single effort of Amycus, like that of Entellus below v. 443. 'In digitos' with 'arrectus.' [Lucilius 8 Fr. 13 (Müller) "gallus (so) sustulit in digitos."—H. N.]

427.] Hom. v. 686, Apoll. v. 68.

Abduxere retro longe capita ardua ab ictu,
Inmiscentque manus manibus, pugnamque lacessunt.
Ille pedum melior motu, fretusque iuventa,
Hic membris et mole valens; sed tarda trementi
Genua labant, vastos quatit aeger anhelitus artus.
Multa viri nequiquam inter se vulnera iactant,
Multa cavo lateri ingeminant et pectore vastos
Dant sonitus, erratque auris et tempora circum
Crebra manus, duro crepitant sub volnere malae.
Stat gravis Entellus nisuque immotus eodem,
Corpore tela modo atque oculis vigilantibus exit.

428.] [Marius Victorinus p. 2481 P. reads 'redduxere' for 'abduxere.'—H. N.]

429.] χερσὶν ἐναντία χεῖρας ἔμιξεν Apoll. v. 78: comp. Hom. v. 687. 'Inmiscentque manus manibus' is said of the preliminary sparring, which provokes or brings on the encounter, 'pugnam lacessunt.' "Lacessere bella" 11. 254. ['Immiscent' Rom. —H. N.]

430.] 'Pedum motu:' the feet would be of use in helping to elude blows ("motu Spartanus acute Mille cavet lapsas circum cava tempora mortes Auxilioque pedum," Stat. Theb. 6. 785 foll., comp. by Heyne), perhaps also in tripping up an adversary (Theocr. 22. 66, comp. by Forb.), though this was forbidden in the Greek games (Dict. A. 'Pugilatus'), and seems to be distinguished from regular boxing in Theocr. l. c.

431.] 'Membris et mole' a hendiadys, not unlike "molem et montis" 1. 61, which Serv. comp. 'Tarda genua' opp. to 'pedum melior motu.' In Apoll. v. 94 Pollux shifts his knees before giving the finishing stroke.

432.] ἔς τέ περ οὐλοὸν ἄσθμα καὶ ἀμφοτέρους ἐδάμασσεν Apoll. v. 85. 'Genua' like "tenuia" G. 1. 397.

433.] οὐ δ' ἔλληξαν ἐπισταδὸν οὐτάζοντες Apoll. v. 84, which may have led to the use of 'volnus' here and in v. 436 of a blow irrespectively of the wound given. 'Nequiquam' seemingly means without producing a decided effect, not that the blows were parried, as the next three lines appear intended, as Heyne remarks, to express in detail what is here put generally. ['Volnera' Pal.—H. N.]

434.] It is doubtful whether 'ingeminant' is neuter here, as in G. 1. 333, 'multa volnera' being the subject, or active, as in v. 457 below. The latter is rather more natural; but there is some awkwardness in taking, as we must then take, 'pectore vastos dant sonitus' of producing sounds from their adversary's breast. An imitation in Stat. Theb. 1. 418, "Iam crebros ictus ora et cava tempora circum Obnixi ingeminant" is in favour of the active sense. One MS. gives 'pectora:' but 'et' is against this. Taubm. has a curious notion that 'pectore dant sonitus' is said of the deep breath which the striker gives to help his blow. Comp. Cic. Tusc. 2. 23, "Pugiles . . . cum feriunt adversarium in iactandis caestibus ingemiscunt, non quod doleant animove succumbant, sed quia in profundenda voce omne corpus intenditur venitque plaga vehementior."

435.] 'Errat' does not express missing of its effect, but brings out the notion of constantly moving to and fro about a place. So exactly Aesch. Cho. 425, πολυπλάνητα δ' ἦν ἰδεῖν 'Επασσυτεροτριβῆ τὰ χερὸς ὀρέγματα, according to Lachmann's universally received conjecture. 'Auris' the ears, as Cerda remarks, suffered especially in boxing, so that we hear of men τὰ ὦτα κατεαγότες, and of ἀμφωτίδες, ear-covers of brass, which however seem not to have been worn in the public games (Dict. A. 'Pugilatus').

436.] δεινὸς δὲ χρόμαδος γενύων γένετ' Hom. Il. 23. v. 688: comp. Apoll. vv. 82 foll. ['Vulnere' Rom.—H. N.]

437.] 'Stat gravis,' stands by his own weight. Forb. comp. 10. 771 "mole sua stat." 'Nisu eodem,' 'in the same tense posture:' to be taken doubtless with 'stat,' not with 'exit.' ['Inmotus' Pal. —H. N.]

438.] He eludes the blows not by moving his legs, like Dares (v. 430), but by a slight motion of the body aided by con-

Ille, velut celsam oppugnat qui molibus urbem,
Aut montana sedet circum castella sub armis,
Nunc hos, nunc illos aditus, omnemque pererrat
Arte locum, et variis adsultibus inritus urguet.
Ostendit dextram insurgens Entellus et alte
Extulit: ille ictum venientem a vertice velox
Praevidit, celerique elapsus corpore cessit:
Entellus vires in ventum effudit, et ultro
Ipse gravis graviterque ad terram pondere vasto

nt vigilance. 'Corpore exire' (or 'effu-e') 'ictus' seems to have been a phrase. ubm. quotes Cic. 1 Cat. 6, "Quot ego s petitiones, ita coniectas ut vitari posse ı viderentur, parva quadam declina-ıe et ut aiunt corpore effugi?" 'Tela' a natural extension of the metaphor 'volnera,' referring to the caestus. oulis vigilantibus,' because watchful-s would be all the more needed where ı combatant did not change his posture. r 'exit' comp. 11. 750, "vim viribus t." The general notion is that of ;ting out of the way of a thing, as in cr. 5. 1330, "transversa feros exibant ıtis adactus Iumenta," whence it comes be used of evading, and even, as in 11.) just quoted, of repelling ['Adquo' m.—H. N.]

139.] Entellus is apparently playing a 'ensive game at this part of the contest, ile Dares attacks. The comparison is rg.'s own. Apoll. has two others, one a wave threatening to overwhelm a p which succeeds in avoiding it, vv. 70 l., another of two men hammering at ı same timber, vv. 79 foll. 'Molibus' :h 'oppugnat,' works of offence, "con-actions, such as 'aggeres,' walls, re-ıbts," as Henry says. Gossrau comp. ry 2. 17, "refectis vineis aliaque mole li." See also 9. 711.

140.] 'Sedere,' like 'obsidere,' is the hnical term for a blockade. Here how-ır a siege is obviously meant. 'Sub ais' (= 'armatus,' v. 585) may possibly meant to express as much by qualifying ı verb. Forb. however quotes from l. Max. 7. 4, "Ad ultimam ei senectutem ıd moenia Contrebiae armato sedendum ɜt," where a blockade is evidently in-ded.

141.] I incline to refer these two lines Dares, not to the subjects of the two nparisons, as the omission of the apo-ıis of the comparison would be awkward 'e, where there is no complication of clauses to excuse it. Virg. has however chosen to express what Dares does in language proper only to the case of those with whom he has just compared him. The comparison in fact helps us to the metaphor. 'Pererrat' seems to belong to 'aditus' by a kind of zeugma, as we should have expected 'temptat' or 'explorat.' With the language comp. 11. 766. Rom. has 'nunc illos, nunc hos.' ['Urget' Med. —H. N.]

443.] Entellus now leaves the defensive, and attacks. The circumstance is from Apoll. vv. 90 foll., where Amycus aims a crushing blow at Pollux, who partially avoids it. 'Ostendit' seems to mean little more than 'attollit,' though there may be, as Serv. thinks, a more or less distinct reference to the slow prepared character of the old man's blow, which has the effect of preparing his adversary. 'Insurgens;' comp. v. 425 above, 11. 697., 12. 728 foll., 902.

445.] The motion here is something more than that intended in v. 438, as 'elapsus' shows.

446.] 'Vires in ventum effudit' is not simply a proverbial expression for wasting his strength, but has a strict propriety here. Dares evaded the blow altogether, which fell with all its force on the air and so caused Entellus to lose his balance. Comp. Catull. 64. 111, "Nequiquam vanis iactantem cornua ventis," of the Minotaur attempting to wound his enemy but only wounding the air, a passage which Virg. had in his mind, as we shall see on v. 448. 'Ultro,' without any impulse from Dares. Forb. explains it 'not only does he waste his strength, but falls,' which is not improbable. ['Effundit' Pal. originally.—H. N].

447.] As in v. 118 above, the same thought is enforced twice by a partially verbal repetition. Virg. was perhaps thinking of Lucr. 1. 741, "Et graviter magni magno cecidere ibi casu." We may

Concidit: ut quondam cava concidit aut Erymantho,
Aut Ida in magna, radicibus eruta pinus.
Consurgunt studiis Teucri et Trinacria pubes;
It clamor caelo, primusque accurrit Acestes,
Aequaevumque ab humo miserans attollit amicum.
At non tardatus casu neque territus heros
Acrior ad pugnam redit, ac vim suscitat ira.
Tum pudor incendit vires et conscia virtus,
Praecipitemque Daren ardens agit aequore toto,
Nunc dextra ingeminans ictus, nunc ille sinistra;
Nec mora, nec requies: quam multa grandine nimbi

strengthen the false distinction if we like by connecting 'ipse' closely with 'gravis,' discriminating the heaviness of the man more sharply from the heaviness of his fall; but 'ipse' may be intended to repeat the notion of 'ultro,' or, if Forb. be right on the preceding verse, to add to it the notion of spontaneity. For this use of the copula to connect an adjunct which is not a predicate with one that is, comp. 2. 86 note, note on v. 498 below.

448.] There are several comparisons of falling men to falling trees in Hom., e. g. Il. 13. 178, comp. by Heyne; but Virg. has chiefly followed Catull. 64. 105 foll. 'Quondam' 2. 366 note. "'Cava,' id est, exesa vetustate: et dicendo 'cava pinus' vere respexit ad aetatem," Serv. Perhaps also there may be a reference to the hollow sound of the fall 'Erymantho aut Ida:' "in summo quatientem bracchia Tauro" Catull. l. c.

449.] We have the pines of Ida 9. 80 foll. "Radicitus exturbata" Catull. l. c. Rom. and some others, supported by Prisc. p. 1015 P., give 'radicitus' here. [And so Ti. Donatus.—H. N.] "Imis Avolsam solvit radicibus" 8. 237.

450.] They rise from their seats eagerly and rush to the spot.

451.] "It caelo clamor" 11. 192. 'Caelo,' "ad caelum," as in 2. 186, 688.

452.] ['Aequaevom' Pal., 'aequum' Med.—H. N.]

453.] 'Tardatus' may perhaps refer not only to courage but to physical movement, as we hear immediately of Entellus pursuing his antagonist.

454.] 'Et vim' was read before Heins. "Se suscitat ira" 12. 108, which shows, as does the introduction of 'ac,' that 'ira' is here abl., not nom. "Spes addita suscitat iras" 10. 263. 'Vim' is violence, 'vires' strength, so that there is no objection to the repetition. Taubm. quotes a Pythagorean saying, "Ira cos fortitudinis."

455.] 'Tum' is taken by Forb. as 'moreover,' preparing us for the mention of fresh motives. But I am not sure that the ordinary sense is not the more forcible, 'tum' having something of the force of 'tum demum.' Ribbeck makes the line parenthetical. Med. a m. p. has 'tunc:' see on 4. 408. "Pudor . . . et conscia virtus" 12. 667, 668.

456.] Virg. seems to have thought of Apoll. v. 74, ὥς ὅγε Τυνδαρίδην φοβέων ἕπετ', οὐδέ μιν εἴα Δηθύνειν, the last clause suggesting 'Nec mora, nec requies.' Apoll. however is describing not the end of the fight, but Amycus' first attack. Valerius Flaccus in his version of the same combat (4. 261 foll.) combines the two, making Pollux employ at the end of the encounter with more effect the same impetuosity which Amycus had employed at the beginning. "Aequore toto . . . agit" 12. 592. Comp. 2. 421, "totaque agitavimus urbe."

457.] See on 1. 3. Here as in other places where 'ille' may appear pleonastic it has a rhetorical force, fixing attention on the person who is spoken of. 'Now with the right hand showering blows, now, he, the same man, with his left.' The force might be given variously in English, 'now as furiously with his left,' 'now, brave man, with his left.' We feel that that tremendous personality is impressing itself upon Dares. Med. has 'nunc deinde.'

458.] "Nec mora, nec requies" 12. 553, G. 3. 110. "Nec mora nec requies inter datur ulla fluendi" Lucr. 4. 227. 'Quam multa' in a comparison, as in G. 4. 473; the apodosis however here does not correspond, as instead of 'tam multus' we have

Culminibus crepitant, sic densis ictibus heros
Creber utraque manu pulsat versatque Dareta.
Tum pater Aeneas procedere longius iras
Et saevire animis Entellum haut passus acerbis;
Sed finem inposuit pugnae, fessumque Dareta
Eripuit, mulcens dictis, ac talia fatur:
Infelix, quae tanta animum dementia cepit?
Non vires alias conversaque numina sentis?
Cede deo. Dixitque et proelia voce diremit.
Ast illum fidi aequales, genua aegra trahentem,

'sic,' which is explained by 'densis ictibus.' With the image comp. G. 1. 449, "Tam multa in tectis crepitans salit horrida grando." ["Quam multa grandine nimbi In vada praecipitant," 9. 669.—H. N.]

460.] 'Versat,' hits from side to side, or, as we should say, up and down. See on 6. 571.

461.] Aeneas stops the combat, as Achilles stops the wrestling match Il. 23. 734 foll., and the Greeks stop the passage of arms ib. 822.

462.] ['Hau' Ribbeck, from the original reading of Pal.—H. N.]

463.] 'Fessum,' spent with or (in colloquial English) sick of fighting, 12. 593. ['Inposuit' Rom.—H. N.]

464.] 'Mulcens dictis' 1. 197. Virg. probably thought of Il. 23. 682, θαρσύνων ἔπεσσιν, though that is said of Diomed encouraging Euryalus before the fight.

465.] Aeneas' address, as Heyne remarks, is modelled on Poseidon's to Aeneas himself, after he had rescued him from Achilles, Il. 20. 332 foll. "Infelix, quae te dementia cepit?" E. 6. 47. τίς σ' ὧδε θεῶν ἀτέοντα κελεύει κ.τ.λ. Il. l. c.

466.] 'Vires alias' has been variously understood, most taking it of Entellus' power, which has been changed, either simply increased, or superseded by divine power, while Peerlkamp understands it of Dares', which has been diminished. The former is supported by an imitation in Val. Fl. 4. 125, "Iam iam aliae vires maioraque sanguine nostro Vincunt fata Iovis," where the meaning evidently is strength of a different grade from Amycus'. [So Ti. Donatus, who says, "mente perdita non cernit adversum se non tantum hominem verum etiam deos ex aperto contendere."—H. N.] But for this authority, I should prefer taking the words more generally, making 'alias vires' the human equivalent to 'conversa numina,'—"do you not see that the balance of strength is altered and the powers of heaven have changed sides?" This would certainly answer to the parallel passage in Il. 20. 334, ὃς σεῦ ἅμα κρείσσων καὶ φίλτερος ἀθανάτοισιν. The objection to understanding it of a new, i. e. divine power brought on the scene seems to lie in 'conversaque numina,' as it would be awkward to say that the gods generally turned against Dares when a god helped his antagonist. Virg. evidently thought also of Il. 8. 140, ἦ οὐ γινώσκεις, ὅ τοι ἐκ Διὸς οὐχ' ἕπετ' ἀλκή; though the verbal resemblance is not close enough to enable us to fix his precise meaning. Lucan, 7. 648, seems to have had Virg. in his mind, "Iam Magnus transisse deos Romanaque fata senserat infelix." [Henry strangely takes 'conversa numina' as = 'deities in disguise.'—H. N.]

467.] 'Deo' is, I think, to be understood generally of the will of heaven, as in 1. 199., 4. 651, not specially of Eryx helping Entellus or manifesting himself in him. It is not clear whether 'voce' means by the words just uttered, or by a command given after the address to Dares. The 'que' is perhaps rather in favour of the former, "he spoke, and the contest ceased at once."

468.] The best comment on this and the lines that follow is to be found in the passage which Virg. has copied, Il. 23. 695 foll.:

φίλοι δ' ἀμφέσταν ἑταῖροι,
οἵ μιν ἄγον δι' ἀγῶνος ἐφελκομένοισι πόδεσσιν,
αἷμα παχὺ πτύοντα, κάρη βάλλονθ' ἑτέρωσε,
κὰδ δ' ἀλλοφρονέοντα μετὰ σφίσιν εἷσαν ἄγοντες.
αὐτοὶ δ' οἰχόμενοι κόμισαν δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον.

Iactantemque utroque caput, crassumque cruorem
Ore eiectantem mixtosque in sanguine dentes,
Ducunt ad navis; galeamque ensemque vocati
Accipiunt; palmam Entello taurumque relincunt.
Hic victor, superans animis tauroque superbus:
Nate dea, vosque haec, inquit, cognoscite, Teucri,
Et mihi quae fuerint iuvenali in corpore vires,
Et qua servetis revocatum a morte Dareta.
Dixit, et adversi contra stetit ora iuvenci,
Qui donum adstabat pugnae, durosque reducta
Libravit dextra media inter cornua caestus,
Arduus, effractoque inlisit in ossa cerebro.

470.] 'Eiectantem' (Pal., Gud. first reading, &c.) was restored by Heins. for 'reiectantem' (Gud. second reading, &c.), which the metre would hardly admit. Med. has 'oreiectantem,' Rom. 'oreiactantem,' which shows how the error may have arisen. 'Mixtoque' was the original reading of Med., 's' being inserted above. Wakef. prefers 'mixto:' Wagn. thinks it inappropriate. It seems clear that either would do, the meaning being 'blood and teeth together.' So Virg. might have said 'mixtos' (or 'mixto') 'sanguine dentes:' but he has chosen to speak of the teeth as mingled with the blood in which they float.

471.] 'Vocati' can hardly be pressed with Serv., as if it meant that they were too humbled or too busy to come without a summons. Homer's competitors indeed require no invitation, but take the prize the instant the game is over: but Virg.'s sports are conducted with more ceremony (see above vv. 244 foll.), as he doubtless had the Roman routine in his eye.

472.] "'Palmam Entello taurumque relinquunt;' exprimit quanto cum dolore haec facerent," Ti. Donatus. 'Palma' is probably to be understood literally, as Taubm. remarks, of a palm branch, not metaphorically of the victory: comp. v. 111 above. ['Relinquunt' Med., 'relinqunt' Rom. and Verona fragm.—H. N.]

473—484.] 'To show what might have been the issue of the contest, Entellus crushes the skull of the bullock which he received as his prize at a single blow.'

473.] 'Superans animis,' as we might say, in the excess of his spirits. Comp. 8. 208, "totidem forma superante iuvencas." ['Animo' Verona fragm.—H. N.]

474.] 'Cognoscite' E. 6. 25 note.

475.] 'Iuvenali' was restored by Heins., after Pierius, for 'iuvenili.' We have had the same variety in 2. 518, where see note.

476.] The line may be restored into "a qua morte revocaveritis et servetis." "Revocare a morte ad vitam" occurs Cic. post Red. in Sen. 9. Comp. "Paeoniis revocatum herbis et amore Dianae" 7. 769, "socios a morte reduxi" 4. 375. 'Servetis' because the preservation continues.

477.] Comp. v. 414.

478.] 'Pugnae,' gen. with 'donum,' v. 365. It would be possible to take it as dat. with 'adstabat:' but the expression would be rather forced. 'Reducta,' swung back over the head. So "securi reducta" 12. 307. ['Adstabat' Med. Rom., 'astabat' Pal., Verona fragm.—H. N.]

479.] 'Libravit' seems to be a confusion between the action before the blow ("diu librans iacit" 10. 480) and the blow itself, though it may be said that the swinging motion would be perceptible in the blow. This feat of killing a bull at a blow was performed by Cæsar Borgia, Ranke's Popes, Book i. c. 2, § 1, referred to by Henry.

480.] 'Arduus,' rising to the stroke. Comp. v. 443 note. Rom. omits 'in,' an omission approved by one or two earlier critics, and adopted by Ladewig after Fleckeisen in Jahn's Jahrb. 61, p. 32. Comp. v. 167. where the omission of 'et' after 'revocabat' rests on the same authority, is approved by nearly the same critics, and must be vindicated on the same grounds, as likely to have been altered by those who did not understand the metrical licence. Here however,

Sternitur exanimisque tremens procumbit humi bos.
Ille super talis effundit pectore voces:
Hanc tibi, Eryx, meliorem animam pro morte Daretis
Persolvo; hic victor caestus artemque repono.

Putting aside the question of accidental omission, which probably after all may be the true account, there is the counter probability that 'in' may have been left out by some one who did not understand the construction 'inlisit caestus in ossa.' For other instances of 'inlidere in' see Forc. 'Effracto cerebro' breaking into the skull and scattering the brains. Those who omit 'in' I suppose take 'cerebro' as dative, 'dashed the bones upon the brain.' [Ti. Donatus understands 'ossa' of the bone behind the brain: "sic igitur virtus operata est, ut ictus caestuum . . . cerebro sparso ad interiora quoque ossa descenderet."—H. N.]

481.] I extract from the Variorum editors two comments that have been made on the metrical effect of this well-known verse. "Est autem hic pessimus versus in monosyllaba desinens." Serv. "Incomparabilis hic versus est: quem Servius incogitantissime (modo Servii est id scholion) pessimum vocat, quod terminetur monosyllabo. Utrum enim malis? huncne, an 'Sternitur exanimisque tremens bos corruit ictu?' Ita A. 1. [105], 'Dat latus: insequitur cumulo praeruptus aquae mons.' Potuisset sic: 'Dat latus: insequitur tumidis mons incitus undis.' Verum ut corruit taurus, ut confluxit in unum montem mare, ita corruit versus in monosyllabum, copia multarum syllabarum in unam syllabam coacta, sicut et in illo A. 2. [250], 'ruit oceano nox.' Item A. 6. [346], 'En haec promissa fides est?' Nihil enim aptius indignationi quam oratio desinens in monosyllabum. Vel evolve Demosthenis orationes. Horatius quoque, cum e magnis coeptis futtile poema exiturum stomacharetur, ex prolixis vocibus eduxit monosyllabum, 'Parturiunt montes: nascetur ridiculus mus,' &c. Videatur Scalig. 4. 48 et I. Douza praecidan. in Tibull. c. 9. Item Erythraeus et Corn. Valerius, Lipsii doctor." Taubm. The line seems to be imitated from Apoll. R. 246, where Heracles knocks down an ox: ἤτοι ὁ μὲν ῥοπάλῳ μέσσον κάρη ἀμφὶ μέτωπα Πλῆξεν· ὁ δ' ἀθρόος αὖθι πεσὼν ἐνερείσατο γαίῃ. Wagn. ed. 3. connects 'exanimis' with 'procumbit,' 'tremens' with 'bos.'

482.] Heins. restored 'effundit' for 'effudit.'

483.] Turneb. Adv. 14. 4 &c. explains 'meliorem' by the Greek custom of propitiating the gods when a second victim, for any reason, had to be substituted for a first, by exclaiming δευτέρων ἀμεινόνων. Whether such a custom prevailed in Rome (where substituted victims were called 'succedaneae' or 'succidaneae'), is not stated: but the illustration seems plausible enough. So Turneb. explains 12. 296, "Hoc habet: haec melior magnis data victima divis." There may also be some contempt intended to Dares in the word, the allusion being, as Germ. thinks, to the trial of the victim (see on 4. 61), which Plutarch calls τὴν ψυχὴν δοκιμάζειν. 'The bull dies without flinching: Dares could not abide my blows.' Serv. apparently thinks the bull is called 'melior' merely as compared with unbloody sacrifices. [Ti. Donatus says "melius factum est ut bos potius interiret quam Dares . . . Haec est hoc loco anima melior, quae sine piaculi contagione mactata est."—H. N.] Peerlkamp conj. 'meliore,' comparing Ov. F. 6. 162, "Hanc animam vobis pro meliore damus," said of a young pig sacrificed for a child. If we could suppose this to have been a common expression, we might consider that Virg. alluded to it, without adopting it.

484.] 'Persolvere:' a sacrificial term, 8. 62. Rom. and one or two others give 'reponit.' Entellus hangs up his arms to Eryx as an 'emeritus,' like Horace 3 Od. 26. 3 foll. to Venus, Veianius Hor. 1 Ep. 1. 4 foll. to Hercules. ['Reponit' Rom.—H. N.] Trapp bestows just praise on Dryden's rendering of Entellus' speech. The passage is worth quoting, expressing as it does the veteran combatant's feelings as conceived by the veteran poet. The chord struck is not quite the same as that struck by Virgil, but they are very noble lines:

"In Dares' stead I offer this:
Eryx, accept a nobler sacrifice;
Take the last gift my wither'd arms can yield:
Thy gauntlets I resign, and here renounce the field."

Protinus Aeneas celeri certare sagitta
Invitat qui forte velint, et praemia dicit,
Ingentique manu malum de nave Seresti
Erigit, et volucrem traiecto in fune columbam,
Quo tendant ferrum, malo suspendit ab alto.
Convenere viri, deiectamque aerea sortem
Accepit galea; et primus clamore secundo
Hyrtacidae ante omnis exit locus Hippocoontis;
Quem modo navali Mnestheus certamine victor
Consequitur, viridi Mnestheus evinctus oliva.

485—499.] 'An archery match follows, between Hippocoon, Mnestheus, Eurytion, and Acestes, who are to shoot at a dove tied to a mast.'

485.] The archery match follows Hom. closely, vv. 850 foll., except that there it is a match between two, one of whom divides the cord, the other kills the bird —the odd thing being that the result is apparently foreseen by Achilles, who offers the inferior prize for the former feat, the superior for the latter. With this and the next line comp. vv. 291, 292.

486.] With Ribbeck I have restored 'dicit' from Pal. and Gud., supposing 'ponit' (Med., Rom., Verona fragm.) to have been introduced from a recollection of v. 292. See on 1. 668., 4. 564.

487.] Serv. [followed now by Henry] explains 'ingenti manu' "magna multitudine," and others have thought of taking 'ingenti' with 'nave.' It clearly however belongs to 'manu,' and is to be taken like "manu magna" v. 241, "dextra ingenti" 11. 556 (of Metabus), the Homeric χειρὶ παχείῃ, expressing the gigantic stature of the hero, "ingentem Aenean" 6. 413, and showing how he could set up the mast himself. Serestus is apparently the same who was mentioned 4. 288, his ship not having engaged in the contest. It must be confessed however that this passage affords a strong argument for identifying him with Sergestus, whose shattered vessel might naturally be utilized in this manner. The mast is taken from the ship, 'de nave,' and set up on the sand, Hom. v. 853.

488.] 'Volucrem,' winged, implies the notion of fluttering, like πτηνῆς πελείας Soph. Aj. 140. Hom. l. c. has τρήρωνα πέλειαν. 'Traiecto' seems to mean 'passed across,' not 'passed through;' but it is still doubtful whether it is to be understood passed across the mast, or, as Heyne thinks, across the dove. Hom. has merely πέλειαν Λεπτῇ μηρίνθῳ δῆσεν ποδός. 'In fune,' tied by the rope, another use of 'in' with abl., where we should expect some other construction. See on v. 37.

490.] 'Convenere viri,' the competitors. 'Sortes deiciuntur' occurs Caes. B. C. 1. 6, quoted by Gossrau. "'Deiectas sortes' malit Trappius. Non videbat alterum eodem sensu esse magis poeticum," Heyne. Poetical variety alone would be hardly a sufficient reason for the use of the singular here, were it simply improper on grounds of sense, though it might perhaps be justified by metrical necessity, if any such could be pleaded. But 'sors' is used generally in the sing. as opposed to other modes of choice, as we talk of 'the lot,' 'by lot,' and this probably accounts for its use here, though as a matter of fact there was a lot for each competitor.

491.] Κλήρους δ' ἐν κυνέῃ χαλκήρεϊ πάλλον ἑλόντες, Il. 23. 861. ['Primum' Rom. and Verona fragm.—H. N.] 'Clamore secundo,' of his backers: comp. v. 369 above.

492.] 'Locus,' the place, for the lot fixing the place. 'Ante omnis' after 'primus' 2. 40 &c. 'Exit' like κλῆρος ὄρουσεν Il. 3. 325, ἐκ δ' ἔθορε κλῆρος κυνέης Il. 7. 182. Hippocoon seems to be brother to Nisus, who was also son of Hyrtacus, 9. 177. In Il. 2. 837 we have Ὑρτακίδης Ἄσιος, who comes from Arisbe. Hippocoon is not otherwise known.

493.] "Modo victor" Juv. 2. 73. 'Victor,' though he was only the second winner.

494.] All the naval competitors, or at least three out of four, got some kind of chaplet, v. 269. Cloanthus is crowned with bay (v. 246): possibly the others

Tertius Eurytion, tuus, o clarissime, frater,
Pandare, qui quondam, iussus confundere foedus,
In medios telum torsisti primus Achivos.
Extremus galeaque ima subsedit Acestes,
Ausus et ipse manu iuvenum temptare laborem.
Tum validis flexos incurvant viribus arcus
Pro se quisque viri, et depromunt tela pharetris.
Primaque per caelum nervo stridente sagitta
Hyrtacidae iuvenis volucris diverberat auras;
Et venit, adversique infigitur arbore mali.

l each a different kind of wreath, the tinction being intentional. The three zemen in the foot-race however are crowned with olive, v. 309, so that is also possible that Virg. may have ntioned olive inadvertently here, for-:ting that he had made bay the naval эath.

195.] Eurytion is not known otherwise. ı is appropriately made the brother of ndarus, the great archer ('clarissime') the early part of the Iliad, the special ourite of Apollo (Il. 2. 827., 5. 105).

196.] 'Iussus,' by Athene. The story told Il. 4. 86 foll. "Avidus confun-re foedus" 12. 290, where the broken ıce between Latins and Trojans is ›ied from the broken truce between ›jans and Greeks. 'Confundere' is a nslation of Homer's own expression, ιὶ σὺν γ' ὅρκι' ἔχευαν Τρῶες, Il. 4. 269.

197.] 'Torquere' of shooting 11. 773., 461 (modelled on the present line). ndarus did not shoot at random, but ned at Menelaus, whom he struck.

198.] 'Extremus' and 'galea ima' vir-ılly express the same thing by different ımmatical forms. Grammatically they uld be classed as different parts of the ne sentence, requiring no copulative join them, as they are not strictly aking co-ordinate. Virg. however has sen to unite them by 'que,' as in 10. t, "Obvius adversoque occurrit," an nost exact parallel quoted by Wagn. V. 34. There "obvius" is connected th "occurrit," but not so closely as dverso," which forms part of the gram-tical construction: here 'extremus' connected with 'subsedit,' but not so sely as 'galea ima.' With 'galea ima sedit' comp. the stories of persons owing clods of earth as their lots into lmets full of water, that the lots might ; be shaken out, Soph. Aj. 1285, Apol-lod. 2. 8. 4. 'Acestes' for the lot of Acestes, a very natural identification, common not only in poetical but in familiar English. Burm. and Heyne read 'subsidit,' which seems to have no M.S. authority, and is intrinsically inferior here.

499.] "Manu temptare pericula" 11. 505. 'Manu' here seems to have the notion of force, its general sense in Virg., as the two words 'iuvenum,' 'laborem' both seem to show. 'Iuvenem' Med. a m. pr., which has been praised as an elegance, but is obviously an error in writing. Virg. thought partly of Agamemnon appearing as a competitor in the darting match Il. 23. 887 foll., partly of Nestor's words about himself ib. 643, νῦν αὖτε νεώτεροι ἀντιοώντων Ἔργων τοιούτων. 'Manum—labore' Verona fragm.

500—544.] 'Hippocoon hits the mast, Mnestheus divides the cord, Eurytion kills the bird, Acestes shoots into the air, when his arrow takes fire. Aeneas embraces it as an omen, and gives Acestes the first prize.'

500.] 'Flexos incurvant' = "flectunt et incurvant."

501.] "'Pro se quisque,' pro qualitate roboris sui." Serv. "Pro se quisque viri summa nituntur opum vi" 12. 552.

502.] 'Que' seems to denote that Hippocoon shot at once. So Teucer Hom. v. 862, αὐτίκα δ' ἰὸν Ἧκεν ἐπικρατέως. "Nervo pulsante sagittae" G. 4. 313 note.

503.] 'Diverberat,' which occurs Lucr. 1. 222., 2. 152, is used here and in 6. 294., 9. 411 of a blow with a weapon which has both the effect and the sound of a lash. Pal. and Gud. a m. p. have 'volucris iuvenis.' ['Deverberat' Med. —H. N.]

504.] 'Venit,' absolutely, reaches its destination, as in 1. 627. 'Arbor mali' is perhaps used on the analogy of 'arbor

Intremuit malus, timuitque exterrita pinnis
Ales, et ingenti sonuerunt omnia plausu.
Post acer Mnestheus adducto constitit arcu,
Alta petens, pariterque oculos telumque tetendit.
Ast ipsam miserandus avem contingere ferro
Non valuit; nodos et vincula linea rupit,
Quis innexa pedem malo pendebat ab alto;
Illa notos atque atra volans in nubila fugit.
Tum rapidus, iandudum arcu contenta parato

fici,' 'abietis,' &c., though the construction is of course not quite parallel. Or we may say that 'arbore' is equivalent to 'ligno,' 'robore mali,' with an accessary notion of tallness. 'Arbor' is used of a mast 10. 207.

505.] 'Timuit exterrita pinnis,' showed its fear by fluttering and clapping its wings. Comp. v. 215 above. Here 'pinnis' is constructed as an abl. of the part affected with 'timuit exterrita.' The novelty consists in connecting a verb expressive of mental action with an abl. of a part of the body. Neither 'tremuit pinnis' nor 'timuit animo' would have been at all remarkable.

506.] "'Plausu:' alii pinnarum dicunt, sed melius spectantium favore: illud enim est incredibile," Serv. Ti. Donatus however understands 'plausu' of the wings, as in the parallel v. 215. But Virg. translated Hom. v. 869, ἀτὰρ κελάδησαν Ἀχαιοί, though he has transferred the applause from the shot which cut the cord to that which struck the mast: in each case however it is the first shot that draws the plaudits forth, naturally enough. [Ribbeck thinks that the words 'timuit'—'pinnis' are an interpolation, as based on an imitation of v. 215 foll.—H. N.]

507, 508.] Both here and in v. 513 Virg. has had his eye on Homer's description of the second shot with which Meriones kills the dove after Teucer had cut the cord. The lines, as they appear in our editions, are difficult, as it would seem that Meriones shot with the same bow as Teucer, but that he had taken aim with his arrow, which he held in the same place, even while snatching the bow from Teucer's hand. Σπερχόμενος δ' ἄρα Μηριόνης ἐξείρυσε χειρὸς Τόξον· ἀτὰρ δὴ ὀϊστὸν ἔχεν πάλαι ὡς ἴθυνεν. Eustath. however tells us that in the Marseilles recension, ἡ Μασσαλιωτικὴ ἔκδοσις, the lines were read Σπερχόμενος δ' ἄρα Μηριόνης ἐπέθη κατ' ὀϊστὸν Τόξῳ· ἐν γὰρ χερσὶν ἔχεν πάλαι ὡς ἴθυνεν. We cannot tell what reading Virg. had in his copy of Homer; but at any rate he has given his competitors a bow apiece. 'Acer,' keen; not quite the same as σπερχόμενος, 'rapidus,' as Mnestheus had not the same occasion for haste. 'Adducto arcu' may be illustrated by Il. 4. 123, νευρὴν μὲν μαζῷ πέλασεν, τόξῳ δὲ σίδηρον. 'Arcus' is here put of the whole, string as well as bow, the string of course being that which he drew to him. See on 9. 632. 'Constitit,' took his stand. "Alta petens" in a different sense G. 1. 142 note. 'Pariterque oculos telumque tetendit' seems to mean 'he levelled his arrow, as he had already levelled his eye.' The latter action would precede the former, but might continue along with it. "Tendere lumina" 2. 485. "Tendant ferrum" we have just had v. 489. Thus there is no reason to suppose a zeugma here.

509.] ὄρνιθος μεν ἅμαρτε· μέγηρε γάρ οἱ τό γ' Ἀπόλλων, Hom. v. 865, where Teucer's comparative failure is ascribed to his having neglected to vow a hecatomb of lambs to Apollo. 'Miserandus,' as Sergestus (v. 204) and Nisus (v. 329) are called 'infelix.'

510.] Hom. vv. 866, 867. 'Nodi' are coupled with 'vincula' Lucr. 6. 356.

511.] As usual, Virg. now for the first time tells us incidentally how the dove was attached to the mast, 'innexa pedem.'

512.] 'Notos atque in nubila' like "incepto et in sedibus" 2. 654, comp. by Forb. Hom. v. 868 tells us of the cord dropping or drooping towards the ground. Pal. and Gud. a m. p. have 'alta,' which Ribbeck adopts.

513.] See on vv. 507, 508. "Telum contendit" below v. 520. "Contenderat hastam" 10. 521. It is scarcely necessary to suppose that Virg. was thinking also of

Tela tenens, fratrem Eurytion in vota vocavit,
Iam vacuo laetam caelo speculatus, et alis
Plaudentem nigra figit sub nube columbam.
Decidit exanimis, vitamque reliquit in astris
Aetheriis, fixamque refert delapsa sagittam.
Amissa solus palma superabat Acestes;
Qui tamen aërias telum contendit in auras,
Ostentans artemque pater arcumque sonantem.
Hic oculis subitum obicitur magnoque futurum

"contendere arcum." The preposition seems to imply effort. ['Iamdudum' Rom. —H. N.]

514.] 'Fratrem:' Pandarus, having been a great champion in life, is regarded after death as a deified patron of archery, at least within his own family, as Eryx is Entellus' patron of boxing. 'In vota vocavit:' note on v. 234 above.

515.] ὕψι δ' ὑπὸ νεφέων εἶδε τρήρωνα πέλειαν, Hom. v. 874. Hom. keeps his perpetual epithet: Virg. substitutes 'laetam.' The clapping of the wings which follows seems to be a sound of joy. The arrow strikes her while in the midst of her exultation. Hom. however mentions the wing as the part where she was struck, v. 875. 'Vacuo' expresses that she was high up in the air, with no other object near her. Comp. G. 3. 109 note. It cannot be paralleled with "campos patentis" G. 4. 77, which seems to imply freedom from clouds.

516.] Gud. has 'figit nigra,' Pal. a m. p. 'figit nigram.'

517.] Henry formerly wished to understand 'exanimis' as = without sense or volition, to avoid the tautology with the next clause; but though 'exanimis' occurs not uncommonly in a modified sense when the context explains that actual death is not meant, that is no warrant for our softening the meaning where death is confessedly in question. "Vitam sub nube relinquunt" G. 3. 547.

518.] 'Aëriis,' the old reading before Heins., is supported by Med., Rom., &c., but would be less suitable, the stars not being aerial but ethereal, as Wagn. remarks, comparing Cic. N. D. 2. 15, "sidera aetherium locum obtinent." Comp. also vv. 838, 839 below, where "aetheriis astris" is distinguished from "aëra." If 'aëriis' were to be defended, it would be on the ground that 'in astris' is a poetical hyperbole, meaning really no more than 'in auris,' and that the 'aër' is the natural place for birds. Hom.'s description is more detailed: the arrow passes through the bird, and falls at Meriones' feet: the bird settles on the mast, droops her neck, drops her wings, dies, and falls at a distance (vv. 876—881). ['Delabsa' Med. and Pal.—H. N.]

519.] 'Superabat:' E. 9. 27 &c.

520.] 'Aetherias' was read before Heins. The confusion naturally arose from the change of the text in v. 518. 'Contendit' Med., Rom. (first reading). 'contorsit' Pal., Med. (second reading). Wagn. objects to 'contorsit' as inappropriate; but though it is not applied to shooting elsewhere in Virg., there seems no reason why it should be incapable of such an application, as we have just had 'torsisti' so used v. 497, while 'tendere' and 'contendere,' as we have just seen, are both used of levelling an arrow. On the whole, I have not thought it worth while to disturb 'contendit,' which is read by Non. p. 260. In 10. 521 the MSS. vary between 'contenderat' and 'contorserat.'

521.] Difficulties about the metre or about the sense of 'pater' have led to varieties in the MSS., "artem pariter," "artemque patris," "artemque paternam," "artemque parans." For the force of 'pater' see above on v. 130. 'He makes a display of his art and his sounding bow,' i. e. he displays his art by making his bow sound, the loudness and shrillness of the sound being the test of his skill and strength. Perhaps also there may be a reference, as Forb. thinks, to the goodness of the bow. ["Culpat hoc Vergiliomastix, artem enim in vacuo aëre ostendere non poterat; quamquam dicunt periti posse ex ipso sagittariorum gestu artis peritiam indicari." Serv.—H. N.]

522.] The meaning seems to be, as most of the editors have seen, that what then came to pass was really a portent of evil,

Augurio monstrum ; docuit post exitus ingens,
Seraque terrifici cecinerunt omina vates.
Namque volans liquidis in nubibus arsit harundo,
Signavitque viam flammis, tenuisque recessit
Consumpta in ventos ; caelo ceu saepe refixa
Transcurrunt crinemque volantia sidera ducunt.
Attonitis haesere animis, Superosque precati

though not understood so at the time, its true meaning being taught by the event, when the prophets of the day pointed out the connexion between the omen and its fulfilment. Aeneas, immediately on its appearance, as we shall see (v. 530), interprets it favourably, but what happened subsequently showed that he was mistaken. What then was the event portended? The old interpretation was, the burning of the ships: but this disaster, soon over and soon repaired, would hardly suit v. 524, which points apparently to something more terrible and more distant. Wagn. supposes it to be the impending war in Italy; but Acestes had nothing to do with this either as actor or as sufferer. It seems more probable that Heyne is right in referring it to the wars between Rome and Sicily. But there is no need to fix it at all, as long as we regard it as identified with some adequate occurrence in the subsequent history of Sicily. Wagn. censures the awkwardness of alluding to something extraneous to the poem and not specified; but Gossrau remarks that Virg. is probably not inventing this story of the portent and its supposed accomplishment, but repeating what he found in a legend. [Henry thinks that what the omen prefigured was the ascent of Acestes' soul to heaven: the 'exitus ingens' indicating "not the bad quality, but the great and important signification, of the omen, not fully understood till the time of its fulfilment."—H. N.] Med., Pal., Gud., Rom., and others have 'subito,' as Med., Pal., and Verona fragm. have in 2. 680: wrongly in both places. The awkwardness of the connexion 'subito futurumque' might be got over (see above on v. 498); but 'subito' would create an inexcusable ambiguity with 'magno augurio. 'Subitum' itself is not strictly co-ordinate with 'futurum,' being a predicate. 'Magno futurum augurio:' strictly speaking the thing was an 'augurium' already, but as it was not understood as such, its augurial character is spoken of as future. In other words 'futurum' points to the estimation of the thing, not to its nature. 'Magno augurio' like "omine magno" 7. 146, the epithet being equally applicable to good and evil.

523.] 'Monstrum' does not of itself indicate the omen to be a bad one: comp. 2. 680, above referred to. Here it probably refers not to anything future, but to the impression made on the spectators, who recognized it as a thing supernatural, but did not understand its character (vv. 529 foll.).

524.] See on v. 522. Heyne says rightly, "Etiam vates, etsi serius et iam post eventum quem res habuit, casum ita interpretati sunt." 'Terrifici,' the character attributed to prophets from the days of Aeschylus downwards (Ag. 1132 foll. &c.). Comp. 4. 464. Germ. comp. Lucr. 1. 102, "vatum Terriloquis victus dictis." 'Cecinerunt' does not mean that the utterance was prophetic, but merely that it was made by inspired men.

525.] 'Liquidis in nubibus' is a sort of epexegesis of 'volans'—in its flight, in the sky. Here as in 7. 699 (referred to by Forb.), "liquida inter nubila" (if the reading is certain), I take 'liquidus' to be used not of a clear sky as opposed to clouds, or of one kind of cloud as distinguished from another, but generally of clouds as opposed to solid matter like earth.

526.] The arrow kindled, made a trail of light as it burned, and then disappeared. 'Signavitque viam flammis:' comp. 2. 697 note. 'Recessit in ventos' 4. 705.

527.] Comp. 2. 693 foll., where a shooting star is described. "Refixa caelo sidera" Hor. Epod. 17. 5. The stars are regarded as fixed like nails in the sky, 4. 482.

528.] 'Transcurrunt,' "caelum" (as in 9. 111), which is supplied from 'caelo.' "Stella crinita" is the Latin translation of κομήτης. Virg. doubtless had the Greek word in his mind, though he is speaking of a different phenomenon.

529.] 'Haesere' seems to include both

Trinacrii Teucrique viri; nec maximus omen
Abnuit Aeneas: sed laetum amplexus Acesten
Muneribus cumulat magnis, ac talia fatur:
Sume, pater; nam te voluit rex magnus Olympi
Talibus auspiciis exsortem ducere honorem.
Ipsius Anchisae longaevi hoc munus habebis,
Cratera impressum signis, quem Thracius olim
Anchisae genitori in magno munere Cisseus

doubt and fixedness of attitude. They prayed that the omen might be for good, not for harm; comp. 3. 34 foll.

531.] The Greek and Roman belief was that if a favourable interpretation could be put on an appearance, it would turn to good. Hence the phrases δέχεσθαι τὸν οἰωνόν, 'accipere omen.' Serv. says "nostri arbitrii est visa omina vel improbare vel recipere." Why Aeneas allows himself to accept this omen has been questioned: but he probably interpreted it on the analogy of that in Book 2 already referred to. 'Laetum' seems to mean that Acestes, proud of his feat, was himself quite ready to accept the favourable view. Rom. has 'et laetum,' which arises from the spelling 'set.' See on 4. 312.

532.] "Textilibusque onerat donis, ac talia fatur" 3. 485. The 'munera magna' here seem to be the single present mentioned in the speech, unless we choose to include the laurel-wreath.

533.] Acestes had been the occasion of an omen which was interpreted as a good one, and it might be supposed that Jupiter by connecting a supernatural phenomenon with his shot, had recognized it as something better than the best. The speech to Acestes is modelled on that with which Achilles gives Nestor the prize that had remained over from the chariot-race, which is itself a bowl, ἀμφίθετος φιάλη (Il. 23. 615 foll.), with a glance also at Achilles' compliment to Agamemnon, ib. vv. 890 foll., to whom he gives a prize on his mere appearance as a competitor, begging him not to enter the contest. 'Sume, pater:' τῆ νῦν, καί σοι τοῦτο, γέρον, κειμήλιον ἔστω, Il. 23. 618. In his reply Nestor calls Achilles τέκος, v. 626.

534.] 'Honores' Rom., Pal., Med. a m. pr., Gud. a m. pr.; 'honorem' Med. a m. sec., Gud. a m. sec. The latter was the old reading before Heins., and Wagn. has restored it. The corrections seem to show that both readings belong to old recensions, so that the decision between them must turn on intrinsic considerations. These again are as nearly balanced as may be, as both sing. and pl. are equally good and Virgilian, as Wagn. remarks, comp. vv. 342, 347. Nor is there anything to show which of the two is the more likely to have been altered: the sing. may have been changed to discriminate 'exsortem' from 'honorem,' the pl. to assimilate it. If we adopt 'honorem,' it had better be constructed with 'exsortem,' like "ducunt exsortem [equum] Aeneae" 8. 552, and the Greek phrases ἐξαίρετόν τι ποιεῖσθαι, διδόναι, λαμβάνειν (Lidd. and Scott ἐξαίρετος). The proper application of the word is to a thing exempted from the ordinary division of the spoil by lot and given to some distinguished person. Here it is applied to the extra prize, of superior value to the rest, which is given to Acestes as an extraordinary thing. 'Ducere:' see on v. 385 above, and comp. 8. 552 (note). Here there seems to be a further reference to the phrase "ducere sortem," as if to say that Acestes was to draw a prize without the risk of drawing. For similar extensions of meaning see on 1. 508., 2. 201, and comp. Prop. 4. 21. 12, "Remorumque pares ducite sorte vices," with Paley's note. Achilles says to Nestor l. c. δίδωμι δέ τοι τόδ' ἄεθλον αὔτως.

535.] 'You shall have as your own a present given to Anchises himself.' But the sense may be, 'You shall receive a present from Anchises himself,' the spirit of the dead consenting to the transference of a gift which had belonged to him. This of course would greatly enhance the compliment. Hom. does not help us, as he merely says, Πατρόκλοιο τάφου μνῆμ' ἔμμεναι.

536.] 'Impressum signis,' on which figures have been impressed (apparently chased). Comp. 10. 497, "Impressumque nefas." Virg. has imitated Il. 24. 234, ἐκ δὲ δέπας περικαλλές, ὅ οἱ Θρῆκες πόρον ἄνδρες Ἐξεσίην ἐλθόντι, μέγα κτέρας.

537.] Cisseus, king of Thrace, was

Ferre sui dederat monimentum et pignus amoris.
Sic fatus cingit viridanti tempora lauro,
Et primum ante omnis victorem appellat Acesten.
Nec bonus Eurytion praelato invidit honori,
Quamvis solus avem caelo deiecit ab alto.
Proximus ingreditur donis, qui vincula rupit,
Extremus, volucri qui fixit harundine malum.
At pater Aeneas, nondum certamine misso,

father of Hecuba, called "Cisseis regina" 10. 705. 'In munere' occurs again 8. 263, "tantarum in munere laudum," in the sense of 'by way of a reward,' for which we should have expected "in munus" or "muneri." Comp. the use of ἐν χάριτι ποιῆσαί τινί τι, nearly = εἰς χάριν (Lidd. and Scott χάρις), where, though χάρις apparently expresses the feeling rather than its tangible result, the two meanings lie sufficiently near together to make the illustration apposite. Such constructions as "in hoste" 2. 541 are so far parallel as that they show other cases in which 'in' with abl. is used where we should expect 'in' with acc. [C. Gracchus (Meyer, Fragm. Or. Rom. p. 231) "assem aut eo plus in muneribus me accepisse." Cic. Verr. 2. 3. 48 "hoc vix ab Apronio in summo beneficio pro iis . . . impetratum est": ib. 17 "in beneficio praetor hoc petit aliquanto ante adventum suum."—H. N.]

538.] 'Ferre—dederat' 1. 319. 'Dederat' rather than "dedit," perhaps because the time which Aeneas assumes for the moment in speaking is that of Anchises' death, or that at which he heard from Anchises of the present, which was doubtless made before Aeneas was born. In v. 572 below 'dederat' is of course explained by the past "invectus est." It may be doubted whether the construction is 'monimentum et pignus sui amoris' or 'monimentum sui et pignus amoris.' The passages 3. 486, "manuum tibi quae monimenta mearum Sint, puer, et longum Andromachae testentur amorem;" 12. 945, "monimenta doloris," are perhaps in favour of the former.

539.] Comp. v. 246 and, for the language, v. 72.

540.] 'Appellat' perhaps refers to the declaration through the herald, v. 245.

541.] 'Bonus,' good-natured or kind. So "bonus Aeneas" v. 770., 11. 106. Here it expresses the good feeling which led Eurytion not to stickle for his right under the circumstances. 'Praelato invidit honori,' grudged the rank or prize set above his own. Forb. remarks that Virg. might if he pleased have said "praelato invidit honorem," or, as Markland conjectures, "honoris;" but 'honori' is more artificial and more Virgilian. Heyne erroneously understood 'praelato' as = 'praerepto,' Oberlin on Tac. A. 5. 1 as 'delato.' Ribbeck reads 'honore' (already conj. by Peerlkamp) from Pal. a m. p., apparently separating it from 'praelato.' [See however on 3. 484, "nec cedit honori;" the explanation of which there suggested by me is, I am glad to see, adopted by Henry in his note on this line. Here also he explains 'honori' as virtually standing for "viro honorato." It should be added that Ti. Donatus may have read 'tralato,' for his comment runs "honorem sibi debitum ad Acesten Aeneae indicio esse translatum." Adopt this reading, and all difficulty disappears. The confusion between *t* and *p* is common enough in manuscripts.—H. N.]

542.] 'Deicere' of bringing down a bird, 11. 580. Comp. G. 3. 422.

543.] Heyne connects 'donis' with 'proximus:' Cerda understands 'ingreditur donis' "incedit gloriabundus cum donis," which might perhaps be supported from 6. 855, 856. Wagn. and Forb. wish to combine the two. I take 'ingreditur donis' to mean 'enters on' or 'attains the prizes,' enters to take possession, "in partem donorum venit." Comp. the use of 'ingredi' for to enter on an office, G. 1. 42 note, and the frequent metaphorical use of ἐπιβαίνειν in Hom. with such words as εὐκλείης, εὐφροσύνης, τέχνης (Lidd. and S. ἐπιβαίνω). Possibly the expression may have been suggested by Il. 9. 598, ἐπὶ δώροις Ἔρχεο. In this game, for the sake of variety, Virg. has not told us what the prizes are—unlike Hom., who is never tired of repeating the same formula.

Custodem ad sese comitemque inpubis Iuli
Epytiden vocat, et fidam sic fatur ad aurem:
Vade age, et Ascanio, si iam puerile paratum
Agmen habet secum, cursusque instruxit equorum,
Ducat avo turmas, et sese ostendat in armis,
Dic, ait. Ipse omnem longo decedere circo
Infusum populum, et campos iubet esse patentis.
Incedunt pueri, pariterque ante ora parentum

545—603.] 'Aeneas now surprises the spectators by a new show, a miniature cavalry procession, three companies of youths commanded by Ascanius and his friends, who perform labyrinthine evolutions—a custom which Ascanius, when arrived at manhood, introduced into his new city, Alba, and which has descended to Rome, with the name Troia.'

545.] Henry, in a long comment, sets forth the peculiar beauties of this new show with great judgment and delicacy of perception. It was a special boon from Aeneas to the spectators, who had not been told to expect it in the programme of the games (above vv. 66 foll.)—a custom not uncommon in the actual games at Rome, where a surprise was sometimes contrived for the people (Henry comp. Pliny, Paneg. 33)—and it formed a peculiarly graceful contrast to the violent exertion and passionate striving of competitive sports among men, besides being an appropriate compliment to Augustus, who revived this very sport (Suet. Aug. 43), and a pleasing memento to the great Romans, whose sons had exhibited themselves as the young Trojans, their progenitors, are made to do. 'Pater:' v. 130. Here there is of course a further reference to Aeneas' relation to Ascanius. 'Certamine misso:' v. 286. Aeneas gives his directions before the shooting-match is over, that the procession may come on at once, and the surprise be complete, the spectators not having had time to think of separating.

546.] 'Comes' of senior attendants 11. 33, of "aequales" 10. 703.

547.] We hear of Periphas the herald, son of Epytus ('Ηπυτίδης), an old retainer in the family of Aeneas, ὅς οἱ παρὰ πατρὶ γέροντι Κηρύσσων γήρασκε, φίλα φρεσὶ μήδεα εἰδώς, Il. 17. 323. 'Epytides' as the patronymic of a herald almost looks as if it pointed to connexion of office or pursuit rather than lineal descent, as in the case of the Homeridae, ἠπύτα, loud-voiced, being an epithet of a herald, Il. 7. 384: we have however the name Epytus above, 2. 340, si lectio certa, and it is conceivable that the father of the herald, probably a herald himself, was known by a significant name. For 'ad aurem' some MSS. have "in aurem," the more usual expression (Juv. 11. 59 has "in aure"). Cic. Fin. 2. 21 has "eam tantum ad aurem admonerent . . . ut caveret." If there is a distinction between them, as there may be (comp. "ad auras" and "in auras"), it is probably as Forb. says, that 'in' expresses a somewhat closer contact than 'ad:' πρὸς οὖς and εἰς οὖς both occur in Greek (Lidd. and S. οὖς).

548.] If he has got it ready—implying that he had been told before by his father to do so. Pal. a m. p. has 'paratus.'

549.] 'Instruere,' the usual word for drawing up an army. 'Cursus equorum' then will practically = 'equitatum.' "Cursus equestris ducebat" of Ascanius below v. 667.

550.] With 'ducat turmas' Gossrau and Forb. comp. Suet. Tib. 6, "Troianis Circensibus ductor turmae puerorum maiorum." 'Avo,' in honour of his grandfather. So v. 603, "Hac celebrata tenus sancto certamina patri."

551.] 'Ait' aftur 'fatur,' as 'inquit' after 'fatur' 11. 42, and perhaps 2. 78. 'Circo' above v. 289. 'Longo:' the circus, in spite of its name, was not circular but oblong, like those at Rome (Dict. A. 'Circus'). The crowd had been pressing about the arena during the last two games, the boxing and the archery, which would not require a large field. Pal. has 'discedere,' and so Ribbeck.

552.] Forc. (s. v.) explains 'infusum' "magno numero circum ingressus ac totum occupans more aquarum inundantium." 'Campos patentis' G. 4. 77.

553.] 'Incedunt' of horsemen 4. 141. The procession forms the first part of this exhibition. 'Pariter' expresses the general uniformity and symmetry of their

Frenatis lucent in equis, quos omnis euntis
Trinacriae mirata fremit Troiaeque iuventus.
Omnibus in morem tonsa coma pressa corona;
Cornea bina ferunt praefixa hastilia ferro;
Pars levis umero pharetras: it pectore summo
Flexilis obtorti per collum circulus auri.

appearance and movements, the details of which are afterwards developed vv. 556 foll.

554.] 'In equis' v. 578., 7. 285., 11. 190. 'Euntis' after 'mirata,' as Henry has seen, not, as Forb. thinks, following Serv., after 'fremit.'

555.] One MS., the Montalbanian, gives 'Trinacria emirata,' an ingenious error. Observe 'iuventus' as distinguished from 'pueri.'

556.] [The manuscripts all give 'omnibus in morem tonsa coma pressa corona'; yet it is clear that both Serv. and Ti. Donatus made 'tonsa' agree with 'coma.' Servius says, "'tonsa' composita, nam proprie comae sunt non caesi capilli:" Ti. Donatus, "omnes attonsi et coronati." On 1. 701 Servius quotes the line 'tonsa coma pressa corona est': which confirms me in a strong suspicion which I had previously formed, that we should read "omnibus in morem tonsa est coma pressa corona," making 'tonsa' nom. sing. For what beauty could there be in a 'tonsa corona'? "Tonsae olivae" in G. 3. 21 is not parallel. 'Corona' causes a difficulty, as in v. 673 Ascanius wears a helmet. If it is worth while to linger over this inconsistency, which embarrassed Servius, we may get rid of it by supposing that helmets were not worn in the 'Troia,' in accordance with a notice preserved by Servius, "Baebius Macer dicit, a Caesare Augusto *pueris qui luserant Troiam* donatas esse galeas et bina hastilia, ad quod Vergilium constat adludere." Conington thought that the wreath was possibly worn below the helmet, a variety of the custom mentioned 7. 751 "fronde super galeam et felici comptus oliva."—H. N.] Henry, following Gesner in his Thesaurus, thinks the meaning is that the hair of the boys was cut round, as was that of the Roman boys (a custom expressed by 'in morem,' according to Virg.'s usual habit of ascribing Roman usages to the Trojans). He compares the words used by St. Jerome in translating and commenting on Ezekiel 44. 20, where the poll of the Jewish priests is spoken of (a mode of wearing the hair which he believes to have been as nearly as possible the same as that in use among the Roman boys), "comas ad pressum tondere," the use of 'premere' for pruning or lopping leaves (G. 1. 157 &c.), and that of 'corona' in modern Italian for pollarding a tree. ['Tonsa corona' he takes of "the round crop into which the long hair of the boys had been reduced."] It is however more natural to take 'pressa' simply of the pressure of the wreath: comp. 9. 612, "canitiem galea premimus;" Ov. F. 3. 2, Her. 13. 39. 'In morem,' which Henry thinks cannot refer to any peculiarity of the game, this being its first exhibition, need merely mean 'according to rule,' implying that all observed the fashion, established as it was then for the first time. Ladewig, understanding the words of a garland round the helmet, connects 'in morem tonsa.'

557.] 'Praefixa' has been restored by Wagn. and Jahn from Med., Rom., Pal., and others for 'praefixo,' which Heins. retained. The sense is of course the same with either: comp. 7. 817. Spears of cornel wood 9. 698., 12. 267: comp. 3. 22, 23. Two spears as in 1. 313.

558.] 'Levis' polished and shining. Some MSS. have 'parsque levis,' which might be supported by 10. 169, "Gorytique leves umeris," as well as by the appropriateness of light quivers to boys: but the 'que' would be awkward, and the best MSS. seem all on one side. For 'it' some MSS. have 'et' (Rom., Med. first reading, Pal. corrected) or 'in.' Some variety existed in the time of Serv., who speaks of 'it' as necessary to avoid a solecism, doubtless that of a nom. following an acc. Later copyists however mended the construction by reading 'obtorti it,' 'collum it,' or 'it torti' in v. 559.

559.] "An accurate description of the manner in which the Romans wore the *torques*, neither on the neck, tight and close like a collar, nor yet suspended from the neck so as to hang down in an

Tres equitum numero turmae, ternique vagantur
Ductores; pueri bis seni quemque secuti
Agmine partito fulgent paribusque magistris.
Una acies iuvenum, ducit quam parvus ovantem
Nomen avi referens Priamus, tua clara, Polite,
Progenies, auctura Italos; quem Thracius albis

›long shape on the front of the chest ke a chain or necklace, but round the ›ck and at the same time on the top of e breast, i. e. resting on the top of the east, surrounding and near to but still a little distance from the neck." Henry. ugustus gave a golden 'torques' to a sabled competitor in this game, with ›ve to bear the name Torquatus, Suet. ug. 43. 'Obtorti' alludes to the etyology of 'torques,' and expresses the reek στρεπτός. The 'circulus' which scanius wears 10. 138 is different.

560.] There may be an allusion, as eyne suggests as an amendment on rv., to the three centuries of equites. ivy 1. 13. 'Numero' as in v. 62 above. om. has 'turmae numero.' 'Vagantur' movement without a certain destinaon, as Henry explains it: comp. 6. 886, here, as here, it points to the expanse the field, and so may be rendered 'extiate.' 'Terni' is merely = 'tres.'

562.] 'Agmine partito,' the whole body ing divided, as we have just seen, into ree companies. 'Fulgent' like 'lucent' 554, of bright armour and general gay ›pearance. 'Paribusque magistris' ›ems merely to mean that each had its ›n captain, each being in fact co-ordiate with and so independent of the rest. ith 'magistris' comp. the well-known fice "magister equitum."

563.] 'Una' seems here virtually for prima," the cardinal number for the rdinal. "Unus, alter, tres" are found enumerations (see Forc. 'unus'): and ere Virg. has put 'una' and followed by 'alter,' which is an ordinal, not a rdinal. 'Ovantem' is used more or less rictly, indicating a quasi-triumphal rocession, as in 6. 589. ['Parvos' Rom. -H. N.]

564.] "Nomine avum refrens" 12. 18, a passage which will illustrate at ›ce the custom referred to, especially ›mmon in Greece (Aristoph. Birds 283, huc. 8. 6 &c.), of giving the grandson e grandfather's name, and the lanuage in which it is expressed. 'Referens' seems here, as there, to mean 'reproducing.' It might also mean 'carrying off for himself,' owning, possessing, which is perhaps its meaning in 7. 49, "isque parentem Te, Saturne, refert," though there other meanings might be suggested, 'tells over,' 'commemorates,' as in Martial 5. 17. 1. "Dum proavos atavosque refers et nomina magna" (comp. with this passage by Gossrau), or by a mercantile metaphor, 'sets down in his tablets as his father,' a variety for "refert originem acceptam tibi." Such are the uncertainties of the interpretation of a single word where there is no doubt of the general meaning—uncertainties perhaps complicated by the possibility that Virg. himself, according to the peculiarity so often illustrated, may have intended to shadow forth more meanings than one. Pal. a m. p., has 'cara;' Pal. a m. p., Med. a m. p., and Rom. 'Polites.' For Polites see 2. 526. The use of the vocative here, as in 7. 49 just referred to, will show that this form of expression is not always adopted by Virg. for metrical reasons alone.

565.] The name of Polites was connected by legend with various parts of Italy, some accounts representing him as a companion of Ulysses (Od. 10. 224), others as a companion of Aeneas. See Serv. here, and Lewis, Credibility of Rom. Hist., vol. 1, p. 329. Virg. having represented him as killed by Pyrrhus, naturally introduces his son here. 'Auctura' perhaps includes the notion of bringing honour to the Italian nations as well as that of swelling their numbers. Thrace abounded in horses (comp. the horses of Rhesus), and is called ἱπποτρόφος by Hes. Works 507, as Cerda remarks. With the threefold reiteration of 'albus' Gossrau comp. 1. 448. It is not clear whether the 'maculae' here refer generally to what is afterwards expressed in detail, the white pasterns and white star on the forehead, or to other spots on other parts of the body. If the parallel just cited from A. 1 could be pressed, it would support the latter view.

Portat equus bicolor maculis, vestigia primi
Alba pedis frontemque ostentans arduus albam.
Alter Atys, genus unde Atii duxere Latini,
Parvus Atys, pueroque puer dilectus Iulo.
Extremus, formaque ante omnis pulcher, Iulus
Sidonio est invectus equo, quem candida Dido
Esse sui dederat monimentum et pignus amoris.
Cetera Trinacriis pubes senioris Açestae
Fertur equis.
Excipiunt plausu pavidos, gaudentque tuentes

566.] 'Vestigia' poetically for the feet themselves, as in Catull. 64. 162, "Candida permulcens liquidis vestigia lymphis." 'Primi' is explained by Cerda of the fore feet: but Taubm. saw that it meant the fore part or pastern of each leg.

567.] Doubtless, as the commentators have seen, from Il. 23. 454, where the leader of Diomed's chariot is described ὃς τὸ μὲν ἄλλο τόσον φοῖνιξ ἦν, ἐν δὲ μετώπῳ Λευκὸν σῆμ' ἐτέτυκτο περίτροχον ἠΰτε μήνη.

568.] The introduction of Atys as the supposed founder of the Atian gens is a compliment to Augustus, whose mother was an Atia. The special attachment of Iulus to him is another stroke of compliment, as if the future union of the two houses were prefigured even then. Atys is not otherwise known as connected with Troy: but the name occurs in Livy's enumeration (1. 3) of the kings of Alba. 'Latini,' either for 'Romani,' or, as Heins. suggests, because the Atii came from Aricia. 'Atii' may be either gen., as "Memmi" probably is v. 117, or nom. agreeing with 'Latini,' like "Romano Cluenti" v. 123. The latter here is the simpler and more natural. 'Dixere' is a correction in Med.

569.] 'Puero puer' like "famulo famulamqe" 3. 329, "pueri puer" 1. 684. Med. (? Ribbeck is silent) and another MS. have 'delectus,' which Jahn thinks may be explained of choosing into the band: but 'dilectus' is obviously right. The commentators inquire why Atys' horse is not mentioned, and suggest that Virg. has not completed the passage, as v. 574 shows. But we have had a parallel omission v. 118 (note), and Virg.'s love of variety will account for both.

570.] Virg. uses 'ante omnis' with a positive, as here, with a comparative, as 1. 347, and with a superlative, as 7. 55.

571.] ['Sidoniost' Pal. originally.—H. N.] Heyne thinks 'Sidonio' is used loosely, meaning no more than that the horse was the gift of Dido, it being probably an African one. "Nam Phoenicios equos non memini narrari: nec tanti res erat ut curiosius in eam inquirerem: nec Phoeniciae solum equis alendis idoneum." Perhaps we may quote Ezekiel 27. 14, speaking of Tyre, "They of the house of Togarmah traded in thy fairs with horses and horsemen and mules." It may not have been a native of Phoenicia: but Dido may nevertheless have brought it thence. Possibly it may be the same which Ascanius rides 4. 157. "Candida Maia" 8. 138, "Nais" E. 2. 46.

572.] v. 538 note.

573.] Acestes mounts the rest on Sicilian horses. Ribbeck's MSS. however are divided between 'Trinacrii' (Rom., Pal. a m. p.), 'Trinacriae' (Med., Pal. a m. s.), and 'Trinacria:' and he adds: "'Trinacriis' in quo libro legatur nescio." 'Trinacriis' is found in at least four MSS. in the Bodleian Library, one of them (in the Catalogue, Auct. F. 2. 6) assigned by my friend Mr. Coxe to the early part of the twelfth century, the others later; so that, whatever the pedigree of the reading, it is not posterior to the invention of printing. There can be little doubt of its truth, as 'Trinacrii,' which Ribbeck adopts, would be extremely flat, 'Trinacriae,' if constructed with 'pubes,' contrary to the sense. "Senioris Acestae" v. 301, where, as here, the epithet is intended to mark a contrast.

574.] 'Fertur equis,' simply, rides: not as in 1. 476, G. 1. 514, where the passive is emphatic, expressing a negation of action.

575.] 'Excipiunt,' welcome them on their entry. Virg., as Henry remarks,

Dardanidae, veterumque adgnoscunt ora parentum.
Postquam omnem laeti consessum oculosque suorum
Lustravere in equis, signum clamore paratis
Epytides longe dedit insonuitque flagello.
Olli discurrere pares, atque agmina terni
Diductis solvere choris, rursusque vocati
Convertere vias infestaque tela tulere.
Inde alios ineunt cursus aliosque recursus

goes back to v. 555, the intermediate lines simply describing their appearance as they were seen to enter, not any thing that they did after entering.

576.] 'Veterum' may either mean simply elder, as contrasted with the youth of the boys, or it may show that 'parentum' is not to be restricted to parents, but includes remoter ancestry. Thus the young Priam may have reminded the spectators of his grandfather. ['Agnoscunt' Med. and Gud.—H. N.]

577.] Comp. v. 340 note. [As before, 'consensum' has crept into manuscripts for 'consessum,' Med. having the corruption for its first reading.—H. N.]

578.] "Lustravere in equis" 11. 190. There may be a reference to the use of the word 'lustratio' for a review (Dict. A. s. v.). though the troops were there 'lustrated' themselves, and did not 'lustrate' others.

579.] Epytides, the loud-voiced herald (seen on v. 547), gives a signal shout which can be heard at a distance, and cracks his whip. "Verberaque insonuit" 7. 451. The two phrases differ no more than when we say 'sounds with his horn' and 'sounds his horn.'

580.] Henry has explained this passage by supposing the three 'turmae' each to divide into two parts, 'chori,' of six horsemen each, one part retiring (say) to the right, another to the left, after which the three right 'chori' and the three left turn about and severally charge each other. Heyne thought that 'terni solvere agmina' perhaps meant each splits into four companies of three horsemen each, which would complicate the picture needlessly: Wagn. and Forb. suppose no more to be meant than that the three 'turmae,' having been together while they passed in procession, now separate: but, as Henry remarks, the previous context, so far from leading us to suppose that they ever formed into one, distinctly suggests the contrary. 'Discurrere pares,' according to Virg.'s wont, is explained by the following clause. There is something antithetical in the combination of the two words, 'discurrere' alone suggesting the notion of irregular dispersion (9. 164., 12. 590), as if it had been said "discurrerunt quidem, sed ita ut pares fierent." 'Terni,' being distributed into three, that being as it were the basis of their 'discursio' and 'solutio agminum;' they separate, keeping their original distinction into three, so that there are not simply two companies, right and left, but three pairs of companies. One difficulty remains which Henry has not noticed: when the three companies are divided into pairs, there are still only three leaders. This may not be fatal to the interpretation; but it can only be met by charging Virg. with an oversight. ['Agmine' Pal.—H. N.]

581.] 'Deductis,' the reading of Rom. and Med., was adopted by Jahn: but 'diductis' is necessary to the sense, and 'de' and 'di' are so frequently confused that MS. authority on the point goes for nothing, even if 'diductis' were not found in Pal. See on G. 2. 8, 354 &c. There seems nothing technical about the word 'choris,' which is simply a poetical equivalent for a company, so that it may apply either to the "turmae" ('diductis choris' = "singulis choris diductis in duo partes"), or to the divisions of the "turmae" produced by the "diductio." The latter seems the neater, as enabling us to realize better the three pairs of companies. 'Vocati,' by their captains, or perhaps by Epytides, as Serv. explains it, "ictu virgae."

582.] 'Convertere' is used both of flight and of rallying after a flight: see Forc. Here it expresses something analogous to the latter, being applied to the 'chori' wheeling about after having retired right and left. "Convertunt clamore fugam" 12. 252. "Infesta" 2. 529, here with 'tulere.'

583—585.] Henry thinks that in these

Adversi spatiis, alternosque orbibus orbis
Impediunt, pugnaeque cient simulacra sub armis;
Et nunc terga fuga nudant, nunc spicula vertunt
Infensi, facta pariter nunc pace feruntur.
Ut quondam Creta fertur Labyrinthus in alta

three lines another definite picture is presented, the 'chori' severally wheeling about, one set (say) E. and W., another W. and E., and thus meeting in the middle of the 'spatia,' when they come into collision so as to prevent each other from completing the circle, 'orbibus orbis Impediunt,' and then pretend to fight for passage, 'pugnae cient simulacra.' Accepting the definite picture which he had developed out of the preceding lines, I think he has been too anxious for explicitness here. Virg.'s words, it seems to me, become purposely rather indefinite at this point, 'alios cursus aliosque recursus' merely expressing that these retreats and charges keep going on in one form or another. 'Adversi spatiis' (so Wagn. from Med. and Rom., for 'adversis,' Pal. and Gud.) seems to imply that they still keep their ground, right and left respectively, as they took it in v. 580, though they are continually advancing and retreating over the ground. 'Adversi spatiis,' opposed in point of ground, is of course the same thing as 'adversis spatiis.' 'Alternosque (so Wagn. again from Med., Pal. &c., for 'alternisque' Rom.) orbibus orbis Impediunt' is I think rightly referred by the generality of the commentators to complicated circular evolutions as it were entangling each other. The 'chori' are not really confused, but their movements are so ingeniously intricate that they appear confused: the effect produced is that of circles involved in or cutting each other. "Septenosque orbibus orbis Impediunt" occurs 8. 448 of the shield of Aeneas, where, though the entanglement of the circles is not the same as that here supposed, the picture is still less like what Henry imagines, circles preventing each other from being circles. Besides, Virg. has himself shown that he intends not single but highly complicated evolutions by the comparison to the labyrinth which immediately follows—a comparison which would be unmeaning if the movements of the 'chori' had been such as the eye could easily trace. Whether these circular evolutions are the same as what is described generally in v. 583, or something different, it is not easy to say. There will be no reference in any case to the military sense of 'orbis' (="globus") for a mass of men. 'Alternos' implies that the complication was reciprocal. 'Pugnaeque cient simulacra sub armis' seems to be general—'in short, they have a sham fight.' The expression is from Lucr. 2. 41, 324, "belli simulacra cientes," which is actually copied below v. 674. 'Sub armis;' above v. 440. ['Inpediunt' Pal.—H. N.]

586, 587.] Sometimes they fly, sometimes they turn on their pursuers, sometimes they (all the six 'chori' or three 'turmae') ride in the same direction. 'Fugae,' a former reading, found in two of Ribbeck's cursives, could hardly be defended, whether 'fugae' were explained for the purpose of flight, a phrase which would want authority, or 'nudant fugae' in the sense of "nuda dant fugae," which Wakef. tries to support from Lucr. 5. 970, where Lachm. seems right in reading "nuda dabant terrae" after Lambinus, for 'nudabant terrae.' Even "dare terga fugae" is not found in Virg. (comp. 12. 463, G. 4. 85, where 'fuga' is the reading), though Cic. Att. 7. 23 has "dare se fugae," Ov. 3 ex Pont. 2. 8, "terga dedere fugae," while 'dare in fugam' is a common phrase (see Forc). Lucan 4. 713 has "nudataque foeda Terga fuga" (comp. by Wagn.). 'Fuga' then = 'fugientes' or 'fugiendo,' as constantly in Virg., e. g. 1. 317., 4. 155. 'Spicula vertunt,' turn against the pursuers. Rom. (according to Heyne) and another MSS. have "spicula torquent."

588.] Heyne supposes that Virg. despaired of reproducing what would have been the most apposite description for his purpose, that of Daedalus' dance as represented on the shield of Achilles Il. 18. 590 foll., and so took the thing which suggested itself next, Daedalus' labyrinth. 'Alta,' rising from the sea. "Contra elata mari respondet Gnosia tellus" 6. 23, comp. also by Cerda. There may be a reference too, as Heyne thinks, to Ida and the other mountains of Crete.

Parietibus textum caecis iter, ancipitemque
Mille viis habuisse dolum, qua signa sequendi
Falleret indeprensus et inremeabilis error;
Haut alio Teucrum nati vestigia cursu
Impediunt, texuntque fugas et proelia ludo,
Delphinum similes, qui per maria umida nando

589.] 'Parietibus textum caecis iter,' a way constructed with blind walls, walls without door or window, which might give the traveller a glimpse of his bearings. The complication of the passages is expressed in the next clause 'ancipitemque Mille viis habuisse dolum,' where 'mille viis' is a descriptive abl. with 'dolum,' virtually the same as "dolum mille viarum."

590, 591.] 'Qua' after 'mille viis,' as after "pluris vias et caeca spiramenta" G. 1. 90. The following words are imitated from Catull. 64. 114, 115, "Ne Labyrintheis e flexibus egredientem Tecti frustraretur inobservabilis error." Comp. also Virg.'s own lines 6. 27 foll. Virg. has as usual refined on his model. Catullus, simply enough, speaks of the maze baffling the person emerging from its windings: Virg. talks of it as eluding the traces of observation. 'Signa' seem to be the marks by which a person would try to identify the way by which he had come. 'Signa sequendi' then will be "signa quorum opera sequendum sit," 'sequi' having the sense of tracking, or, if we like, of following a way in the hope of finding the right point. These marks, or rather any attempt to proceed by their help, the perplexed puzzle of the labyrinth is said to mock and elude. The puzzle is 'indeprensus,' undiscovered or undiscoverable, though here again there is a certain looseness of expression, as it is not the 'error' but the secret of the 'error,' the solution of the difficulty, which 'deprehenditur.' Connected with 'inremeabilis,' 'error' slightly changes its meaning. It now becomes the winding course which brought the traveller into the heart of the maze, and which he cannot retrace. The word occurs again 6. 425 of the Styx, which once crossed cannot be recrossed, δύσνοστος, ἀδίαυλος. 'A maze without solution and without return.' Three MSS. give 'domum' for 'dolum' (comp. 6. 27): "sed 'dolus' eleganter," says Heyne. Pal., Rom., &c. have 'frangeret,' which is recognized by Serv. Possibly it might be defended from G. 4. 400, "doli circum haec demum frangentur inanes," but it would be very harsh, and cannot be put into comparison with 'falleret' (Med.), though Ribbeck adopts it.

592.] 'Aliter,' the old reading, is in two of Ribbeck's cursives. Rom. combines both words, 'alio ter.' Probably the proximity of 'Teucrum' led to the variety, though Pal. and Gud. have 'nati Teucrum.' 'Vestigia impediunt,' make entangled movements.

593.] ['Inpediunt' Pal.—H. N.] 'Texuntque fugas et proelia ludo,' make complicated evolutions in sham flights and sham fights. 'Texunt' is the important word, which, taken in connexion with 'haut alio cursu,' brings out the comparison with the labyrinth. 'Ludo' = 'per ludum,' 'ludendo,' as in v. 674 below. 'A gamesome tangle of flying and fighting.'

594.] Henry remarks with considerable taste, that the simile of the dolphins was almost required after that of the labyrinth, to bring out the conception of lively motion after that of lifeless artistic mechanism. There is a simile from dolphins in Apoll. R. 4. 933, where their gambols are dwelt on more in detail:

> *ὡς δ' ὁπότ' ἂν δελφῖνες ὕπ' ἐξ ἁλὸς εὐδιόωντες*
> *σπερχομένην ἀγεληδὸν ἑλίσσωνται περὶ νῆα,*
> *ἄλλοτε μὲν προπάροιθεν ὁρώμενοι, ἄλλοτ' ὄπισθεν,*
> *ἄλλοτε παρβολάδην, ναύτῃσι δὲ χάρμα τέτυκται.*

But Virg. has perhaps shown judgment in not describing their movements after having been so minute in representing the evolutions which he compares to theirs: he does little more than name them, and leaves his readers who have seen them to fill up the picture for themselves. For a similar instance of judicious reticence see on G. 3. 237. 'Delphinum similes:' apparently a solitary example of the use of 'similis' with a gen. in Virg.

Carpathium Libycumque secant [luduntque per undas].
Hunc morem cursus atque haec certamina primus
Ascanius, Longam muris cum cingeret Albam,
Rettulit et priscos docuit celebrare Latinos,
Quo puer ipse modo, secum quo Troia pubes;
Albani docuere suos; hinc maxima porro
Accepit Roma, et patrium servavit honorem;
Troiaque nunc pueri, Troianum dicitur agmen.
Hac celebrata tenus sancto certamina patri.

'Maria umida' like "umida stagna" 12.476.

595.] Heyne would have preferred 'Libycumve,' but Wagn. remarks that the meaning is that the dolphins pass to and fro between the two seas. Virg. doubtless intended to express the extraordinary swiftness and agility of the dolphin tribe. 'Luduntque per undas' is wanting in Pal. &c., added in Med. and Gud. a m. sec., but found in Rom. Heyne condemns and Wagn. omits it, but it seems unobjectionable and even good in itself. As usual in such cases, I have retained it in brackets. It is without one at least of the marks of an interpolation, variety of reading.

596.] 'Hunc morem cursus' is read by all Ribbeck's MSS. Others have 'hunc morem, hos cursus,' which Heins. and Heyne adopted. Wagn. justly thinks that 'hunc—hos—haec' would be too emphatic for the present passage, the ictus falling as it does upon each of them. With 'hunc morem cursus' comp. 3. 408, "Hunc socii morem sacrorum, hunc ipse teneto." 'Primus' means that Ascanius introduced the game into Italy. Virg. does not say that Ascanius invented the game, as Henry thinks: and the previous description scarcely makes it likely that this was his meaning.

597.] Comp. 1. 271. "Cingere muris oppida" E. 4. 32. Here it merely means to build a city with a wall round it, like 'muniet' 1 l. c.

598.] 'Rettulit' might be explained brought from Sicily, or from the place wherever it was that the game was invented, into Italy: but an imitation in Claudian, Laud. Stil. 1. 328, "Neglectum Stilicho per tot iam saecula morem Rettulit" (comp. by Forb.), seems to show that the commentators, after Serv., are right in giving it the sense of 'revived,' 'repeated,' for which see Forc. 'Latinos,' those who became inhabitants of his new city: hence 'Albani' v. 600. In 'priscos' there is doubtless an allusion to the 'Prisci Latini,' though there is nothing to show the precise sense which Virg. attached to that disputed term. The application of the epithet to the Sabines (7. 706) and to the Quirites (7. 710) is in favour of giving it its simplest meaning here, the early Latins, as distinguished from those of later Roman history.

599.] He taught them to celebrate it as he had celebrated it when a boy: i. e. he taught them the routine of which we have just been hearing.

600.] Comp. 7. 602. 'Porro' of succession: see Forc.

601.] 'Honorem' generally, an observance. To understand it of the honour paid to the youths themselves with Gossrau is inconsistent with the use of the word in similar passages, e. g. 8. 268, "Ex illo celebratus honos, laetique minores Servavere diem." 'Patrium' ancestral, not referring to Anchises.

602.] With Henry I have returned to the old pointing, as more rhythmical than that adopted by most of the editors, who punctuate after 'nunc,' understanding the construction to be 'Troia nunc ludus dicitur, Troianum agmen dicuntur pueri,' according to the well-known variety by which the copula is made to agree with the predicate. The construction seems to be, as Henry gives it, "pueri nunc (dicuntur) Troia, agmen dicitur Troianum," the second clause as usual being amplificatory of the first. 'Troia' was the name of the game ("Troiam lusit turma puerorum," Suet. Iul. 39), and there is nothing peculiarly harsh or un-Virgilian in identifying it with the players.

603.] 'Sancto' deified; "sancte parens" above v. 80. 'Hac' separated from 'tenus' 6. 62. ['Haec' Pal.—H. N.] With the

Hic primum Fortuna fidem mutata novavit.
Dum variis tumulo referunt sollemnia ludis,
Irim de caelo misit Saturnia Iuno
Iliacam ad classem, ventosque adspirat eunti,
Multa movens, necdum anticum saturata dolorem.
Illa, viam celerans per mille coloribus arcum,
Nulli visa cito decurrit tramite virgo.
Conspicit ingentem concursum, et litora lustrat,
Desertosque videt portus classemque relictam.

line generally we may compare the concluding line of the Iliad, ὣς οἵγ' ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἕκτορος ἱπποδάμοιο.

604—640.] 'A fatal incident now happened. Juno sends down Iris, who finds a party of old Trojan women mourning for Anchises, and wretched at the thought of having to cross the sea again. She takes the form of one of themselves, and urges them to burn the ships, pretending an order to that effect conveyed in a vision.'

604.] Ribbeck adopts 'hinc' from Pal., Rom., Gud. &c. 'Fidem' not with 'mutata' but with 'novavit.' 'Fidem novavit' is however modelled on "mutare fidem," which occurs Plaut. Mil. 1. 36 &c. The general reference is to the fickleness of Fortune.

605.] 'Referunt' probably of paying a due, though it might also express that these were the second funeral honours paid. There is the same doubt about G. 1. 339, where also I think a due is more probably meant. "Tumulo sollemnia mittent" 6. 380. 'Variis ludis' modal abl.

606.] Repeated 9. 2. The old grammarians (see Serv.) attempted to distinguish between the offices of Mercury and Iris; but no difference can be found in Virg. Iris indeed seems to be peculiarly under the command of Juno, which sufficiently accounts for the character of her intervention here and elsewhere in the Aeneid: but she is Jupiter's messenger too, and on one occasion (9. 803) takes a minatory message to Juno.

607.] She seems to have been sent down with general instructions to burn the ships, the way of doing so being left to herself. With 'ventosque adspirat eunti' Serv. well comp. "voca zephyros," addressed by Jupiter to Mercury 4. 223 (note). The construction is the same as in 8. 373, "dictis adspirat amorem," though there the word is used metaphorically.

608.] "Multa movens animo" 3. 34. With 'necdum anticum saturata dolorem' comp. 1. 25: with 'saturata' "nec exsaturabile pectus" v. 781 below. Some MSS. (none of Ribbeck's) have 'exsaturata' here. ['Antiqum' Rom., 'antiquum' Pal.—H. N.]

609.] Med. (originally) gives 'celebrans:' see on 4. 641. The bow serves as Iris' means of passage from earth to heaven—a piece of machinery perhaps hardly consistent with the employment of the winds, unless the meaning is merely that she describes a semicircle in her passage. 'Mille coloribus' answers the purpose and occupies the position of an epithet, as if it had been "multicolorem arcum." See Madv. § 298. b. where, though the peculiarity treated of is different, the referring of a preposition with its case to a single substantive (e. g. "caedes in pace Fidenatium"), the principle is the same, and the defect of the Latin language as compared with the Greek, in the want of a definite article, is properly noted. 'Illa' followed quasi-pleonastically in the next line 'virgo,' as by 'puella' G. 4. 457 note. The propriety of the position of 'virgo' here is not quite easy to see, as there is no palpable connexion between swiftness of motion and a virgin goddess.

610.] 'Cito tramite,' the way and the course along it being identified. Or we may say with Gossrau that the change is in 'cito,' which may mean 'speeding her along,' i. e. sloping. The speed seems connected with the invisibility, though absolute invisibility of course was one of the prerogatives of the gods.

611.] Med a m. pr. and another MS. have 'consessum.' But 'concursum' is more natural here, preparing us to hear that the shore was empty.

612.] This line, which is almost a repetition of 2. 28, developes 'litora lustrat.'

At procul in sola secretae Troades acta
Amissum Anchisen flebant, cunctaeque profundum
Pontum aspectabant flentes. Heu tot vada fessis
Et tantum superesse maris! vox omnibus una.
Urbem orant; taedet pelagi perferre laborem.
Ergo inter medias sese haut ignara nocendi
Conicit, et faciemque deae vestemque reponit;
Fit Beroe, Tmarii coniunx longaeva Dorycli,

613.] We need hardly suppose with Heyne that Virg. intended to preserve a trait of early Greek society, when women were not present at public shows. Their absence here is sufficiently accounted for by the context. 'At procul:' the coast was forsaken by those who had lined it to witness the ship-race, but in a distant part these women were sitting, 'secretae,' separated (8. 670 &c.) alike from the people in the circus and the place which the spectators had occupied on the shore. This 'acta' was doubtless a separate part of the beach, not the same as the 'litus.'

614.] This mourning for Anchises seems to have been a part of the funeral solemnities, not merely a spontaneous outburst of feeling: see v. 652. The spirit which they threw into it however was all their own. Gossrau has well expressed it: "Pontum adspectant flentes cui iterum se tradere coguntur. Facile ex Anchisis memoria ad hanc ducuntur cogitationem: scilicet et ille et alii mortui sunt in longo itinere: iam quae nostrum certam sedem assequetur? Inde quae Beroe sive Iris facit recte facit et ex animi humani natura." The picture seems to be from Il. 1. 349, 350, *δακρύσας ἑτάρων ἄφαρ ἕζετο νόσφι λιασθείς, Θῖν' ἔφ' ἁλὸς πολιῆς, ὁρόων ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον*, though the feelings of Achilles are sufficiently unlike those of these ancient women.

615.] 'Flentes' is not an awkward repetition, but refers pointedly to 'flebant.' 'They were weeping for Anchises, and in their weeping were gazing on the sea.' 'Heu superesse:' Madv. § 399, who quotes "Me miserum! te ista virtute, fide, probitate, humanitate in tantas aerumnas propter me incidisse!" Cic. ad Fam. 14. 1.

616.] "Tantum campi iacet" G. 3. 343. "Mens omnibus una" G. 4. 212.

617.] A half-echo of 4. 451. Comp. also v. 769 below, which is meant to remind us of the present line by its similar structure as well as by its contrasted sense. For the feeling in 'urbem orant,' which, as has been remarked elsewhere is in fact the key-note of the Aeneid, comp. vv. 631 foll. below, and such passages as 1. 437.

618.] 'Ergo,' finding the ground thus prepared for her. 'Haut ignara nocendi' is a translation of such Homeric expressions as *ὀλοφώϊα εἰδώς* (Od. 4. 460), an identification of knowledge and moral purpose which is natural in a simple and early writer. However, though the main thought here is evil intent, we may comp. Juno's language to Alecto 7. 337, "tibi nomina mille, Mille nocendi artes."

619.] "Conicit sese in latebras" 10. 657. In each case the word seems to imply a hasty movement, as in "conicere se in fugam," "in pedes," "in noctem," &c. adduced by Forc. The 'vestis' was probably the 'palla' with which the goddesses were represented: see on 1. 404. We may suppose that Iris' would be many-coloured. 'Reponit:' Iris lays aside the marks of her deity as Cupid lays aside his wings 1. 689.

620.] In Il. 3. 121 foll. Iris, sent with a message to Helen, assumes the form of Laodice, Priam's daughter and Helicaon's wife. Nothing more is known of this Beroe. The nation of her husband is disputed, the word being variously written in the MSS.; the varieties however reduce themselves to two, 'Tmarii' and 'Ismarii,' the rest, which are more or less obvious errors, tending to support 'Tmarii.' We have already seen the MSS. vary between 'Tmarus' and 'Ismarus' E. 8. 44. Internal evidence, as Heyne admits, would seem to be in favour of 'Ismarii.' Thrace and Troy were neighbouring and allied countries, and a Trojan woman might easily marry a Thracian; while those who vindicate Tmarus have to suppose that Beroe left Troy with Helenus, married in Epirus, and (probably becoming a widow) accompanied Aeneas. But the external authority for 'Tmarii' is too great

Cui genus et quondam nomen natique fuissent;
Ac sic Dardanidum mediam se matribus infert:
O miserae, quas non manus, inquit, Achaica bello
Traxerit ad letum patriae sub moenibus! o gens
Infelix, cui te exitio Fortuna reservat?
Septima post Troiae excidium iam vertitur aestas,
Cum freta, cum terras omnis, tot inhospita saxa
Sideraque emensae ferimur, dum per mare magnum

to be resisted, the only evidence of 'Ismarii' among Ribbeck's MSS. being an abortive attempt in Med. to correct 'Mari,' the original reading, into 'Immari' or 'Immarii,' so that we must suppose Virg. to have introduced another reference (comp. note on v. 360) to Aeneas' visit to Epirus, either from a legend now lost, or from his own spirit of invention, seeking to give an air of verisimilitude to a narrative which has not the background of a consistent history. Lachmann's decision (on Lucr. 4. 1169) that the final vowel in 'Beroe' would not have been elided by Virg. seems arbitrary. The name of Doryclus occurs Il. 11. 489, as that of a natural son of Priam, killed by Ajax. ['Coniux' Rom.—H. N.]

621.] 'Cui' probably refers to Beroe, not to Doryclus, who is mentioned merely as part of his wife or widow's antecedents. 'Genus,' exactly as we say family, meaning ancestors of name: comp. Hor. 1. Ep. 6. 37, "Et genus et formam regina Pecunia donat." We have had 'genus' and 'nomen' combined G. 2. 240, where, though the language is metaphorical, the expressions are parallel. 'Fuissent:' the subj. is explained by Jahn and Forb. as giving the reason why Iris chose the form of Beroe. In other words, it makes us think of Beroe as Iris thought of her.

622.] "'Sic' aut mutato habitu, aut ista dictura." Serv. There is much to be said for either: but the former seems more probable. Comp. 7. 668, "Indutus capiti, sic regia tecta subibat." 'Dardanidum matribus,' not those who had given birth to Trojans, but the matrons of the Trojan nation. So "Troianis matribus" below v. 793.

623.] Comp. Aeneas' words in prospect of drowning 1. 94. foll., and Andromache's 3. 321 foll. She tells them they were unhappy in having survived the sack of the town, the occasion on which they would have been dragged to death. Three MSS. give 'Achaia:' see on 2. 462. 'Manus,' band, not hand, like "manus Troiana" 11. 597.

624.] 'Traxerit' seems to allude to the dragging of women by the hair of the head, which the ancient poets so often mention as one of the features of a siege: comp. 2. 403. 'Patriae,' the Troad and Troy being identified, as in 3. 325. ['At' Pal. for 'ad.'—H. N.]

625. With this and the next line comp. 1. 755, 756. For the time of year referred to see Introduction to Book 3. 'Vertitur' stronger than 'volvitur' (found in one MS.). 'Summer is becoming winter.' Comp. "vertitur caelum" 2. 250. With 'septima aestas vertitur cum' comp. Cic. Fam. 15. 14, 1, "Multi anni sunt cum ille in aere meo est," 'cum' being 'during which time.'

627.] 'Freta' and 'terras' with 'ferimur' (comp. the precisely parallel expression 1. 524, "ventis maria omnia vecti"), 'saxa' and 'sidera' with 'emensae.' With this use of 'tot' comp. "Tot maria intravi," 6. 59. 'Saxa' are the rocks, which aggravated the difficulties of navigation. So Ilioneus complains 1. 537, "Perque undas, superante salo, perque invia saxa Dispulit." 'Inhospita' 4. 41, like ἄξενος or ἀπόξενος in Greek, as affording no anchorage, referring probably to 'saxa' alone, not to 'sidera.'

628.] 'Emensae' as applied to 'sidera' may have a further reference to observing the stars, like "remetior astra" v. 25, the matrons being said to do what their pilot had to do for them. Comp. Soph. Oed. T. 795, ἄστροις τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκμετρούμενος χθόνα. 'Sidera' seems to combine the notions of the stars as the chart for sailing and as the harbingers of weather. For 'ferimur' Rom. and another give 'tulimus,' several others 'ferimus.' 'Mare magnum' was at one time taken of the Mediterranean: but the epithet is doubtless quite general.

Italiam sequimur fugientem, et volvimur undis.
Hic Erycis fines fraterni, atque hospes Acestes:
Quis prohibet muros iacere et dare civibus urbem?
O patria et rapti nequiquam ex hoste Penates,
Nullane iam Troiae dicentur moenia? nusquam
Hectoreos amnis, Xanthum et Simoenta, videbo?
Quin agite et mecum infaustas exurite puppes.
Nam mihi Cassandrae per somnum vatis imago
Ardentis dare visa faces: 'Hic quaerite Troiam;
Hic domus est,' inquit, 'vobis.' Iam tempus agi res,
Nec tantis mora prodigiis. En quattuor arae
Neptuno; deus ipse faces animumque ministrat.

Serv. comp. Lucr. 2. 1. "Suave mari magno turbantibus aequora ventis."

629.] Comp. 3. 496., 6. 61. 'Volvimur undis,' rolled by the waves, as the waves themselves are said to be rolled by the winds 1. 86., 3. 196.

630.] Above v. 24., 1. 570.

631.] 'Quis' is restored by Wagn. from Med. a m. sec. ('qui' a m. pr.), Pal. &c., for 'quid' (Rom.). It is little better than refining to attempt to decide between them on intrinsic grounds. "Aut metus Ausonia prohibet consistere terra," 6. 807, is slightly for 'quid:' "Non dabitur regnis, esto, prohibere Latinis," 7. 313, slightly for 'quis,' suggesting the notion of an interference by a higher power, though the context here will be quite satisfied by understanding it of human interference. 'Iacere muros' like "iacere fundamenta." Forb. comp. Prop. 2. 26. 64 (speaking of the subject of the Aeneid), "Iactaque Lavinis moenia litoribus." 'Dare civibus urbem:' there was a nation, but its natural correlative, a city to inhabit, was wanting.

632.] 'Rapti ex hoste Penates' 1. 378. 'Nequiquam,' because they seemed destined never to find a home.

633.] 'Nulla iam:' see Hand, Turs. 3. 130 foll. The force of 'iam' seems to be 'is there no longer any hope that.' Comp. 4. 431 note. 'Dicentur' is interpreted by Gossrau of the formal giving of the name Troy to the new city; by Forb. of the repetition of the name in after times, in other words, of its fame. Both notions may well be included. The general thought is, shall the name Troy never be revived? are we never to hear it pronounced again of an existing city? ['Numquam' Rom.—H. N.]

634.] Comp. 3. 350. Xanthus and Simois occur again in a similar connexion 10. 60. "'Hectoreos' exquisitius quam Troianos." Heyne. ['Manes' Rom. for 'amnes.'—H. N.]

636.] "Per somnum" 3. 633, as I was sleeping.

637.] [Henry makes 'hic quaerite'—'vobis' part of the speech of Beroe: but it is surely more natural to give the words to Cassandra.—H. N.]

638.] Rom. and others have "Iam tempus agit res," which seems to be confirmed by Stat. Theb. 5. 143, "dum tempus agit rem Consulite" (from the context evidently an imitation of this passage), though there Heins. would read 'agi.' 'Agi' is clearly right, the sense being the same as if the words had been "iam tempus agere res," while the inf. might easily have been altered by some one who did not understand the construction.

639.] 'Prodigies so great admit of no delay: they must be followed at once by action.' Comp. below v. 749, "Haud mora consiliis;" 3. 473, "fieret vento mora ne qua ferenti." "En quattuor aras" E. 5. 65. Altars may have been raised to Neptune to offer sacrifice for a prosperous voyage, as Heyne suggests, that being not improbably part of the order of the day (see above v. 59 note). Serv. mentions an opinion that they had been raised by Cloanthus in fulfilment of his vow. His own view is that each of the ship-captains raised one, which would at any rate account for the number, a thing not easy to explain otherwise, unless we suppose Virg. to have simply repeated his own words in the Eclogues.

640.] 'Deus ipse' is explained by Wagn. Q. V. 18. 6, "Non humanum est sed divinum consilium." 'It is the god

Haec memorans prima infensum vi corripit ignem,
Sublataque procul dextra conixa coruscat,
Et iacit. Arrectae mentes stupefactaque corda
Iliadum. Hic una e multis, quae maxima natu,
Pyrgo, tot Priami natorum regia nutrix:
Non Beroe vobis, non haec Rhoeteia, matres,
Est Dorycli coniunx; divini signa decoris
Ardentisque notate oculos; qui spiritus illi,
Qui vultus, vocisque sonus, vel gressus eunti.
Ipsa egomet dudum Beroen digressa reliqui
Aegram, indignantem, tali quod sola careret
Munere, nec meritos Anchisae inferret honores.
Haec effata.
At matres primo ancipites, oculisque malignis

himself, no less, who ministers to us torches and the spirit to use them.' Comp. 1. 150, "furor arma ministrat." Rom. has 'animam,' which Ribbeck adopts, comparing 8. 403.

641—663.] 'She flings the first torch herself. Her deity is recognized by one of the matrons. They stand in doubt. Vanishing, she reveals herself. They are seized with fury and fire the ships, which are soon in a blaze.'

641.] 'Infensum ignem' like "inimicum ignem" G. 4. 330. So "tela infensa" 9. 793, "hasta infensa" 10. 521.

642.] 'Procul,' swung back. 'Conixa' above v. 264.

643.] Wagn. remarks on the metrical effect of 'et iacit,' concluding a sentence and followed by a pause, comp. 12. 730, and in a less degree 10. 336.

645.] 'Pyrgo' is not named elsewhere. Serv. says of the speech, "Non est dissuasio, ut quidam putant, sed magis hortatur persuadendo numinis auctoritate." With 'tot Priami natorum' he comp. "spes tanta nepotum" 2. 503. 'Regia nutrix' like "regia puppis" 2. 256.

646.] 'It is not Beroe you have to do with.' 'Rhoeteia' = 'Troiana.' "Rhoeteo litore" 6. 505. Cerda, referring to v. 620, observes not badly, "Observabis, solere Vergilium complere notitiam rerum variis in locis. Supra dedit patriam mariti, nunc dat uxoris. Inde emergit plena haec cognitio, videlicet mulier Troiana Beroe nupsit in via Epirensi homini Doryclo."

647.] 'Signs of divine beauty,' seems here to be put for beauty, which is a sign of divinity.

648.] Probably from Achilles' recognition of Athena Il. 1. 199, αὐτίκα δ' ἔγνω Παλλάδ' Ἀθηναίην· δεινὼ δέ οἱ ὄσσε φάανθεν. 'Spiritus' is explained by Serv. from 1. 403, "Ambrosiaeque comae divinum vertice odorem Spiravere:" but it doubtless refers to the fire which she threw into her tone and manner. "L. Caecilium nonne omni ratione placavi? quem hominem! qua ira! quo spiritu!" Cic. ad Q. Fr. 1. 2, 2.

649.] For 'qui vultus' (Med.) Rom., Pal. &c. give 'quis,' which Ribbeck adopts and Wagn. at one time adopted. Some again have 'vocisve,' which Heyne retains. There is perhaps sufficient reason for 'que' followed by 'vel,' in the fact that look and tone of voice are more closely connected with each other than either of them with gait; but such considerations are rather microscopic, and one is almost tempted to follow Wakef. in embracing 'et gressus' from Pal. and a few other copies, as the word may have been altered to meet a supposed metrical necessity. There is yet another variety of reading in the verse, many inferior MSS. having 'euntis.' 'With 'voltus, vocisque sonus' comp. 1. 327, "namque haud tibi voltus Mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat," with 'gressus' ib. 405, "Et vera incessu patuit dea." ['Voltus' Pal. —H. N.]

651.] 'Tali munere:' see on G. 4. 520. 'Carere' in the sense of 'abesse:' see Forc.

652.] 'Inferret;' see on 3. 66.

654.] 'Malignis' is perhaps better represented by 'malignant' than by any other word. They were unfriendly to the

Ambiguae spectare rates miserum inter amorem
Praesentis terrae fatisque vocantia regna:
Cum dea se paribus per caelum sustulit alis
Ingentemque fuga secuit sub nubibus arcum.
Tum vero attonitae monstris actaeque furore
Conclamant, rapiuntque focis penetralibus ignem;
Pars spoliant aras, frondem ac virgulta facesque
Coniciunt. Furit inmissis Volcanus habenis
Transtra per et remos et pictas abiete puppes.
Nuntius Anchisae ad tumulum cuneosque theatri

ships, though at first they were doubtful about treating them as enemies. Gossrau thinks their feeling is excited by seeing the ships burn and the prospect of sailing to Italy destroyed; but the context would not lead us to suppose that Iris' torch had taken so serious an effect.

655.] 'Ambiguae' active, = 'ambigentes,' a sense found in Tac., where it is constructed with a gen., as in "ambiguus imperandi" Ann. 1. 7. 'Amorem' and 'regna' are of course not quite co-ordinate. Strictly speaking, the two things between which they doubted were either the two countries or their feelings for the two countries respectively. Rom. has 'terras.' 'Miserum amorem,' as we talk of a wretched passion, meaning that it is unreasonable and overpowering. "Misere amare" is a colloquial phrase found in the comic writers for "perdite amare," Ter. Andr. 3. 2. 40 &c.

656.] "Ut 'fata vocant,' 'terrae vocant' sup. 1. 610, ita nunc exquisitius 'regna vocant fatis,'" Heyne. 'Fatis'= 'secundum fata,' as in 10. 109., G. 1. 199.

657.] 'Paribus alis:' see on 4. 252. Here the meaning seems to be 'spreading out her wings.' This and the following line are nearly repeated 9. 14, 15.

658.] Whether 'secuit' means 'cut her path along the bow already existing,' as Henry thinks, or 'described a bow in her path,' as Heyne takes it, is a question rather of sense than of language, as in either case 'secare arcum' must mean to trace the line of the bow, and so cannot be compared with 'secare ventos,' &c., where the accusative denotes the space divided. There is nothing in the context to show whether the bow along which Iris descended (v. 609) was visible, or, like herself, invisible, nor yet whether it remained after she came down. On either supposition there would be enough to show to the Trojan women the supernatural character of the appearance, the main point being that Iris, the goddess, having come down unseen, re-ascended in the most visible and conspicuous manner. 'Fuga' v. 586 note.

659.] 'Tum vero,' as Henry remarks, denotes "the production at last of that full effect which preceding minor causes had failed to produce." Comp. 9. 73 foll., which is generally parallel to this passage. 'Actae furore' 10. 63.

660.] 'Focis penetralibus' (which occurs Catull. 68. 102) must be referred with Ti. Donatus and the commentators generally to the hearths in the 'penetralia' of adjoining houses. Some brought embers and brands from the hearths, others boughs from the altars to hurl at the ships, the act of hurling, which is of course meant to be common to both parties, being, with Virg.'s usual preference of variety to perspicuity, predicated only of one. Thus it would be worse than useless to follow Henry in putting 'pars spoliant aras' within brackets.

661.] 'Frondem' may include the boughs that wreathed the altars (2. 249., 3. 25), as well as firewood.

662.] ['Coiciunt' Rom. 'Immissis' Med.—H. N.] 'Inmissis habenis' 6. 1., G. 2. 364. Rom. has 'immensis.' Gossrau comp. Schiller's Lay of the Bell, "Wehe, wenn sie losgelassen . . . Wältzt den ungeheuern Brand."

663.] "Saxa per et scopulos" G. 3. 276. 'Pictas abiete puppis,' i. q. "picta abiete puppis," as "duros obice postis," 11. 890, i. q. "dura obice postis." Schrader suggested 'factas' or 'textas.' 'Pictas' may refer, as Heyne says, either to the colour of the whole ship (comp. the Homeric μιλτοπάρῃοι) or to the figures of the gods on the stern.

664—684.] 'The news flies to the circus.

Incensas perfert navis Eumelus, et ipsi
Respiciunt atram in nimbo volitare favillam.
Primus et Ascanius, cursus ut laetus equestris
Ducebat, sic acer equo turbata petivit
Castra, nec exanimes possunt retinere magistri.
Quis furor iste novus? quo nunc, quo tenditis, inquit,
Heu miserae cives? non hostem inimicaque castra
Argivum, vestras spes uritis. En, ego vester
Ascanius!—galeam ante pedes proiecit inanem,

Ascanius gallops up and calls to the matrons who fly off and are sobered. But the flame burns on in spite of attempts to extinguish it.'

664.] [‘At’ for ‘ad’ Pal. and originally Med.—H. N.] ‘Tumulus’ is not the ‘exstructum’ of v. 290, which could not be called ‘Anchisae tumulus,’ but the sepulchral mound of Anchises, as in v. 76. We have seen reason, above v. 329, to believe that the grave was not far from the circus; but Virg. has not given us data enough for picturing to ourselves the locality. ‘Cuneos theatri’ is an extension of the metaphor which we have already had vv. 289, 340. It occurs again 12. 269.

665.] ‘Perferre’ of carrying news 11. 825. Eumelus is not known elsewhere: but the name may have been taken from the unsuccessful competitor in Homer's chariot-race.

666.] For ‘in nimbo’ we might have expected ‘nimbo’ simply, as Heyne remarks: Virg. however as usual consults variety. Perhaps we may comp. 3. 587, “Et Lunam in nimbo nox intempesta tenebat,” where the preposition is omitted by two MSS., and would not have been greatly missed. The ‘nimbus’ here of course is smoke. ‘Respicere’ with inf. seems unusual. The dictionaries cite Plaut. Curc. 1. 2. 68, “Respicio nihili meam vos gratiam facere,” which however Muretus and Lambinus correct into “perspicio.”

667.] ‘Ut—sic,’ he rode up just as he was. With ‘ut’ so used comp. v. 388 above, with ‘sic’ v. 622 (notes).

668.] ‘Equo’ may go either with ‘acer’ (“acer equis” G. 3. 8), or with ‘petivit,’ like “equo praevertere ventos” 12. 345.

669.] ‘Castra’ may refer either to the ships or to the settlements of the Trojans near them. Comp. its metaphorical use 3. 519. ‘Magistri’ = ‘custodes.’ Serv. comp. “Abeuntes ambo hinc tum senes me filiis Relinquunt quasi magistrum,” Ter. Phorm. 1. 2. 21. ‘Exanimes,’ breathless with pursuing him. With the picture comp. above v. 256.

671.] ‘Cives’ reminds them at once of their relation to him and of the city the hope of which they are destroying. Ascanius supposes that they must fancy in their frenzy that they are burning a Greek camp or fleet, as Agave fancied that she was tearing a calf in pieces when she was dismembering her son. But their delusion was of a different kind, as the context shows. Thus it seems out of place to suppose with Forb. that they do not recognize Ascanius, though doubtless he believes that they do not, and takes off his helmet accordingly. ‘Suos mutatae adgnoscunt’ v. 679 need not imply that they were ignorant of the persons of their friends, but that they were ignorant of their true character; that as they now recognize the ships to be what Ascanius here calls them, their hopes, so they see that Aeneas and those who were for continuing the voyage had their true interests at heart. If this seems forced, we must say not that they were not perfectly aware that they were burning their own ships, but that in their frenzied enthusiasm they thought only of their purpose, and were unconscious of the whole world beside.

672.] “En, ego” 7. 452.

673.] ‘Inanem galeam’ simply means his empty helmet, as in G. 1. 496, the epithet here as there being perhaps intended to make us think of the sound as it strikes the ground, though it may also be meant to give the picture. To understand it of a helmet for show, not for use, with Forb. is to put a forced sense upon a plain word. [Henry now takes it as = useless, the games being over and there being no further occasion for it.—H. N.] “Tigrin inanem,” used of a tiger's skin Stat. Theb. 6. 715, means not so much that the skin is sham and void of meaning or terror, though that doubt-

Qua ludo indutus belli simulacra ciebat.
Accelerat simul Aeneas, simul agmina Teucrum.
Ast illae diversa metu per litora passim
Diffugiunt, silvasque et sicubi concava furtim
Saxa petunt; piget incepti lucisque, suosque
Mutatae adgnoscunt, excussaque pectore Iuno est.
Sed non idcirco flammae atque incendia vires
Indomitas posuere; udo sub robore vivit
Stuppa vomens tardum fumum, lentusque carinas
Est vapor, et toto descendit corpore pestis,
Nec vires heroum infusaque flumina prosunt.
Tum pius Aeneas umeris abscindere vestem,

less enters into it, as that it is actually empty of the savage beast that filled it.

674.] 'Ludo' v. 593. 'Belli simulacra ciebat' v. 585 note.

675.] ['Atcelerat,' i.e. 'accelerat,' Med. and Pal., 'acceperat' Rom.—H. N.] 'Simul—simul' 1. 513.

676.] 'Diversa per litora' = "huc illuc per litora."

677.] The construction, as Peerlkamp has seen, seems to be 'furtim petunt saxa, sicubi sunt saxa concava.' Comp. 1. 157, "quae proxima litora, cursu Contendunt petere." "Concava saxa" G. 4. 49.

678.] 'Piget lucis' probably means that they hate the light rather than that they hate life, though perhaps the two are not to be sharply separated.

679.] See on v. 671. With 'excussaque pectore Iuno est' comp. 6. 79, "magnum si pectore possit Excussisse deum," Pers. 5. 187 "Incussere deos inflantis corpora." ['Agnoscunt' Med.—H. N.]

680.] Ribbeck reads 'flamma' from Pal., where, as in Med., the original reading was 'flammam.' 'Vires indomitas posuere' like "ponuntque ferocia Poeni corda" 1. 302. [Rom. has 'adque impendia.'—H. N.]

681.] The timber is moistened, but the tow which was between the planks keeps smouldering. Tow seems to have been used to close up the interstices. Forc. quotes from Varro ap. Gell. 17. 3, "Liburni plerasque navis loris suebant, Graeci magis cannabo et stuppa." 'Vivit' is transferred from the flames to the thing ignited. [Macrobius S. 6. 6. 18 quotes this passage as an instance of Virgil's power in inventing "novos intellectus," or new senses for words.—H. N.]

682.] "'Tardum,' quod densior est aqua vicina," Gossrau. So 'lentus.' ['Carina' is, properly, as I hope I have shown in the twelfth volume of the 'Journal of Philology,' not the keel, but the hull, or lower part of the hull: Caes. B. C. 3. 13, "carinae aliquanto planiores quam nostrarum navium": Pliny 11. 207, "pectus homini tantum latum, *reliquis carinatum, volucribus magis et inter eas aquaticis maxime.*" The breasts of birds have no resemblance, it need hardly be said, to a keel.—H. N.]

683.] 'Est' 4. 66. 'Vapor' of heat is very common in Lucr. Here we are meant to think of heat and smoke both, as distinguished from bright flame. 'Toto' &c.: the plague ('pestis' as in v. 699., 9. 540, here accommodated to 'corpore') sinks into the vitals and pervades the whole frame of the vessels.

684.] 'Heroum,' Aeneas and his friends, who would be stronger than ordinary men. 'Vires heroum infusaque flumina' form a sort of hendiadys, as the strength of these heroes would chiefly be shown in flinging large quantities of water. 'Flumina' might mean river-water, like "fontibus" 2. 686, or it might simply denote the pouring of the water on the ships, so as in fact, to repeat 'infusa:' but the former part of the line seems to show that it is used hyperbolically, as if whole rivers were showered down.

685—689.] 'Aeneas, desperate, invokes Jupiter, begging him either to save them, or, if he is their enemy, to destroy them, at once and utterly. A tremendous storm follows immediately, and the ships are saved with the loss of four.'

685.] For 'abscindere' Med. has 'exscindere,' Rom. 'abscidere' (comp. G. 2. 23 note). He rends his clothes in sign of grief, like Latinus 12. 609. Comp. also 4. 590.

Auxilioque vocare deos, et tendere palmas:
Iuppiter omnipotens, si nondum exosus ad unum
Troianos, si quid pietas antiqua labores
Respicit humanos, da flammam evadere classi
Nunc, Pater, et tenuis Teucrum res eripe leto.
Vel tu, quod superest, infesto fulmine morti,
Si mereor, demitte, tuaque hic obrue dextra.
Vix haec ediderat, cum effusis imbribus atra

686.] 'Auxilio vocare' seems i. q. "vocare in auxilium." "Auxilio subire," "venire," &c. occur several times in Virg., so that he may have intended a sort of condensed expression for "vocare ut auxilio sint." We have had "vocantem auxilia" above v. 221, and "auxilium vocat" occurs 7. 504.

687.] For instances of 'ad unum' with or without 'omnes' see Forc. 'Unus.' Ribbeck prints 'exosu 's:' see on 1. 237.

688.] 'Pietas:' see on 2. 536 note, 4. 382. 'Antiqua' is an appeal to what Jupiter had been to him and others in times past. So exactly Psalm lxxxix. 48, "Lord, where are thy old loving-kindnesses which thou swarest unto David in thy truth?" τὰ ἐλέη σου τὰ ἀρχαῖα LXX. Comp. also Isaiah li. 9, "Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the LORD; awake, as in the ancient days, in the generations of old." ['Quit' Med. and Rom.—H. N.]

689.] The construction is 'da classi, evadere flammam.' 'Classis' and 'classem' are found in some MSS., but Virg. doubtless wished to consult perspicuity by the construction he adopted, as he has consulted variety by the order.

690.] 'Leto' is here used of things because the things really involve persons. So in Livy 22. 53 (comp. by Gossrau), "si sciens fallo, tum me, Iupiter O. M., domum familiam remque meam pessumo leto adficias." ['At' Pal. originally for 'et:' perhaps meaning 'ac.' —H. N.]

691.] 'Tu' gives urgency to the request, as in 12. 158, where as here another imperative without 'tu' has preceded. 'Quod superest' seems at the first sight to be most naturally taken 'which is the only thing left for thy cruelty to do or for us to suffer,' a sense with which Wagn. well comp. 12. 643, "Exscindine domos, id rebus defuit unum, Perpetiar?" But I believe Jahn is right in following a suggestion disapproved by Heyne, "quod superest e rebus Teucrorum," as the parallel passage v. 796 below goes far to show. The antithesis may seem to require 'either restore us wholly or ruin us wholly,' not 'either give us partial safety or ruin us wholly:' but Aeneas' thoughts flow too fast to conform to balanced rhetoric. He first says 'rescue our wretched fortunes from death: it is but little to ask, and yet, if it be not granted, we are extinguished at once and for ever:' then as he looks at the ships burning one by one, he says, 'We are well nigh crushed already: tread us wholly into dust.' There is a fragment of Attius' Nyctegresia (9 Ribbeck) of which Virg. perhaps thought, "Tum quod superest socium mittis leto: an lucti paenitet?" but, as we know nothing of the context of the passage, it does not help us here. 'Mereor' is in favour, it must be admitted, of supplying 'me' as the object of 'demitte:' but there is nothing harsh in making Aeneas identify himself with the Trojans, of whom he is the head, and resting their safety on his deserts. On the other hand, an objection might perhaps be raised with justice to Aeneas' separating himself from the rest, as he does according to the common interpretation, and calling for his own destruction as the one thing wanted to crown the national misery. On the whole then I think 'quod superest' includes both generally the fortunes of Troy, the 'tenuis Teucrum res,' and specially the vessels still unconsumed, which is the main meaning in v. 796. 'Morti;' note on G. 3. 480.

692.] Med., Pal. &c. have 'dimitte.' 'Dextra' as hurling the lightning. The reference may be to an earthquake.

693.] 'Edere' of speaking v. 799 below: with 'ore' 7. 194. 'Effusis imbribus' G. 2. 352., 4. 312. It may be questioned whether the words here are to be taken closely with 'atra' or not. Strictly speaking of course the discharge of the

Tempestas sine more furit, tonitruque tremescunt
Ardua terrarum et campi; ruit aethere toto
Turbidus imber aqua densisque nigerrimus austris;
Implenturque super puppes; semusta madescunt
Robora; restinctus donec vapor omnis, et omnes,
Quattuor amissis, servatae a peste carinae.
At pater Aeneas, casu concussus acerbo,
Nunc huc ingentis, nunc illuc pectore curas
Mutabat versans, Siculisne resideret arvis,
Oblitus fatorum, Italasne capesseret oras.

rain would diminish the blackness of the sky: but Virg. may mean to describe the first moments of a storm, when rain and blackness are seen together, and the supposition of a close connexion is favoured both by the order and by G. 1. 323, though there the 'imbres' are called 'atri' while still in the clouds.

694.] [' Sine more' Serv. explains here, 7. 377, and 8. 635 as = "sine exemplo:" though on 7. 377 he also suggests "sine modo." Thilo quotes Placidus on Stat. Theb. 1. 238, ("facinus sine more") as giving the same interpretation. The original meaning of 'mos' is probably measure, and it may well in the phrase 'sine more' mean a standard or example, though in the present line I should prefer to take it in the older sense, and translate 'sine more' without measure or bound.—H. N.]

695.] "Ardua montis" occurs 8. 221., 11. 513. For 'campi' Pal., Med. a m. pr. and a few others read 'campis,' connecting it with what follows. The common reading however is clearly preferable.

696.] "Turbidus imber" 12. 686. It seems to mean not so much driven by the wind (Forb.), though the wind may have been one of the causes of the blackness, as turbid or murky. 'Turbidus aqua' is used loosely, meaning no more than 'turbida aqua,' the water not being the cause of the turbidness, as the mud is in "turbidus caeno" 6. 296, any more than in 11. 876, "caligine turbidus atra Pulvis," it is the blackness that makes the dust turbid. 'Densis austris' like "aquilo densus" G. 3. 196, perhaps with a further reference to the thickness of the clouds and the driving force of the shower. Comp. G. 1. 333, "ingeminant austri et densissimus imber." "Nigerrimus auster" G. 3. 279.

697.] 'Super' doubtless = "desuper" (see Forc.), not, as Wagn. in his small edition explains it, 'are filled to overflowing,' a circumstance which would be trivial here.

698.] 'Vapor' v. 683 note.

699.] 'Peste' v. 683 note.

700—718.] 'Aeneas doubts whether after all he ought not to settle in Sicily. Nautes advises him not to give up Italy, but to leave behind him in Sicily all whose hearts are not in the enterprise, and let them have a city of their own there.'

700.] "Casu concussus iniquo" 6. 475.

701.] "Ingentis curas" 1. 208.

702.] For 'mutabat" two MSS. give 'motabat,' which would be more consistent with 'nunc huc, nunc illuc.' But Virg. has chosen to combine the two notions of changing cares, i.e. entertaining one anxious thought after another, and moving cares, anxious thoughts, to one quarter or the other, so as to give 'mutare' the sense of changing the place of a thing, or as we say, shifting it, much as he talks 3. 581 of "mutet latus," where some copies have "motet." For a somewhat similar confusion see on 4. 285, 286. Thus 'motabat,' like 'nutabat,' Peerlkamp's conj., would only make the passage less Virgilian. 'Versans' 4. 286, 630, here taken closely with 'mutabat,' the clauses that follow depending on both words.

703.] "'Fatorum,' oraculorum," Serv. This is perhaps the neater explanation; but the ordinary sense of 'fatorum' would stand very well. We must remember that Latin poets did not distinguish the meanings of words in their own minds as sharply as modern critics are obliged to do in their lexicons. "Italiam capessere" 4. 346.

Tum senior Nautes, unum Tritonia Pallas
Quem docuit multaque insignem reddidit arte—
Haec responsa dabat, vel quae portenderet ira
Magna deum, vel quae fatorum posceret ordo—
Isque his Aenean solatus vocibus infit:
Nate dea, quo fata trahunt retrahuntque, sequamur;
Quidquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est.

704.] This Nautes was said to have ›en the priest of Pallas, and to have rried the Palladium away from Troy to Italy, whence it passed to his de- endants, the family of the Nautii at ome. See Dionys. H. 6. 69. Serv. fers to Varro's treatise 'De Familiis roianis' (see on v. 117). 'Unus' in e sense of 'singled out from the rest' generally found in Virg. combined ith some other words which denote the lative character of the pre-eminence. omp. 1. 15., 2. 426., 12. 143.

706, 707.] Ruhkopf is, I think, right in garding, as Gossrau and Henry have me, these lines as parenthetical, to ex- ain the nature of the power given by allas to Nautes. The tense of 'dabat' id the clauses 'vel quae,' &c. are so ainly general that it would be far less lerable to force them into any other nse than to submit to the harshness of ı anacoluthon in 'Isque' v. 708, taking) the sentence unfinished in vv. 704, 05. Henry well expands the meaning: Pallas was in the habit of answering im as to both of the great classes into hich all future events were divisible, ot only as to those fixed and immutable rents which were decreed by the fates, at class of events to which for instance eneas' arrival in Italy and establish- ent of a great empire there belonged, ıt as to those, if I may so say, uncertain ıd precarious events which were pro- ıced by the special intervention of of- nded deities, that class of events of hich the storm in the First Book and l Aeneas' subsequent misfortunes afford camples." For this division of events ɜ (after Gossrau) comp. Claudian, De ello Getico v. 171 (speaking of the ir- ıption of the barbarians into Thrace) seu fata vocabant, Seu gravis ira deum riem meditata ruinis." There is still owever an unexplained difficulty about ıe expression. The sense would seem › require that we should supply some ntecedent for 'quae' from the sentence itself, 'responsa dabat (de iis), vel quae,' &c., or regard 'quae' as acc. pl. of 'quis.' But I believe Virg. meant 'quae' to be connected with 'responsa,' speaking of the responses as portended by the wrath of heaven or demanded by the order of fate, to show how completely the responses represented and were identified with the events. The events or responses are said to be portended by the wrath of the gods, whereas we should rather expect to hear that the wrath of the gods was it- self portended by supernatural appear- ances: but though 'portendere' seems generally to bear the latter meaning, the substantive 'portentum' is quite in accordance with the former. 'Respon- sum dare' occurs elsewhere, as in E. 1. 44, of a god giving forth a response to those who consulted him, but there can be no reason why it should not be used also of suggesting a response to another which he is to give forth. Ribbeck reads 'hac' after Dietsch, from one of his cur- sives. 'Ordo' of the fates 3. 376. 'Pos- cere' of the fates 4. 614., 7. 272., 8. 12, 477.

708.] 'Solatus:' see on G. 1. 293. 'Infit' probably with 'his vocibus,' like "talibus infit" 10. 860. Döderlein (Syn. 3. 160) remarks that Livy is the only prose writer who uses the word, and that only in the early and, so to say, poetical part of his history.

709.] This and the next line have been cited on v. 22 above as parallel. If there is any special significance in 'trahunt re- trahuntque,' it would seem to be 'Whether the fates draw us towards Italy, as they have hitherto done, or apparently repel us from it, as by this late visitation, let us follow them in either case—in the one by prosecuting our voyage, in the other by leaving behind us those who have shown themselves unfit for the enterprise, or whose means of transport have been destroyed.'

710.] The sentiment is general, not, as Henry thinks, confined to the special

Est tibi Dardanius divinae stirpis Acestes:
Hunc cape consiliis socium et coniunge volentem;
Huic trade, amissis superant qui navibus, et quos
Pertaesum magni incepti rerumque tuarum est;
Longaevosque senes ac fessas aequore matres,
Et quidquid tecum invalidum metuensque pericli est,
Delige, et his habeant terris sine moenia fessi;
Urbem appellabunt permisso nomine Acestam.
  Talibus incensus dictis senioris amici,
Tum vero in curas animo diducitur omnis.

occasion of the burning of the ships. '*Every* contingency, whether it help us to a fixed point or turn us back from it, is to be surmounted not by resistance but by submission.' 'Quidquid erit' then will mean not 'whatever be the issue of this portent,' but simply 'whatever may happen,' nearly the same thing which is expressed by 'omnis.' Serv. comp. 2. 77, "fuerit quodcumque," where however the sense is probably different.

711.] 'Acestes, like you, is a Trojan, and, like you, of divine lineage.' Comp. v. 38 above, where both sides of his descent are given.

712.] For 'consiliis' some MSS. have 'consilii,' but the dat. is more poetical, without raising the question about this form of the genitive. With 'coniunge' Forb. comp. "socium summis adiungere rebus" 9. 199. 'Volentem:' Nautes guarantees Acestes' readiness to act.

713.] 'Superant' = "supersunt." The meaning is, those whom the loss of the ships has rendered superfluous, i. e. the crews of the four burnt vessels.

714.] 'Those who have begun to tire of the vastness of the enterprise and of following your fortunes.'

715.] "'Longaevosque senes:' ita dixit Tibull. 1. 8. 50 'veteres senes.' Neque tamen ea est abundantia verborum," Gossrau, rightly, if he means that in both passages the idea of old age is intended to be specially dwelt on and enforced. 'Fessas aequore matres' v. 615 above.

716.] The neuter is used, perhaps rather slightingly, as in 1. 601.

717.] ['Fessis' Pal. originally, with one of Ribbeck's cursives.—H. N.]

718.] 'Permisso,' not, as Serv. thinks, by Acestes, but, as explained by Cerda (who however himself reads 'promisso' from Rom. (?) and others), by Aeneas as a compliment to Acestes. Thus the line will be equivalent to "Permitte ut appellent urbem Acestam." The city is the same as Segesta or Egesta, the name of Acestes being otherwise given as Egestus: see on v. 38 above.

719—745.] 'This advice perplexes Aeneas all the more, when that night Anchises appears to him in a dream, bids him follow Nautes' counsel, and tells him that before landing in Latium he is to visit him in the shades and learn the future.'

719.] [Accensus' Rom.—H. N.] The later editors rightly follow Gliemann's suggestion that the period formerly placed after 'amici' should be changed to a comma, 'tum vero' being sometimes found after a participial clause, as Sall. Cat. 61, "Confecto proelio, tum vero cerneres;" Livy 2. 29 "quo repulso, tum vero," &c. So it is used in an apodosis 7. 376., 11. 633. 'Incensus' is used of other excitements than those of anger and love, 4. 360.

720.] The MSS. are divided between 'animo' (Rom., Pal., Med.), and 'animum' (Serv., Probus, Gud. a m. s. &c.). 'Animus' was the reading before Heins., who introduced 'animum.' We might also have expected 'animi' (see on 2. 120); but it does not seem to be found. The 'usus loquendi' of Virg. is perhaps rather in favour of 'animum' (comp. "animum arrecti" 1. 579, "animum labefactus" 4. 395, with "animum dividit" 4. 285, "animum versabat" 4. 630): 'animo' however is supported by "animo exterrita" 8. 370, by the combination of Rom., Pal., and Med., and by its being less obvious than the acc., so that I have on the whole been led to adopt it, with Jahn, Wagn. (ed. mi.), Ladewig, and Ribbeck. Rom., Gud. corrected, &c. have 'deducitur.' With the image comp. 4. 285. The cares are here represented

Et Nox atra polum bigis subvecta tenebat:
Visa dehinc caelo facies delapsa parentis
Anchisae subito talis effundere voces:
Nate, mihi vita quondam, dum vita manebat,
Care magis, nate, Iliacis exercite fatis,
Imperio Iovis huc venio, qui classibus ignem
Depulit, et caelo tandem miseratus ab alto est.
Consiliis pare, quae nunc pulcherrima Nautes
Dat senior; lectos iuvenes, fortissima corda,
Defer in Italiam; gens dura atque aspera cultu
Debellanda tibi Latio est. Ditis tamen ante

as the parts into which Aeneas' being is torn.

721.] Wagn. seems right in connecting this line rather with what follows than with what precedes, the meaning being, as he says, 'when night came, then appeared a vision.' Comp. 10. 256, where he has similarly changed the pointing. 'Et' however does point to what precedes, indicating that Aeneas was still occupied with these thoughts when he retired to rest.

722.] 'Facies' = 'species' or 'imago,' as in 2. 622. 'Caelo delapsa' is explained by Heyne as said "ad sensum nostrum, de rebus quae subito apparent: nam ipse Anchises in Elysio degit" vv. 733, 734. But it appears from 6. 687 foll. that the shade of Anchises in Elysium was unconscious of the effect produced by these visions (comp. 4. 353), so that we need not suppose that this appearance is identical with the Anchises of the lower world. Serv. gives an alternative, "aut secundum quod supra diximus, quia animae caelum tenent, simulacra vero apud inferos sunt: aut certe intellegamus a Iove missam potestatem aliquam quae se in Anchisae converteret voltum." The first view would be countenanced by some passages in Homer, but does not seem to have been held by Virg.: the second is simple and probable enough, this appearance being really a dream, such as Zeus is said to send Il. 1. 63., 2. 6 foll. Comp. the appearances Od. 4. 796., 6. 22. ['Delabsa' Pal.—H. N.]

723.] 'Subito' not with 'delapsa' but with 'effundere,' as its position shows. The two really come to the same thing, the words being heard at the instant when the appearance is seen.

724.] Doubtless from Catull. 64. 215, "Nate, mihi longa iucundior unice vita." "Dum vita manebat" 6. 608, 661.

725.] 3. 182.

726.] From Il. 2. 26, Διὸς δέ τοι ἄγγελός εἰμι, Ὃς σευ, ἄνευθεν ἐών, μέγα κήδεται ἠδ' ἐλεαίρει. 'Classibus' dat.: see Forc., and comp. E. 7. 47 note. 'Ratibus quis depulit ignis?" 9. 78: comp. ib. 109.

727.] 'Tandem,' in your need: the conflagration being already beyond human power. 'Caelo ab alto' is sufficiently explained by ἄνευθεν ἐών Hom. l. c.; but there may conceivably be a reference to the character of the aid, rain from heaven.

728.] 'Pulcherrima' seems to be simply transferred from the antecedent to the relative clause, for the sake of the metre or of poetical variety. 3. 546 is scarcely parallel, though the words are sufficiently similar, as there "dederat quae maxima" seems to mean 'which he gave as being the greatest,'—'on which he laid the most stress.'

729.] 'Lectos' and 'fortissima' are emphatic: he was to take none but picked and brave men. "Iuvenes, fortissima pectora" 2. 348.

730.] Comp. Numanus' description of his countrymen 9. 603 foll. 'Aspera cultu' = "aspero cultu." Comp. "miserandaque cultu" 3. 591. ['Adque' Rom. —H. N.]

731.] Pal. has 'est Latio,' which Ribbeck adopts. Helenus had told Aeneas that he would see the Sibyl at Cumae, and learn his destiny from her (3. 441 foll.), but had said nothing about going down to the shades. Assuming that it was necessary to bring him thither, we need not complain of the mode of effecting it here as inartificial: still, it looks almost like an after-thought, as Aeneas in effect learns his destiny not from the Sibyl but from Anchises, and the very

Infernas accede domos, et Averna per alta
Congressus pete, nate, meos. Non me impia namque
Tartara habent tristesve umbrae, sed amoena piorum
Concilia Elysiumque colo. Huc casta Sibylla
Nigrarum multo pecudum te sanguine ducet.
Tum genus omne tuum, et quae dentur moenia, disces.
Iamque vale; torquet medios Nox umida cursus,
Et me saevus equis Oriens adflavit anhelis.
Dixerat, et tenuis fugit, ceu fumus, in auras.
Aeneas, Quo deinde ruis? quo proripis? inquit,
Quem fugis? aut quis te nostris complexibus arcet?
Haec memorans cinerem et sopitos suscitat ignes,

words in which her assistance is promised (3. 458, 459) are transferred to what is actually done by Anchises (6. 890—892).

732.] 'Averna per alta' seems to be used generally of the shades (7. 91), perhaps with a special reference not so much to the lake and valley of Avernus as to the whole of the region before they reach Elysium. ['Accende' Med. originally.—H. N.]

733.] 'Amplexus' was found by Pierius in most of his MSS. Some others have 'complexus.' But either word would be ill chosen here, being inconsistent with 6. 698 foll. For the position of 'namque' see on E. 1. 14.

734.] The MSS. are divided between 'tristes umbrae' (Med. a m. pr., Rom., Pal., Gud.), 'tristesve umbrae' (Med. a m. sec., and according to Heyne, 'plures,' including Balliol MS.), and 'tristesque umbrae' (one of Ribbeck's cursives corrected). The first, though adopted by Heins., Heyne, and Ribbeck, is weak. The third might stand very well, as all that is required by the sense is that a distinction should be made betwen Tartarus and Elysium: but when a reading well supported in itself affords the means of observing Virg.'s own division into Tartarus, Elysium, and the intermediate state, where the sorrows of life are continued after death, it seems a pity not to adopt it. There is no force in Jahn's objection that 'tristesque' is required to sustain the balance between 'Tartara umbraeque' and 'piorum concilia Elysiumque,' as it is a mere assumption that any such balance exists. ['Set' Med.—H. N.]

735.] 'Concilia' here simply means a meeting, perhaps with an additional notion of a place of meeting. 6. 673 foll. will show that no formal assembly is intended.

736.] Comp. 6. 153, 243 foll. 'Sanguine' abl. instrum. 'Multo' implies that the sacrifice is to be large, as is the case 6. 243 foll.

737.] The first part of the promise is fulfilled at length 6. 756 foll.; the second is perhaps meant to be included in the general words of 6. 890 foll. 'Dentur moenia' 3. 85, 255 notes.

738.] Night is just at its full, and the first faint breath of morning is making itself felt.

739.] Comp. G. 1. 250 note. 'Saevus,' as excluding Anchises from the upper air, and breaking in on the intercourse of father and son. ["Non sinitur mortuis loqui cum sol fuerit exortus." Ti. Donatus.—H. N.] The belief in the exclusive connexion between ghosts and night is natural enough. An English reader need hardly be referred to the Ghost in Hamlet. Gossrau has quoted his words from Tieck's translation, "ich wittre Morgenluft." ['Saevos' originally Pal.—H. N.]

740.] Comp. G. 4. 499, 500. Pal. has 'ad auras.'

741.] Serv. says "Ordo est, Aeneas deinde, Quo ruis?" an inversion which here at any rate is of course quite impossible. The words seem to answer exactly to our 'Whither are you hurrying *now*?' conveying a reproach for not remaining longer. 'Proripis' E. 3. 19, where the full reflexive form is used.

742.] "Quem fugis?" 6. 466, E. 2. 60. Comp. Aeneas' words 6. 698.

743.] Aeneas offers sacrifices after

Pergameumque Larem et canae penetralia Vestae
Farre pio et plena supplex veneratur acerra.
Extemplo socios primumque accersit Acesten,
Et Iovis imperium et cari praecepta parentis
Edocet, et quae nunc animo sententia constet.
Haut mora consiliis, nec iussa recusat Acestes.
Transcribunt urbi matres, populumque volentem
Deponunt, animos nil magnae laudis egentis.

supernatural appearances 3. 176 foll., 8. 542 foll. The latter passage (where see note) is closely parallel to this. The words 'cinerem et sopitos suscitat ignes' recur 8. 410 in a simile. They must be explained here from the next line, as Aeneas is in his own house, and so would only have household deities about him: otherwise we might have supposed that he revived the sacrificial fire, which had doubtless been burning for his father the day before.

744.] 'Pergameumque Larem,' is probably the same as "Assaraci Larem," mentioned by Ascanius along with the Penates, and Vesta 9. 259, where "canae penetralia Vestae" is repeated. So perhaps 8. 543. 'Canae' points to the old religion, of which the worship of Vesta formed part, like "cana Fides et Vesta" 1. 292 note. Serv. gives an alternative, "aut antiquae, aut propter ignis favillas." The last notion shows ingenuity, but is hardly likely to have occurred to Virg., even with his love for combining allusions, though it might have suited the less chastened taste of Ovid.

745.] "Farre pio" Hor. 3 Od. 23. 20, where as here offerings to the Penates are spoken of. Comp. ib. 9, where the Lares are propitiated "ture" (Virgil's 'acerra') "et horna fruge" (the 'far pium') "avidaque porca."

746—761.] 'He tells the vision to his comrades and Acestes, and they agree to act on it. The ships are repaired—the new city begun, and honours paid to Venus and Anchises.'

746.] Comp. 3. 58, "Delectos populi ad proceres primumque parentem Monstra deum refero," though there the reference seems to be more formal: see note there. 'Accersit,' the old reading before Heins., is supported here by Med., Rom., Gud. a m. s. [Pal. has 'arcessit.' I have printed 'accersit' not only because it has the balance of MSS. authority in its favour, but because it seems to be the more used form where the meaning is that of summoning *a person*. No doubt the two forms are frequently confused in MSS.; but (so far as I can ascertain) 'arcesso' generally means to send and fetch, 'accerso' to summon. I am inclined to agree with Professor Wilkins (Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society, vol. i. p. 45, foll.), that 'accerso' and 'arcesso' are in reality different words. See on 6. 119.—H. N.]

748.] 'Nunc' and 'constet' both point to previous indecision. "Quae nunc animo sententia surgat" 9. 191.

749.] 'Haut mora consiliis' seems to mean 'the plan does not take long to approve itself to them,' or 'to put in action:' comp. v. 639 above. But it might possibly be 'the debate is not delayed,' i. e. it is short, or they do not debate at all. "'Iussa,' voluntatem, aut certe quae Iuppiter iusserat," Serv. The first interpretation seems the right one: comp. 4. 503. In each case perhaps the choice of the word may have been regulated by the fact that the request has something of the authority of a command, embodying here the injunction of a deity, there that of a priestess. ['Haud' Pal.—H. N.]

750.] Serv. says of 'transcribunt' "Romani moris verbum est: transcripti enim in colonias deducebantur." No other instance is however quoted of this use of the word, which is perhaps only adapted by Virg. from 'adscribi,' the regular word for entering a colony already formed.

751.] "'Deponunt,' quasi de navibus" Serv., rightly. "Caesar deponit legiones, equitesque a navibus egressos iubet de languore reficere," Hirt. Bell. Alex. 1. 34. They had of course been already landed: but the word expresses with some vividness the fact of their subtraction from the ships' crews. It is perhaps hardly

Ipsi transtra novant, flammisque ambesa reponunt
Robora navigiis, aptant remosque rudentesque,
Exigui numero, sed bello vivida virtus.
Interea Aeneas urbem designat aratro
Sortiturque domos; hoc Ilium et haec loca Troiam
Esse iubet. Gaudet regno Troianus Acestes,

worth while to combine with this Heyne's explanation, "ut inutile onus." Serv. mentions another interpretation, according to which a stop is placed at 'volentem,' and 'deponunt' taken with 'animos'—"quae lectio et sententia Nascimbaeno castior visa est," says Taubmann. 'Animos' forms an apposition like 'corda' above v. 729. 'Egentis' expresses not the absence of the thing, but the sense of its absence—a change of meaning equally observable in our word 'want,' as Henry remarks. Thus the expression is exactly contrasted with "laudum cupido" v. 138 above, 6. 823. With the construction Henry comp. G. 2. 28, "Nil radicis egent aliae." One or two MSS. have 'agentis,' which has met with some approbation in later times. ['Nihil' Pal., Rom. and originally Med.—H. N.]

752.] 'Ipsi' contrasts those who go with those who stay. 'They provide for the weaker sort, and then prepare vigorously for their own departure.' 'Transtra novant,' either make new benches or repair the old. Comp. "tecta novantem" 4. 260. 'Reponere' of repairing, i. e. setting up again, in a new form. Forc. quotes Tac. A. 1. 63, "ruptos vetustate pontis reponeret." ['Ambesa' Med. and Pal. 'Ambessa' Ribbeck, which I infer from his silence is found in Rom.—H. N.]

753.] 'Navigiis' not "in navigia," like "vina reponite mensis" 7. 134, but in the same sense as "ponere alicui," to give a thing to a person. There was a doubt about the pointing even in Serv.'s time, some putting the stop after 'robora,' as Heins. has done, with the approbation of Heyne: but the old commentator rightly prefers punctuating after 'navigiis. 'Aptare' is used elsewhere of getting a ship into order, 4. 289. As applied to oars, it refers more particularly to shaping them (comp. 1. 552), as applied to ropes, to attaching them to the vessel (comp. 3. 472).

754.] 'Virtus' forms rather a bold apposition to 'exigui numero;' but there is a similar one in 11. 338, "Largus opum, et lingua melior, sed frigida bello Dextera" (comp. also by Forb.). "Vivida virtus" 11. 386. It matters little whether 'bello' be dative, "ad bellum," or abl. ['Set' Med.—H. N.]

755.] With the passage generally comp. the description of the building of Carthage 1. 423 foll. 'Designat aratro:' the custom is thus explained by Serv., "Quem Cato in Originibus dicit morem fuisse. Conditores enim civitatis taurum in dextram, vaccam intrinsecus iungebant, et incincti ritu Gabino, id est, togae parte caput velati, parte succincti, tenebant stivam incurvam, ut glaebae omnes intrinsecus caderent, et ita sulco ducto loca murorum designabant aratra suspendentes circa loca portarum." The same account is given more briefly by Varro L. L. 5. 143 Müller. The passage of Cato is given by Isidore Orig. 15. 2, 3, "Qui urbem novam condet, tauro et vacca aret, ubi araverit, murum faciat, ubi portam vult esse, aratrum sustollat et portet et portam vocet." So when Aeneas first lands in Latium, "humili designat moenia fossa," 7. 157.

756.] 'Sortitus' is found in a few MSS., and was adopted by Burm. and Heyne, perhaps under a mistaken notion that its external authority was greater. The participle would be clearly out of place, as the clause 'hoc Ilium' &c. has nothing to do with what precedes. The meaning is, he assigns the sites for private dwellings by lot, and gives names to the different quarters of the city. With 'sortitur domos' comp. 3. 137, "Iura domosque dabam:" with the remainder, v. 633 above, 3. 349 foll. Wagn. explains 'Ilium' of the city, 'Troiam' of the region: but the city was called Acesta, and 'Troia' in Helenus' city can scarcely have been the region, which Helenus had called Chaonia (3. 334 foll.). Strabo 13, p. 608 C. comp. by Wagn. says that the rivers about Aegesta had the names of Scamander and Simois.

757.] 'Troïanus' gives the reason of Acestes' joy at seeing the old names revived.

Indicitque forum et patribus dat iura vocatis.
Tum vicina astris Erycino in vertice sedes
Fundatur Veneri Idaliae, tumuloque sacerdos
Ac lucus late sacer additur Anchiseo.
Iamque dies epulata novem gens omnis, et aris

758.] The constitution of the state proceeds pari passu with the building of the town, as in 1. 426., 3. 137. See note on the former passage. 'Indicit forum' is apparently explained on the analogy of "forum agere," to hold a court, 'indicere' being used as in "indicere iustitium," &c. [" Tempus et locum designat agendorum negotiorum, qui conventus vocatur," Serv. Of 'dat iura' Serv. offers two explanations, the last of which is no doubt right: "dat condendi iuris potestatem his quos appellaverat patres, aut certe vocatis iura distribuit." So Ti. Donatus, "his quippe qui condebant urbem novam, debuit instituere, quae civitatem regant, et ipsam rem publicam firment, eius scilicet patres, et municipalem legem." Thus 'iura dare' is in this passage not the same as in 1. 293 (note): here it means 'to give laws,' there (as in 7. 246 and elsewhere) 'to administer justice,' and so 'to govern.'—H. N.] Lersch. § 2, "de iure condendo," quotes from Livy, 1. 8, "Rebus divinis rite perpetratis vocataque ad concilium multitudine, quae coalescere in populi unius corpus nulla re praeterquam legibus poterat, iura dedit," a passage exactly appropriate to the present. So 7. 246, "Hoc Priami gestamen erat, cum iura vocatis More daret populis." On a comparison of the passage in Livy with two others in Virg., "Iura dabat legesque viris" 1. 507, "Secretosque pios: his dantem iura Catonem" 8. 670, it may be doubted whether 'patribus vocatis' here and "vocatis populis" 7, l. c. are abl. abs. or dat. In any case the sense is the same. A council, large or small is summoned, and the laws given by the king. Gossrau remarks that this was not only the old Roman practice, but that established or revived by Augustus, who consulted the senate but was not bound by it. Wagn.'s explanation 'establishes rules for senatorial procedure,' teaches the senators their duties, is less likely, though it might receive some support from 1. 731, "Iuppiter, hospitibus nam te dare iura loquuntur."

759.] The temple of Venus on Mount Eryx was famous. Dionys. 1. 53 (cited by Heyne, Excursus 2) instances the altar τῆς Αἰνειάδος Ἀφροδίτης as one of the proofs that Aeneas visited Sicily, and Tac. A. 4. 43 says that the Segestans sent an embassy to Rome, begging that the temple might be restored, "nota memorantes de origine eius et laeta Tiberio," doubtless its foundation by Aeneas. "Turrim . . . sub astra Eductam" 2. 460.

760.] 'Idaliae' seems an ordinary epithet, as Venus is not likely to have been specially worshipped on Mount Eryx as Idalia, though Venus Erycina was worshipped at Rome, Livy 22. 10. We might have expected "matri Idaliae:" but the only variation in the MSS. is that one gives 'Iliadae.'

761.] Anchises, as a hero, has a τέμενος bestowed on him. Comp. 3. 302 foll., where we read of a similar honour to Hector. 'Anchiseo,' suggests the Greek way of indicating a temple by a neuter adjective, τὸ Ἀγχίσειον. 'Ac' was restored by Heins. for 'et.' ['Lucus late sacer' 8. 598. 'Lucus' is not, properly speaking, a grove, but a field, and is probably the same word as the Old High German "lôh," English "lea," Lithuanian "laukas:" see "Grimm Gesch. d. Deutschen Sprache," p. 43. So also "nemus" is properly, as Curtius in his Greek Etymology has pointed out, not a grove or wood, but a grassy space covered with trees. 'Lucus late sacer' is therefore, literally, an open space consecrated for a great distance in all directions; a wide space of consecrated ground. Pal. has 'additus;" Med. and Pal. write 'Anchisaeo.'—H. N.]

762—778.] 'After nine days of festivities they prepare to embark. Those who are left behind grieve at parting, especially the women. All is ready, and the fleet sails.'

762.] We have already had the 'novendiale' (see on v. 64): but Virg. may be thinking of the solemnities of which that formed the close, and perhaps also of the other 'novendiale,' which actually lasted nine days (Dict. A. s. v.), though it has nothing to do with a funeral.

Factus honos: placidi straverunt aequora venti,
Creber et adspirans rursus vocat Auster in altum.
Exoritur procurva ingens per litora fletus;
Complexi inter se noctemque diemque morantur.
Ipsae iam matres, ipsi, quibus aspera quondam
Visa maris facies et non tolerabile nomen,
Ire volunt, omnemque fugae perferre laborem.
Quos bonus Aeneas dictis solatur amicis,
Et consanguineo lacrimans commendat Acestae.
Tris Eryci vitulos et Tempestatibus agnam
Caedere deinde iubet, solvique ex ordine funem.

763.] See E. 2. 26 note.

764.] Comp. 3. 70. With 'creber' Heyne comp. 3. 530, "Crebrescunt optatae aurae." ['Atspirans' Med.—H. N.]

765.] τῶν δὲ στοναχὴ κατὰ δώματ' ὀρώρει, Il. 24. 512. ['Procurvus' is a word of which no instance is quoted earlier than Virg., who also has it G. 2. 421, "procurvam falcem."—H. N.]

766.] Forb. comp. Livy 7. 42, "complecti inter se lacrimantes milites coepisse." 'Noctemque diemque' is best taken as the ordinary acc. of the object, 'they prolong the night and the day by their embraces,' something like "fando surgentis demoror austros" 3. 481. The notion is partly that of making the time move slowly by crowding so much into it (comp. 1. 748 note), partly that of actually prolonging the time before sailing.

767.] For 'ipsi' [Nonius p. 307 and] a few MSS. repeat 'ipsae,' which, though plausible at first sight, is inconsistent with 'quos' v. 770. Others were weary of the sea beside the matrons, v. 716 above.

768.] With Ribbeck I have recalled 'nomen,' the reading of Heins. and Heyne, found in Pal., Med. a m. pr. and a quotation in Non. p. 307. The common reading was 'numen:' two MSS. have 'lumen' as a various reading, and Rom. and another MS. give 'caelum,' which seems to have arisen from a recollection of 4. 53, as has so often happened in similar cases. Between 'numen' and 'nomen' the question is more difficult. Wagn., reading 'numen,' appeals to the deification of Θάλασσα or Πόντος. The sea is called "monstrum" below v. 849 in a passage somewhat similar to this: but such an analogy does not help us much. Admitting then that if the notion involved in 'numen' would be satisfactorily supported, the word would be appropriate and poetical, I think this passage is one of the innumerable exceptions to the critical rule that the more difficult reading is to be preferred. Virg. may have thought of the Homeric οὐκ ὀνομαστός, Od. 19. 260, 597., 23. 19. But it would be more satisfactory if a parallel could be adduced from his own works, though the expression may seem to be one which does not stand in need of any such support. The confusion is of course common: see 4. 94 note. [Henry, who now reads 'numen,' takes it to mean the will, whims and caprices, arbitrament of the sea.—H. N.]

769.] Comp. v. 619 above, 3. 160.

771.] 'Consanguineo,' his and their kinsmen, as being half Trojan. It shows the ground on which Aeneas commits them to Acestes' protection.

772.] Eryx is worshipped as a hero. "Immolabitur . . . agna Tempestatibus" Hor. Epod. 10. 24. Comp. above 3. 120. Med. has 'agnos.'

773.] 'Caedere' followed by 'solvi:' comp. 3. 61, E. 6. 85. 'Ex ordine' I incline to take as i. q. 'rite,' like 'ordine' above, v. 53, the reference here being to the previous sacrifices. And so I see Serv. explains it, "rite peragi sacrificium, et sic solvi funem, ut in septimo [v. 139], 'Phrygiamque ex ordine Matrem Invocat.'" As an alternative he adds, "Vel, quo naves ad terram ligantur," an interpretation which would almost require 'funis,' the reading before Heins., and would be less Virgilian. Some of the earlier commentators strangely understood 'solvi funem' by a ὕστερον πρότερον of cutting the rope with which the victims were tied: see Emmenessius' note.

Ipse, caput tonsae foliis evinctus olivae,
Stans procul in prora pateram tenet, extaque salsos
Proicit in fluctus ac vina liquentia fundit.
Prosequitur surgens a puppi ventus euntis.
Certatim socii feriunt mare et aequora verrunt.
At Venus interea Neptunum exercita curis
Adloquitur, talisque effundit pectore questus:
Iunonis gravis ira nec exsaturabile pectus
Cogunt me, Neptune, preces descendere in omnis;
Quam nec longa dies, pietas nec mitigat ulla,
Nec Iovis imperio fatisque infracta quiescit.

774.] G. 3. 21 (note), where 'ornatus' occurs instead of 'evinctus.' [" 'Tonsae,' comptae, minutis frondibus." Serv.—H. N.]

775.] Some MSS. give "stans celsa in puppi," apparently from 3. 527. Libations and sacrifices however seem usually to have been made from the stern: comp. the passage just referred to, and Apoll. R. 4. 1595 foll. Heyne suggests, plausibly enough, that on leaving the harbour they would naturally perform the ceremony from the prow, looking to the sea over which they were to sail. 'Procul' is not easy: perhaps it may refer to the distance from the shore, implying that the offering is thrown far into the sea: or it may refer to the height of the prow above the waves, Virg. preferring it to 'celsa' on rhythmical grounds. Entrails would be placed in 'paterae' as well as wine (Dict. A. 'Patera').

776.] v. 238 above (note). Here the MSS. are said to be unanimous for 'proicit,' 'porricit' being due to Heins. ['Proicit' is confirmed by Ti. Donatus. —H. N.]

777.] Repeated from 3. 130.

778.] Repeated from 3. 290. In Pal., Gud., and another good MS., the first Mentelian, this and the preceding line change places. [Ribbeck adopts this arrangement.—H. N.]

779—826.] 'Venus appeals to Neptune, expressing her fear lest Juno, after this last outrage on the ships, should attempt to raise another storm. Neptune reassures her, reminds her of past instances of his care for Aeneas, and promises that the Trojans shall reach Italy in safety, with the loss of only one of their number. He glides in his car of state over the waves, smoothing them as he goes.' ['Ad' Pal. and Rom. for 'at.'—H. N.]

780.] Comp. above v. 482., 4. 553.

781.] 'Nec exsaturabile' ('neque' Pal., Med. corrected, &c.) was restored by Heins., from Med. and others for 'et inexsaturabile.' The MSS. sometimes vary between simple adjectives with negatives prefixed and adjectives compounded with negatives, e. g. "non piger" and "impiger," "non felix" and "infelix." With the sense comp. above v. 608., 7. 298. 'Exsaturabilis' seems found nowhere else.

782.] Cæsar B. C. 1. 9 has "ad omnia se descendere paratum." See other instances of this use of the word in Forc. The usual combination seems to be 'descendere ad,' which is here found in some of the MSS. of Serv. Gossrau well comp. "Ire in lacrimas" 4. 413, "ad miseras preces decurrere" Hor. 3 Od. 29. 59. So also Tac. A. 1. 12, "Senatu ad ultimas obtestationes procumbente."

783.] 'Pietas,' as Aeneas had endeavoured to propitiate Juno 3. 547. It might however be extended to other acts of piety not affecting Juno, 6. 405. [Henry inclines to take it of pity on the part of Juno herself.—H. N.]

784.] The change of the nom. is harsh, as we are not warned of it by a change in the gender. 'Iovis imperio:' Jupiter had declared himself favourable to Aeneas in Book 1, and had checked Juno afterwards by sending him away from Carthage. 'Fatisque' Med., Rom., Pal., 'fatisve' fragm. Vat., Gud. It signifies little which we adopt. The command of Jove and the will of destiny are naturally combined, tending as they do the same way, and as naturally distinguished. "Infractaque constitit ira" Ov. M. 6. 626. With the general language of the line comp. Juno's own words 7. 220, "At, credo, mea numina tandem Fessa iacent, odiis aut exsaturata quievi."

Non media de gente Phrygum exedisse nefandis
Urbem odiis satis est, nec poenam traxe per omnem:
Reliquias Troiae, cineres atque ossa peremptae
Insequitur. Causas tanti sciat illa furoris.
Ipse mihi nuper Libycis tu testis in undis
Quam molem subito excierit; maria omnia caelo
Miscuit, Aeoliis nequiquam freta procellis,
In regnis hoc ausa tuis.
Per scelus ecce etiam Troianis matribus actis

785.] 'Media de gente:' Juno is not satisfied with having torn Troy as it were out of the heart of Phrygia. "'Exedisse' muliebriter dictum," says Serv., which is perhaps the best way of accounting for Virg.'s use of so harsh a metaphor, at the same time that he was probably thinking, as Heyne well suggests, of the taunt of the Homeric Zeus to Hera Il. 4. 34 foll.:

εἰ δὲ σύγ' εἰσελθοῦσα πύλας καὶ τείχεα μακρὰ
ὠμὸν βεβρώθοις Πρίαμον Πριάμοιό τε παῖδας,
ἄλλους τε Τρῶας, τότε κεν χόλον ἐξακέσαιο.

'Excidisse' fragm. Vat. and several MSS.: but it may be doubted whether 'excidere' occurs in Virg. in this sense: see on 2. 637.

786.] 'Traxe,' an abbreviated form, like "exstinxti" 4. 682, "vixet" 11. 118. So "abstraxe" Lucr. 3. 650. Its strangeness has led to many alterations in the MSS., some of which, including Med. a m. pr., write the word in full, 'traxisse,' regardless of the verse, while others, adopting 'traxisse' omit 'nec.' Pal. and fragm. Vat. originally had 'traxere.' With the expression 'trahere per poenam' Ruhkopf comp. Eur. Iph. T. 257, διὰ πόνων ἄγει. Comp. also 3. 315, "vitam extrema per omnia duco." The old punctuation continued the sentence to 'reliquias:' Torquil Baden on Sen. Herc. F. p. 32 proposed to put a stop at 'omnem,' continuing 'Reliquias Troiae, cineres atque ossa, peremptae;' and Wagn. has improved on this by removing the comma after 'ossa.' Gossrau and now Henry point 'nec poenam traxe per omnem Reliquias Troiae,' fortifying themselves by the authority of Med., which on questions of punctuation is worth very little. The objection to this, as to the old pointing, is that it makes too subtle a distinction between 'reliquiae,' the remains after the destruction of Troy, and 'cineres atque ossa,' the remains of those remains, which have survived subsequent persecution.

788.] 'Let her be well assured that she has reasons, for I know of none.' Serv. says "Bene supprimit: contra ipsam enim sunt quae Iuno in decimo [v 92] exsequitur, 'me duce Dardanius Troiam expugnavit adulter?'"

789.] It seems better to remove the comma which many editions place after 'undis,' as 'Libycis in undis' refers rather to 'excierit' than to 'testis,' though the latter combination might be defended, if necessary.

790.] The language closely follows 1. 133, 134, "Iam caelum terramque meo sine numine, venti, Miscere, et tantas audetis tollere moles?" Venus' language however has a slightly more colloquial air than Neptune's, as she speaks under feminine excitement and refers to an event which, being some time past, need not be characterized so exactly. In 1. 134, as there remarked, Neptune may refer to the mountains of waves: Venus evidently means no more than 'What a coil she made!' 'Maria omnia caelo miscuit' is one form of the proverbial expression, the other form of which is given in 1. 133. Juv. combines the two 2. 25, "Quis caelum terris non misceat et mare caelo?" In another passage he has "clames licet et mare caelo Confundas" (6. 283).

792.] Comp. generally Neptune's speech 1. 132 foll.

793.] For 'per scelus,' the reading before Pierius, found in one of Ribbeck's cursives, was "pro scelus!" So "produxit" and "perduxit" are confounded E. 1. 73. Heyne gives a choice of interpretations, 'pér scelus' with 'exussit,' i. q. "sceleste," and 'per scelus actis.' The latter seems best. Ruhkopf comp. such expressions as δι' ὕβρεως μολοῦσαι, ἀγόμεναι, &c., Heyne

Exussit foede puppis, et classe subegit
Amissa socios ignotae linquere terrae.
Quod superest, oro, liceat dare tuta per undas
Vela tibi, liceat Laurentem attingere Thybrim,
Si concessa peto, si dant ea moenia Parcae.
Tum Saturnius haec domitor maris edidit alti:

Jens humana ruit per vetitum nefas" or. 1 Od. 3. 26.

794.] 'Subegit' Aeneam. 'Classe amis-' is of course exaggerated, though she ualifies the words in v. 796, if the inter-etation adopted in the note there is cor-ct. There is the same spirit of exagge-tion in her language 1. 251, where she lks of "navibus amissis," though she oubtless knew at the time that only one iip was really lost.

795.] 'Ignotae' is another touch of ex-ggeration, as elsewhere the Trojans speak Sicily as familiar and friendly, above . 24, 28 foll., 630. But she may call it with reference to the separation between eneas and those left behind, who will strangers to him henceforth. 'Ignota rra' is read by Med., Gud. a m. pr., first entelian, &c.: but the dat. which is und in fragm. Vat. is more poetical and ss obvious, and so more likely to have en altered. Rom. exhibits the error in transitional state, reading 'ignota rrae,' which was perhaps the original ading of Pal.

796.] There is even more variety of inion about 'quod superest' here than v. 691 above. Heyne, who placed a micolon after 'superest,' seems to have garded it as i. q. 'ceterum,' to which agn. objects that the request which fol-ws, so far from being an afterthought, the main object of Venus' speech. This jection is not quite conclusive, as there ight even be a dramatic propriety in the quest so introduced. Venus has been rried on by her impetuosity into an umeration of Juno's crimes, and now be-inks herself of what she wants to have me, at the same time that she may pur-sely adopt a phrase which rather dis-iises her anxiety about the main point. ach a defence however can hardly be rged against other views equally recon-lable with the language, and not re-uiring to be reconciled with the context. enry understands it to mean 'all that is ow possible for us to obtain from you in is our distressed condition,' which would ree with the common interpretation of the words in v. 691, "all that is left for you to do in order to ruin us utterly." But Neptune's help was really worth far more to them than this, though it may again be replied that it suits Venus' purpose to extenuate the bo n. Two other interpreta-tions are mentioned by Wagn., "quod su-perest de classe," or "de sociis," and "quod superest de itinere." The former brings the passage into conformity with what appears on the whole the best view of v. 691, at the same time that it supplies a subject for 'dare,' which would other-wise perhaps be too obscure with 'tibi' following. Besides, the latter is open to one or two objections of its own: it is not suggested by the immediate context, which speaks of the burning of the ships, the Aeolian storm having been dismissed in v. 792: perhaps also it makes Venus assume too readily that their journey is near its end, as if distance and tempests had been the only causes of its prolonga-tion. I think then that 'quod superest' is to be explained of the remaining ships and their crews, and that the probabilities of this interpretation here and in v. 691 may fairly be said to strengthen each other.

797.] Most editors take 'tibi' as an ethical dative, virtually equivalent to 'I pray;' but the instances they quote are, as Forb. admits, not strictly parallel, and there can be no doubt that such a use of the word in a connexion like this would create a very awkward ambiguity. With Ladewig then I accept Heyne's first ex-planation, "dantur proprie vela ventis: nunc ea Neptuno quasi creduntur." So perhaps in 12. 263 "profundo," in G. 2. 41 "pelago" may be the dat. after "dare vela." We have already had a bolder in-novation on the usual expression in 3. 9, "dare fatis vela." ['Thybrin' Pal.—H. N.]

798.] 'Ea moenia' has to be explained from the previous knowledge of Neptune, as no city has been mentioned. Comp. 3. 100, "quae sint ea moenia quaerunt," where the reference is scarcely more di-rect. With 'dant' comp. v. 737 above.

799.] The rhythm of this line is harsh:

Fas omne est, Cytherea, meis te fidere regnis,
Unde genus ducis. Merui quoque; saepe furores
Compressi et rabiem tantam caelique marisque.
Nec minor in terris, Xanthum Simoentaque testor,
Aeneae mihi cura tui. Cum Troia Achilles
Exanimata sequens impingeret agmina muris,
Milia multa daret leto, gemerentque repleti
Amnes, nec reperire viam atque evolvere posset
In mare se Xanthus, Pelidae tunc ego forti
Congressum Aenean nec dis nec viribus aequis

probably however we are meant to pause at 'haec,' separating 'Saturnius' from 'domitor.'

800.] "Fas omne" 3. 55. "Fas fidere" 2. 402.

801.] 'Merui quoque' ut fideres. Beside the general ground for Venus' confidence, Neptune had given her further reason by his personal interference in Aeneas' behalf.

802.] 'Tantam' seems emphatic, as if he had said "tantos furores rabiemque compressi," substantiating the assertion 'merui quoque.' The reason why he does not give 'tantum' its natural place may be that he wished to bring 'saepe' into prominence. 'So many have been his deliverances from dangers so great.' Some difficulty has been felt about 'saepe,' as the only interference recorded is that in Book 1. It is answered by Heyne that we may assume Neptune's protection to have been exerted on such occasions as vv. 8 foll. above, 3. 192 foll. This may have been what Virg. refers to: but it is perhaps more satisfactory with Burm. to say simply that he refers to occasions not mentioned (expressly at least) in the Aeneid. ['Conpressi' Pal.—H. N.]

803.] 'Xanthum Simoentaque testor' is explained by what follows. The combat of Aeneas with Achilles (Il. 20. 158 foll.) happened before the *μάχη παραποτάμιος* of Il. 21, but both took place on the same occasion, the return of Achilles to battle, so that it is scarcely inaccurate to speak of them as contemporaneous.

805.] The expression seems to be taken from Il. 21. 295, *κατὰ Ἰλιόφι κλυτὰ τείχεα λαὸν ἐέλσαι Τρωικόν, ὅς κε φύγῃσι*, words used by Poseidon himself to Achilles, though they had been previously used by Achilles himself (v. 225) in speaking to Scamander. For the fact see the latter part of Il. 20 and 21. A similar expression occurs in Tac. H. 2. 41 (cited by Forc. s. v. 'impingo'), "a paucioribus Othonianis quo minus in vallum impingerentur." Fragm. Vat. originally had 'inmitteret.'

806.] 'Daret leto' G. 3. 480 note. The phrase was a common one at Rome, it being the custom to announce a public funeral (hence called 'funus indictivum') by the herald in the words "Ollus Quiris leto datus est" (Festus s. v. 'Quiris,' Varro L. L. 7. 42 Müller). 'Gemerent' &c. is again from Il. 21. 218, where Xanthus says—

πλήθει γὰρ δή μοι νεκύων ἐρατεινὰ ῥέεθρα,
οὐδέ τί πῃ δύναμαι προχέειν ῥόον εἰς ἅλα δῖαν,
στεινόμενος νεκύεσσι· σὺ δὲ κτείνεις ἀϊδήλως.

Virg. perhaps alludes to the connexion of the two senses of *στένω*.

807.] 'Amnes,' as Scamander invokes Simois against Achilles, Il. 21. 307 foll. 'Evolvere' is used in post-Augustan prose of rivers emptying themselves: see Forc. For 'atque' Pal. has 'neque,' which might stand if 'volvere' were read. ['Adque' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

808.] Another reference to Homer's words, Il. 20. 334, where Poseidon blames Aeneas for encountering Achilles, *ὃς σεῦ ἅμα κρείσσων καὶ φίλτερος ἀθανάτοισιν*. 'Nec dis aequis' does not express the same thing as the words just quoted, but it agrees with the Homeric narrative, where the Greek gods generally show themselves stronger than the Trojan, as in the wounding of Aphrodite and Ares Il. 5, and the *θεομαχία* Il. 20. Comp. the words of Hera Il. 20. 122 foll. 'Viribus aequis' occurs again in a similar connexion 10. 357, 431., 12. 218. With the sense comp. generally v. 466 above.

Nube cava rapui, cuperem cum vertere ab imo
Structa meis manibus periurae moenia Troiae.
Nunc quoque mens eadem perstat mihi; pelle timorem.
Tutus, quos optas, portus accedet Averni.
Unus erit tantum, amissum quem gurgite quaeres;
Unum pro multis dabitur caput.
His ubi laeta deae permulsit pectora dictis,
Iungit equos auro Genitor, spumantiaque addit

810.] 'Nube cava' 1. 516. The description is not quite the same as that in Il. 20. 321, where Poseidon puts a mist before the eyes of Achilles and then takes Aeneas away, but Virg. was doubtless thinking of other instances where Homeric gods carry off warriors in clouds, as in Il. 20. 444., 21. 597. 'Eripui,' a former reading, is supported by a correction in fragm. Vat. There is some awkwardness in 'cum impingeret' followed by 'cum cuperem:' but we should lose rather than gain if we were to remove it according to Wagn.'s suggestion by placing a full stop after 'Xanthus' v. 808, and connecting 'cum Troia,' &c. with the previous sentence, as 'Xanthum Simoentaque testor' would then produce an awkward tautology with what follows. "Ex imo verti Neptunia Troia" 2. 625.

811.] The building of Troy by Poseidon and the perjury of Laomedon are sufficiently known. 'Periturae' is read for 'periurae' in fragm. Vat. and Med. a m. pr., perhaps as Wagn. suggests, from a recollection of 2. 660; but the two words are easily confounded, and there is the same variety in the Virgilian Catalepton 11. 51.

812.] 'Timorem' Med., 'timores' Rom., Pal., Gud., and probably fragm. Vat. The former is perhaps preferable, as we have "timorem mittite" 1. 202, while 'timores' does not occur at all in Virg., though we have 'solve' and 'auferte metus.' Wagn.'s distinction that the sing. denotes the apprehension of a particular thing, the plural the fear of many things, is I think refuted by 1. 202., 9. 90.

813.] 'Portus Averni' is the harbour of Cumae. Comp. 3. 441, 442., 6. 236 foll., and note on G. 2. 161. Serv., and after him Spence, find an inconsistency in the passage as ordinarily pointed, as Neptune's promise that Aeneas should reach Cumae is not the same thing as Venus' request that he may arrive at the Tiber, and propose to remove it by separating 'Averni' from 'portus' and taking it with 'gurgite:' but the dangers of the voyage were in fact over when they reached Cumae, and Virg.'s love of variety is not to be controlled.

814. 'Quaeres' is the reading of all Ribbeck's MSS., 'quaeret' of one or two inferior copies, followed by most editors. Either would stand very well, 'quaeret' referring to Aeneas, 'quaeres' to Venus, who would gladly be identified with him in his care for the fleet. The latter is less obvious, without being at the same time less Virgilian, and external authority is, I agree with Henry and Ribbeck, decisive in its favour. Comp. Venus' language 1. 250 foll., "Nos . . . Navibus . . . amissis . . . Prodimur," and the assurance she afterwards gives Aeneas of the safety of his fleet ib. 390 foll. (see also ib. 584, 585.) 'Amissum quaeres' is like "sublatam ex oculis quaerimus" Hor. 3 Od. 24. 32, comp. by Forb. So 1. 217, "amissos . . . requirunt." The person referred to is of course Palinurus, not, as Serv. thinks, Misenus, curiously fancying v. 814 to point to the latter, v. 815 to the former.

816.] Here, as in 1. 147, 156, Neptune mounts his car and rides over the waves to smooth them. The description however is from Il. 13. 23 foll., where his object is to make a journey to the earth. 'Laeta' is apparently proleptic, in this as in other places, though it is not easy to distinguish this use of an epithet from its more ordinary employment. Venus was sad before Neptune spoke: but she had become happy before his speech came to an end.

817.] 'Auro' all Ribbeck's MSS., 'curru' two or three inferior copies. The latter is evidently a correction to make the passage easier. 'Aurum' for a thing made of gold is found elsewhere in Virg., e. g. 1. 739; but the reference has in each case to be determined from the context, a task which here is somewhat difficult. Hom. does not help us, as though he

Frena feris, manibusque omnis effundit habenas.
Caeruleo per summa levis volat aequora curru;
Subsidunt undae, tumidumque sub axe tonanti
Sternitur aequor aquis, fugiunt vasto aethere nimbi.
Tum variae comitum facies, inmania cete,
Et senior Glauci chorus, Inousque Palaemon,

talks of gold repeatedly, it is with reference to Poseidon's palace, the manes of his horses, and his own armour; unless we suppose Virg. to have understood χρυσὸν δ' αὐτὸς ἔδυνε περὶ χροΐ to mean that Poseidon put golden harness on the coats of the horses. Probably Heyne is right in taking it of the yoke, though it might be the harness. In either case it is doubtless abl., not dat., so that Wagn.'s objection that 'iungere currui' is the proper expression, not 'iungere iugo,' falls to the ground. The horses are 'iuncti,' fastened to the car, or to each other (comp. 3. 113., 7. 724, E. 3. 91 &c.), with gold, 'aureo iugo' or 'aurea iunctura.' So the author of the Phoenix 86, comp. by Heins., "Auro frenat equum," where 'freno' is similarly supplied from 'frenat.' This seems more Virgilian than with Wagn. to make 'auro' dat. = "currui aureo." 'Genitor' of Neptune 1. 155, as of Tiber 8. 72, like 'pater' (note on G. 2. 4). 'Frena addit,' puts on the bridles, harnesses them. "Frena spumantia" 4. 135.

818.] 'Feris:' note on 2. 51. Here it may be meant to express the spirit of animals, like "ferox" in 4. 135 just referred to. "Omnis effundit habenas" 12. 499.

819.] Comp. 1. 147. 'Caeruleus' of marine things G. 4. 388 note (see on v. 123 of this book), though here it may be meant to be taken strictly. 'Levis' seems to include easy motion (6. 17., E. 1. 60) and light pressure. Comp. v. 838 below.

820.] 'Tonanti' seems to refer to the sounding of the sea, of which Virg. has chosen to remind us, perhaps with a little sacrifice of propriety, by affixing the epithet to the chariot-wheel at the time when it is calming the waves. [Henry, with more probability, explains it of the weight and speed of the chariot.—H. N.]

821.] It may be doubted here and in 8. 89, whether 'aquis' is abl., 'in respect of,' or 'with its waters,' or dat., 'a smooth surface is laid for the waters.' Med. originally had 'equis.' For 'fugiunt vasto aethere' Med. as a second reading has 'fugiuntque ex aethere,' which Wagn. adopts against the whole consensus of the other MSS., objecting to the rhythm of 'vasto,' and asserting that it cannot be used appropriately of the sky, as it is used of things which inspire dread by their size, not simply wonder. The first objection is obviously futile: the second proceeds on a gratuitous supposition that because the word is used of objects of terror, it cannot be extended to cases where nothing is meant beyond enormous size, and then when 'vastum aequor silentio' &c. occur in a neutral connexion (e. g. 3. 191), we are bound to suppose that Virg. meant us to regard the size as formidable, not simply as wonderful. Comp. "mundus caeli vastus constitit silentio" Enn. Sat. 3. fr. 4; "vasto et aperto mari" Caes. B. G. 3. 12. 5; "in vastissimo atque apertissimo oceano" ib. 3. 9. 7. Following a hint of Jahn's, too, we may say that 'vasto' here may be meant to impress slightly the notion of the sky as a desert when unpeopled by clouds, not unlike "aëra per vacuum" G. 3. 109 note: and this would agree with the passage from Caes. just quoted.

822.] "'Tum variae comitum facies' exquisitius quam comites varia facie et aspectu," Heyne. "Tam multae scelerum facies" G. 1. 506. Whales form part of Homer's description Il. 13. 27, ἄταλλε δὲ κήτε' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Πάντοθεν ἐκ κευθμῶν, οὐδ' ἠγνοίησεν ἄνακτα, though they are not there combined with sea gods. 'Cete' a Greek pl., like "mele," "pelage," in Lucr.

823.] 'Glauci chorus' like "Phorci chorus" above v. 240. 'Senior,' old, like Glaucus himself, who was represented as so covered with marine incrustations as to have lost all trace of his pristine form (Plato, Rep. 10, p. 611), and to be constantly bewailing his immortality (Schol. on Plato l. c.). Keats has seized this point in his elaborate description of him in Endymion, Book 3. The 'chorus' are doubtless sea-gods, as in v. 240, though Glaucus was represented as accompanied by κήτεα when he went about

Tritonesque citi, Phorcique exercitus omnis:
Laeva tenet Thetis, et Melite, Panopeaque virgo,
Nesaee, Spioque, Thaliaque, Cymodoceque.
Hic patris Aeneae suspensam blanda vicissim
Gaudia pertemptant mentem; iubet ocius omnes
Attolli malos, intendi bracchia velis.
Una omnes fecere pedem, pariterque sinistros,
Nunc dextros solvere sinus: una ardua torquent
Cornua detorquentque; ferunt sua flamina classem.

yearly to the coasts and islands of Greece (Paus. 9. 22, § 6). 'Inous Palaemon' G. 1. 437.

824.] "Exercitus omnis" 2. 415., 11. 171, 598. Comp. G. 1. 382, where the word is applied to the rooks. Here it is doubtful whether sea-gods or sea-monsters are spoken of. Pliny 36. 26, in his description of a sculpture by Scopas (quoted by Heyne), speaks of "Tritones chorusque Phorci et pristes et multa alia marina," which might be pleaded for the latter view. But probably the two were not very sharply distinguished.

825.] 'Laeva' neut. pl.: see Forc. 'Tenet' Med., Gud. a m. s., 'tenent' Pal., Gud. a m. p. Rom. has 'tent.' Wagn. prefers the sing., Ribbeck the pl. Melite is one of the Nereids mentioned, Il. 18. 39 foll., among Thetis' companions, as are the five whose names follow hers here. "Panopeaque virgo" above v. 240.

826.] See on G. 4. 338. Here the line seems to be found in all the MSS., though, as usual, the proper names undergo strange transformations.

827—871.] 'Rejoicing in the smoothness of the sea, Aeneas sets sail, his own ship, under Palinurus, going first. In the middle of the night, the god of sleep assails Palinurus with a temptation to quit his post, but finding him inflexible, throws him into a sleep and makes him drop into the water. Aeneas perceives the loss of his pilot, supplies his place, and laments him.'

827.] The preceding picture resembles one in Apoll. R. 4. 930 foll. (referred to on v. 241 above), where Thetis and the Nereids push the Argo through the Planctae. There it is apparently meant that the powers of the sea were visible: here it would be needless to suppose it to be meant, any more than in v. 241. Aeneas sees the extraordinary calm, and his anxiety, of which we are not told expressly, though we may infer it from the cares which preceded, vv. 700, 720, as from Venus' own, is followed by joy.

828.] "Pertemptant gaudia pectus" 1. 502.

829.] Seeing the winds favourable, he orders the masts to be set up and the sails spread. Some copyists, not seeing the sense, and wrote 'remis' for 'velis,' as if 'bracchia' meant the arms of the rowers, as in v. 136 above; and 'remis' is actually found in both Rom. and Med., though Pal. and the majority of the MSS. have 'velis.' 'Bracchia' however are the sail-yards, "veluti bracchia mali," as Forc. says—a metaphor perhaps invented by Virg., and followed by Val. Fl. 1. 126, "Pallada velifero quaerentem bracchia malo," of the building of the Argo. 'Velis' then will be the abl., the meaning being that the sails are stretched on the yards, which Virg. has chosen to express by saying that the yards are stretched with or in respect of the sails. Comp. 4. 506 note.

830.] The description is somewhat minute, perhaps in imitation of such passages as Il. 1. 433 foll. The important words are 'una,' 'pariter,' and 'una,' the rest being merely a description of sailing with a more or less shifting wind. 'Pedes' or πόδες were the ropes attached to the two lower corners of a square sail (Dict. A. 'Ships'). The word is as old as Hom., occurring Od. 5. 260., 10. 32. These are fastened to the sides of the vessel, towards the stern, an operation briefly expressed by 'fecere,' which follows the analogy of "facere vela." The wind keeps shifting, so the sails are spread ("solvere vela" 4. 574, opp. to 'legere') first left, then right, to catch it, and this is done 'pariter' (like 'una') by all the vessels at the same time. The omission of 'nunc' before 'sinistros' is to be noted. Forc. says it occurs sometimes, but gives no other instance of it.

832.] 'Cornua,' the extremities of the

Princeps ante omnis densum Palinurus agebat
Agmen; ad hunc alii cursum contendere iussi.
Iamque fere mediam caeli Nox umida metam
Contigerat; placida laxabant membra quiete
Sub remis fusi per dura sedilia nautae:
Cum levis aetheriis delapsus Somnus ab astris
Aëra dimovit tenebrosum et dispulit umbras,
Te, Palinure, petens, tibi somnia tristia portans
Insonti; puppique deus consedit in alta,
Phorbanti similis, funditque has ore loquellas:

'antemnae' (3. 549 note), are turned this way and that, 'torquent detorquentque,' as the sail is shifted. 'Sua flamina' like "ventis iturus non suis" Hor. Epod. 9. 30, showing that what is said of the shifting of the wind above is not intended to be more than may happen in the most favourable voyage.

833.] "Primus ante omnis" 2. 40.

834.] 'Ad hunc,' after or according to him, a use of the preposition largely illustrated by Hand, Turs. 1, p. 107 foll. The accusative generally expresses, what is here implied, the rule or law that is followed, as "ad voluntatem," "ad arbitrium," "ad nutum," "ad numerum." ['At' Pal.—H. N.]

835.] "Mediam metam" is a metaphor from the δίαυλος, where the race is round the goal, which accordingly marks that half the course is over. We may then comp. Ov. M. 3. 145, who says, speaking of midday, "Et sol ex aequo meta distabat utraque," though the race he contemplates is a different one, from one point to another, each of which he calls 'meta.' But it is possible that Virg. may have an entirely different meaning, considering the arch of the sky as a 'meta' or cone, of which the topmost point is reached at midnight. This is evidently Serv.'s meaning when he says, "Perite locutus est: nam medium caelum meta est ἀναβιβάζοντος circuli, qui medius est inter ortum et occasum." Such an interpretation is strongly confirmed by Cic. Div. 2. 6, who, speaking of an eclipse of the moon, says, "quando illa e regione solis facta incurrat in umbram terrae, quae est meta noctis," words, as Forc. says, punctually commented on by Pliny 2. 47, "neque aliud esse noctem quam terrae umbram, figuram autem umbrae similem metae ac turbini inverso." Heyne apparently confuses or combines the two explanations.

836.] With Jahn, Ladewig, and Ribbeck I have restored 'laxabant,' the reading of the earliest editions, and, as now appears, of all the best MSS., Med., Pal., Rom., Gud. &c., for 'laxarant.' The question between them is about as important as that between 'conplebant' and 'conplerant' v. 107 above: either might well stand, 'laxarant' being supported by "laxaverat" v. 857, where the act is regarded as completed, 'laxabant' by "laxabant" 9. 225, where it is regarded as continuing.

837.] The meaning seems to be that they slept on the benches beside their oars. 'Dura' is a touch of late civilization which we should scarcely have found in Hom.

838.] 'Levis' v. 819. 'Aetheriis astris' v. 518 note. ['Delabsus' Med. and originally Pal.—H. N.]

839.] 'Dimovit' and 'dispulit,' simply by flying through them.

840.] Heyne preferred 'tristia somnia,' a reading which seems to be very slenderly supported. ['Somnia tristia,' grim or grisly dreams, i. e. death: the rest are sleeping and dreaming quietly, but Palinurus' dreams are to be of another sort. 'Tristis,' which properly means bitter, is not well translated 'sad,' but generally has the notion of severity or gloom, as is shown by its combination with such words as 'Erinys,' 'poena' and the like.—H. N.]

841.] 'Insonti,' as he did not yield to sleep deliberately, but was overcome by drowsiness against his will.

842.] Phorbas may be the same as the father of an Ilioneus killed by Peneleos Il. 14. 489 foll.: but all that we can say is that Virg. borrowed the name for one of Palinurus' comrades, who, from the

Iaside Palinure, ferunt ipsa aequora classem;
Aequatae spirant aurae; datur hora quieti:
Pone caput, fessosque oculos furare labori.
Ipse ego paulisper pro te tua munera inibo.
Cui vix attollens Palinurus lumina fatur:
Mene salis placidi vultum fluctusque quietos
Ignorare iubes? mene huic confidere monstro?
Aenean credam quid enim fallacibus auris

speech he makes, may be reasonably supposed, as Gossrau observes, to have been acquainted with steering. 'Fudit' was read before Pier.

843.] Med. gives 'sua flamina' as in v. 832: but the words are marked as faulty by some later hand.

844.] 'Aequatae,' not shifting, but taking the ship exactly in the stern (comp. v. 777), and filling the sails evenly. Comp. 4. 587 note. 'Datur hora quieti' is not explained by the commentators: yet it is susceptible of several meanings: (1) 'the hour is given (you) for rest:' (2) 'the hour is sacred to rest:' (3) 'the hour is being given (by others) to rest,' i. e. every one is asleep. On the whole the second seems preferable, though I know of no parallel expression in Virg. or elsewhere which might place it beyond doubt. [Henry is right in removing the full stop after 'datur hora quieti,' which is equally connected with the preceding and the following line.—H. N.]

845.] 'Ponere caput' 11. 830, Hor. 2 S. 8. 58. 'Furare,' as Heyne remarks, is used like the Greek κλέπτειν, though no more is meant than withdrawing, "subtrahere," much as we in a different connexion might talk of stealing a nap. The construction with the dative is one of those facts which seem to point to a connexion between the dat. and the abl. See on E. 7. 47.

846.] 'Inire' seems to contain the notion of entering upon, as in 'inire magistratum.' So "inire imperia" is said by Stat. Ach. 1. 280, not, as Forc. says, in the sense of 'subire et iis parere,' but with a special reference to a horse being only just submitted to the process of breaking in. Virg. probably avoided 'obibo' from his usual love of variety, wishing his readers to be reminded of the one compound by the other, while choosing a word which has a meaning of its own.

847.] "'Vix attollens lumina' aut a sideribus removens, aut certe numinis praesentia praegravatus, quod est melius," Serv. Heyne agrees with this preference of the latter interpretation, but Wagn. and Forb. are surely right in adopting the former, which agrees with v. 853. Strictly speaking Palinurus would have to turn rather than raise his eyes in order to look at the pretended Phorbas; but the attitude of looking down is so natural to those engaged in work, that we easily understand how Virg. came to speak of looking up.

848.] 'Salis' of the sea 1. 35 &c. [The smile of the sea is an image as old as Aeschylus; Lucr. twice has "ridet placidi pellacia ponti" (2. 559, 5. 1005); but 'vultus salis placidi' seems to be a development of Virgil's own. 'Voltum' Pal.—H. N.]

849.] Palinurus asks in effect, 'Do you bid me, who know so well the real nature of this quiet sea, to act as if I did not know it?' 'Monstrum' is apparently used of the sea to express its strange and noxious qualities, much as we should use 'monster.' We may comp. its use of the Trojan horse, 2. 245, of Polyphemus, 3. 658, of Cacus, 8. 198, as well as note on G. 1. 185. [Or does 'monstro' mean 'sign,' the sign (a fallacious one) being the present calm of the sea?—H. N.]

850.] This and the next line present considerable difficulty, as the structure of v. 850 seems to show that 'auris' is the dative after 'credam,' while that of v. 851 pleads for coupling it with 'caeli fraude sereni.' [Servius read 'caelo,' and explained 'sereni' as a substantive = "serenitatis:" "committam (Aeneam) caelo et auribus fallacibus, qui sum totiens serenitatis fraude deceptus." "'Sereni,' serenitatis: ut (2. 427) 'servantissimus aequi.' Alii legunt 'deceptus fraude caeli sereni.'" So also Ti. Donatus, who with Pal. (corrected) read 'austris' for 'auris.' 'Caelo' was also the original

Et caeli totiens deceptus fraude sereni?
Talia dicta dabat, clavumque affixus et haerens
Nusquam amittebat, oculosque sub astra tenebat.
Ecce deus ramum Lethaeo rore madentem
Vique soporatum Stygia super utraque quassat
Tempora, cunctantique natantia lumina solvit.

reading of Pal., and is adopted by Ribbeck. For 'fallacibus' Ti. Donatus read 'fallacius': "quid enim, ait, fallacius austris et caelo"?—H. N.] A further change, also sanctioned by some MSS. (e. g. Gud. a m. p.), would be to read 'caelo sereno;' but 'fraude' would then be an awkward and superfluous adjunct of 'deceptus.' The proposal, revived by Bothe, to take 'quid enim' parenthetically, supplying 'monstro' to 'credam,' and leaving 'auris' to go with 'fraude,' had already been rejected with reason by Heyne as contrary to the sense of 'quid enim.' Accepting the ordinary pointing as the only natural one, we cannot separate 'credam' from 'auris,' as Jahn still wishes to do; while on the other hand to understand 'et deceptus,' 'and that after having been deceived,' with Heyne, Wagn., &c., seems scarcely natural. I would then regard it as one of the instances where Virg. has coupled by a copula two forms of expression not grammatically co-ordinate (see on 3. 329), 'fallacibus auris' being equivalent to 'falsus auris,' 'deceptus caeli fraude' to 'fraudi caeli quae decepit me.' As such it is rightly included by Wagn. in his Q. V. 34. 2, though with Heyne he gives to 'et' the sense of 'et quidem.' In these cases Virg. generally contents himself with coupling two words, such as an adverb and an adjective: here he goes farther, so that we might almost class it with instances of the confusion of two constructions, were it not that here the two constructions are completed before they are forced into co-ordination.

852.] Pal. and two other good MSS. have 'dictabat,' as in 9. 323 some have "vastabo" for "vasta dabo," varieties which support Lambinus' "nuda dabant" for "nudabant" in Lucr. 3. 970. The imperfects are intended to show that while he was speaking he moved neither hand nor eye. Virg. doubtless took his description from Od. 3. 281, where Menelaus' pilot dies by a visitation of Apollo in the performance of his duty, πηδάλιον μετὰ χερσὶ θεούσης νηὸς ἔχοντα. Comp. also Od. 5. 270 foll., αὐτὰρ ὁ πηδαλίῳ ἰθύνετο τεχνηέντως, Ἥμενος· οὐδέ οἱ ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἔπιπτεν. For 'clavum' Med. a m. p. gives 'clavo,' a natural variation, which might also be accounted for by the form 'clavom,' found in Pal. a m. p. and adopted by Ribbeck.

853.] For 'nusquam' one MS. (Hamb. 1 a m. sec.) gives 'numquam,' which Wagn. was inclined to adopt: but Forb. rightly refers to Hand Turs. 4, p. 349, where however the most apposite parallel, Plaut. Bacch. 5. 2. 84, rests on a false or doubtful reading. 'Nusquam discedere' is a phrase found more than once in Cic. where we might have expected 'numquam' (Att. 5. 11): and so Virg. has already used 'nusquam abero' 2. 620. There is however generally some little force in the substitution, which here there can hardly be said to be.

854.] A branch is used by the god as the best instrument for sprinkling, as by Medea Apoll. R. 4. 156 foll. in putting the dragon to sleep. Heyne reminds us of the lustral bough, 6. 230. For the image of dew used in connexion with sleep see on 1. 692. ['Letheo' Pal. and Rom.—H. N.]

855.] 'Soporare,' to affect with sleep, is commonly applied to making persons drowsy, more rarely, as here and 6. 420, to imparting soporific properties. The transition is sufficiently natural, especially in poetry, and may be illustrated by Shakspeare's 'insane root that takes the reason prisoner.' No illustration has been quoted of this supposed soporific effect of the waters of Styx. Perhaps the poet, having mentioned Lethe, added Styx, to show that this was not an ordinary sleep, but a baleful and fatal one. So Serv. "morte plenum."

856.] 'Cunctanti' of resistance 6. 211, G. 2. 236. Heyne rightly remarks that sleep may be said with equal propriety to bind or to relax the eyes. Comp. 9. 189 "somno vinoque soluti," 10. 418 "leto canentia lumina solvit." Here there is a

Vix primos inopina quies laxaverat artus:
Et superincumbens cum puppis parte revolsa
Cumque gubernaclo liquidas proiecit in undas
Praecipitem ac socios nequiquam saepe vocantem;
Ipse volans tenuis se sustulit ales ad auras.
Currit iter tutum non setius aequore classis,
Promissisque patris Neptuni interrita fertur.
Iamque adeo scopulos Sirenum advecta subibat,
Difficilis quondam multorumque ossibus albos,
Tum rauca adsiduo longe sale saxa sonabant:
Cum pater amisso fluitantem errare magistro

special propriety in the image, as opposed to the unremitting tension which Palinurus had kept up. "Natantia lumina" G. 4. 496.

857.] 'Vix' followed by 'et' 2. 692 note. Burm. erroneously took 'cum' in v. 858 as 'quum,' which would involve the awkwardness of referring 'superincumbens' to 'quies,' not to speak of other objections. 'Primos' has really the force of 'primum,' as in 1. 723., 3. 69: but it is also meant to be taken of those limbs, or that part of them, which were first affected by sleep. We should say 'sleep had scarcely begun to relax his limbs,' looking at the process as separable into parts, though the effect of each part would extend equally to the whole body: Virg. chooses to suppose one part of the body affected before another.

858.] We need not, with one or two of the later editors, press Virg., as if the breaking away of the rudder and a part of the stern were unlikely in itself and inconsistent with v. 868, where Aeneas manages to perform the part of pilot. The account is at least consistent with 6. 349 foll.

860.] For 'saepe' Med. and one or two other MSS. read 'voce,' doubtless, as Wagn. remarks, from a recollection of such passages as 6. 506., 10. 873. 'Saepe' is confirmed, as he observes, by 4. 384, "nomine Dido Saepe vocaturum."

861.] Some MSS. (including Pal. and Gud.) give 'in auras,' which would be the stronger expression of the two, 'into the sky' rather than 'sky-ward:' see Wagn. Q. V. 10. 1. 'Ad' is supported by G. 1. 408, "qua se fert Nisus ad auras." 'Sustulit' is connected closely with 'ales,' almost as if it had been "sustulit alis," as in v. 657 above.

862.] 'Currit iter' like "decurre laborem" G. 2. 39. Comp. also A. 3. 191, and v. 235 above. ['Saetius' Rom.—H. N.]

863.] 'Interrita' without fear, because without danger. So perhaps 11. 837 "spectatque interrita pugnas," referring to the position of the spectatress on a mountain. 'Patris:' see on G. 2. 4.

864.] 'Iamque adeo:' 2. 567 note. 'Scopulos:' Hom. (Od. 12. 39 foll., 166 foll.) says nothing about rocks: he speaks of the island of the Sirens, but in detail we hear merely of a meadow, with a pile of human bones. Virg. has apparently introduced 'scopulos' from a wish to rationalize the story, as if the real danger was from shipwreck. Accordingly he drops all mention of the song, employs the epithet 'difficiles' (comp. Cic. Div. Verr. 11, "scopuloso difficilique in loco"), and describes the waves as even then plashing among the rocks. 'Quondam' is another instance (see on 3. 700, 704) of Virg. voluntarily or involuntarily separating the time he is writing of from the old heroic age.

866.] 'Tum' referring to 'iamque,' not contrasted with 'quondam.' 'Rauca' qualifies 'sonabant,' as Wagn. remarks. The recurrence of the hissing sound is doubtless intentional. "Sale saxa peresa" Lucr. 1. 326. Perhaps Virg. imitates Apoll. R. 2. 553, ἤδη δέ σφισι δοῦπος ἀρασσομένων πετράων Νωλεμὲς οὔατ' ἔβαλλε, βόων δ' ἁλιμυρέες ἀκταί.

867.] The sound, and perhaps the unsteady motion of the ship, wake Aeneas, who discovers his loss. 'Fluitantem errare' is perhaps from Lucr. 3. 1052, "Atque animi incerto fluitans errore

Sensit, et ipse ratem nocturnis rexit in undis,
Multa gemens, casuque animum concussus amici:
O nimium caelo et pelago confise sereno,
Nudus in ignota, Palinure, iacebis harena.

vagaris." [Quint. 10. 1. 2. "labor ille carens rectore fluitabit." 'Fluvitantem' Rom.—H. N.]

868.] 'Ratem rexit:' see on v. 161 above.

869.] 'Concussus' v. 700 above.

870.] This and the following line are the words of Aeneas, as we learn from the beginning of the next book. Heyne thought them spurious: but the only charge he brings against them, except that of frigidity, is that they are inconsistent with the fact, Palinurus having met his fate precisely because he refused to trust the sea and take his natural rest —a charge at once answered by Aeneas' ignorance of the circumstances of the case. 'Pelago sereno' is a singular expression (in Stat. Silv. 3. 2. 10 the reading is doubtful): but Virg. doubtless felt that 'caelo' paved the way for the extension of the epithet.

871.] 'Nudus et,' an erroneous reading, took possession of the early editions before Pierius. 'Nudus' apparently combines the two notions of uncovered by the water (comp. E. 1. 61, "Et freta destituent nudos in litore pisces") and unburied. Comp. Soph. Ant. 409, πᾶσαν κόνιν σήραντες ἣ κατεῖχε τὸν νέκυν, μυδῶν τε σῶμα γυμνώσαντες εὖ. 'Ignota' as opposed to a grave in his own country. To be buried in a foreign land would have been a sorrow (comp. Soph. El. 1141. Catull. 68. 99 &c.): to lie unburied in a foreign land was sorrow upon sorrow. 'Harena' is significant, as the corpse would be thrown up on the shore, and lie there. [There is a difficulty about the position of the last two lines. Servius says, "Sciendum sane Tuccam et Varium hunc finem quinti esse voluisse: nam a Vergilio duo versus huic iuncti fuerunt: unde in non nullis antiquis codicibus sexti initium est 'obvertunt pelago proras.'" I have no doubt that this story about Varius and Tucca's alteration of Virgil's arrangement is as much a fiction as the similar one which I have examined on 2. 567 foll., and was invented by the late critics to justify their own proceeding in transferring these two lines from the beginning of the sixth book to the end of the fifth. Indeed the note of Servius on 6. 1 lets the cat out of the bag. "Sane sciendum *licet primos duos versus Probus et alii in quinti reliquerint fine*, prudenter ad initium sexti esse translatos: nam et coniunctio poematis melior est, et Homerus etiam sic inchoavit, ὣς φάτο δάκρυ χέων." Ti. Donatus recognizes v. 871 as the last line of the fifth book. Conington explained the story by supposing, with Conrads (see Introduction to this Book), "that the present book is an afterthought, Virg. having originally intended to bring Aeneas direct from Carthage to Italy. In that case," he continued, "vv. 1, 2 of Book 6 really belong to the later draught, and in that sense are separable from the lines which they at present precede. As the poem now stands, no reader of taste will, I think, wish to disturb the arrangement of the ordinary editions, supplying as it does an affecting close to the book, which would be spoiled by carrying our thoughts on to Aeneas' safe arrival. The apparent abruptness of the opening of the next book, 'Sic fatur,' is doubtless due to an imitation of the opening of Il. 7, Od. 13. In concluding Book 3 Virg. chose an opposite course: but his object there was precisely the contrary: he did not wish his readers to dwell on Aeneas' last words about the death of Anchises, and so purposely carried them farther, that they might end with a sense of repose."—H. N.]

P. VERGILI MARONIS

AENEIDOS

LIBER SEXTUS.

THE celebrity of the Sixth Book of the Aeneid is one of those broad and acknowledged facts before which minute criticism is almost powerless. There is indeed no part of the work which more completely exemplifies the characteristics of Virgil as a poetical artist. He appears not only to reproduce Homer, but to absorb him. Aeneas sees all, or nearly all, that Ulysses sees, his parent, his friends, his enemies, and the heroes and heroines of previous legend: but he sees much more besides. The bare and shadowy outlines of the Homeric *νεκυία* are filled in with details unquestionably elaborate and apparently precise. Instead of a place of simply ghostly existence, where suffering and doing seem to be the exceptions, and dreary, objectless being the rule, we have a territory mapped out and sharply divided; a neutral region for those who are unfortunate rather than blameworthy, a barred and bolted prison-house of torture for the bad, a heroic Valhalla for prowess, genius, and worth. All that later Greek religion and philosophy taught by legend, allegory, and symbol is pressed into the service of poetry, and made to contribute to the production of a grand and impressive picture. As a climax to the whole, the Pythagorean doctrine of transmigration is invoked for the purpose of showing Aeneas the vision of the future, as he has already seen the vision of the past. He beholds the spirits that are to appear in each as actors in the great drama of Roman history, each even now wearing his historical form: and the line of worthies ends with the young hope of the nation, whose untimely death was still fresh in the memory of his countrymen when the poet wrote.

Yet, if we approach this wonderful production in detail, we meet with much that appears to us not only unaccountable or presumably wrong, but demonstrably inconsistent or confused. It is not merely, as Mr. Gladstone complains,[1] that "the Inferno of Virgil has no consistent or veracious relation to any idea of the future or unseen state actually operative among mankind." To what extent this charge is true is, as we shall see, a difficult question; but admitting it not to be wholly groundless, we may urge that a mythological poem of the Augustan age could not have the same relation to the real beliefs or anticipations of its readers as the Odyssey, with its absence of philosophy and its comparative uniformity of legend. The defects I allude to are such as vitiate not so much the spirit of the work as about which Virgil is generally more careful, the external structure. Some of these indeed are merely of

[1] Homeric Studies, vol. iii. p. 515.

the nature of those which we have already encountered in earlier parts of the poem. In the opening of the book, while we admire the description of the temple of Cumae and the ravings of the Sibyl, and confess that Virgil has there taken full and worthy advantage of a supposed form of the supernatural which in Homer's time was only in its infancy, we must yet feel the awkwardness with which the Homeric Elpenor is introduced first as Misenus above ground, then as Palinurus below, when a single drowned friend would have been sufficient both to delay Aeneas' descent and to meet him on the threshold of the shades. So again it is not clear whether it is to rapidity and indirectness of narrative or to carelessness that we are to impute the apparent inconsistency between the intimations that these rivers, one of them ninefold, had to be passed by any one wishing to penetrate into the infernal world, and the circumstantial detail which would lead us to suppose that Aeneas only crossed one, and that only once. But the inconsistency of treatment becomes more serious as we advance farther into the book. The lower world, as was said just now, is divided by Virgil into a neutral region, a place of torment, and a place of happiness. The two latter present no difficulty: the conception of the former is not so satisfactory. The general notion seems to be that it is the receptacle of those who, not having fulfilled their natural time of life, cannot be pronounced good or bad. This is Addison's view,[2] and it appears to satisfy the requirements of the passage as well as any that can be suggested: but it does not show the poet to have formed a consistent conception. Indeed, Virgil himself may be said to point out to us an incongruity in the picture he has drawn, when he introduces the class of persons who have suffered death by unjust sentences. We are ready at once to ask whether it is not the business of the tribunal of the other world to rectify the inequality of earthly judgments: and lest the thought should not occur to us, Virgil suggests it himself by telling us that the cases of these misjudged sufferers are reheard below. The natural conclusion would be that, after this rehearing, the spirits, now truly judged, are sent to Tartarus or Elysium: but of this not a word is said, and we are left to suppose that they remain in the dubious limbo where we first find them. But the doubt, once raised, extends farther, and we ask whether the infallible Minos could not pronounce on the real character of all who have been prematurely cut off. A further question arises as to the nature of premature death. Tartarus, as afterwards described, contains many who have died before their time by the visitation of heaven. Is it intended that the Mourning Fields should contain all who have suffered by human vengeance? Eriphyle is there; would Virgil have ventured to introduce Clytaemnestra? Again, what is to be said of the heroes, who occupy the extreme part of this neutral region? It is not expressly stated that they died in war: we merely hear of them as 'bello clari.' 'The pale spectre of Adrastus' happens to be the spirit of the only one of the Seven against Thebes who survived the expedition. But even if we suppose that Virgil's general conception is that of slain warriors, can we say that he is consistent with himself in placing slain warriors in a condition neither of torment nor of happiness? There are heroes in Elysium; there are those who suffered wounds in battle for their country. But among the heroes in the neutral region there are found not only the assailants of Troy, but its defenders. Was theirs not a patriotic cause? or are we to distinguish those who were merely wounded from those who were killed, and say that the former earned Elysium by their subsequent lives?

Such are some of the questions that may be raised about the earlier part of this Book. But they are as nothing to the grand difficulty which the poet has chosen to create by his philosophy of transmigration. The doctrine is a sublime one, and well

[2] Works, vol. ii. p. 300, quarto edition, 1721 (cited by Warburton).

adapted for poetry: but it is quite incompatible with the conception that pervades the rest of the description of the lower world. The neutral region, Tartarus, and Elysium, all dissolve before it. They exist on the assumption that departed spirits remain in a fixed state, each preserving its own individuality. The later doctrine takes all spirits alike as soon as they have been separated from the body, puts them through a thousand years' purgation, and then sends most of them to reanimate other frames. We hear not of good or bad lives, but of the necessary stains which the ethereal spirit contracts from its imprisonment in clay. According to this doctrine, Dido and Deiphobus, Salmoneus and the Lapithae, ought to have undergone a prolonged purification, with a prospect of resigning their identity and becoming other personages in later ages. Some indeed, of whom Anchises is the type, are apparently exempted from this general law, and made to inhabit Elysium immediately after their expiation: but the exemption seems to proceed from a different feeling from that which established the law, and at any rate it leaves the great majority of spirits involved in the migratory cycle. There is inconsistency also in the manner in which the picture of the migration is presented. While Virgil is expounding his doctrine he is clear: when he comes to paint it in its results he becomes confused. The spirits that are to be Romans are spirits that have inhabited other bodies. Why do we hear every thing about their future, nothing about their past? It may be said that they have drunk Lethe and left the past behind. This may hold good of Silvius and one or two others who are just on the threshold of a new life on earth: but does it accord with the presumable condition of the later Roman worthies, such as Augustus himself? They have had their thousand years of purgation: how are they to spend the remaining thousand years before they become living men? And what is to be the condition of Silvius and the earlier posterity of Aeneas after they have fulfilled their new term on earth? Will they reappear in successive generations as later Romans? These are inquiries which the Pythagorean doctrine suggests, and which, if treated in an independent manner, and not brought into connexion with beliefs with which it has nothing to do, it might perhaps have answered. After this, it is comparatively unimportant to notice the difficulty which many critics have felt about the two gates of sleep, their want of congruity with the topography of the rest of the book, and the absence of any reason why Aeneas and the Sibyl should be dismissed by the ivory gate. This last question is answered, though with some hesitation, by Gibbon and Heyne, who remark that corporeal visitants could not be dismissed by the horn gate, not being 'true shades.' The reply is obvious, that if they are not 'true shades,' neither are they 'false dreams,' and that the inappropriateness of one mode of exit does not prove the appropriateness of the other, or excuse Virgil for having created so inopportune an alternative.

I must not conclude without saying a few words on Warburton's once celebrated hypothesis, that Aeneas' descent into the shades is an allegorical description of his initiation into the mysteries, a process which, it is contended, in pursuance of the argument of the Divine Legation, was part of the training of every heathen legislator, such as Aeneas is assumed to be. That hypothesis was controverted, as is well known, in a characteristic essay by Gibbon, who was probably repelled not more by the arrogant dogmatism of the untrained scholar than by the zeal of the ecclesiastic in proving that even pagan times witnessed to the alliance between religion and civil government. A reader of the present day will, I think, be induced to award the palm of learning and ingenuity to Warburton. He deals indeed largely in unproved assumptions, which his skilful adversary is not slow to expose; but he has succeeded in investing his theory with considerable plausibility, suggesting by its help explanations of points in Virgil's narrative which it is not easy to clear up otherwise. The theory in its totality is sufficiently alien from the spirit of modern criticism. No one who regards Virgil as my readers have, I trust, seen reason to regard him, will suspect

him of intending an elaborate and sustained allegory in this book any more than in the whole poem. Aeneas is not an anticipation of Augustus, and the descent into the shades is not simply a poetical account of initiation. But Aeneas has many Augustan traits, and it is quite possible that several of Virgil's details, as Heyne admits, if not his general conception, may have been drawn from the mysteries. Gibbon is satisfied to argue that the mysteries being admitted to be "a theatrical representation of all that was believed or imagined of the lower world, it is not surprising that the copy was like the original:" but that "it still remains undetermined whether Virgil intended to describe the original or the copy." This argument really proceeds on an assumption as unwarranted as any of Warburton's, that there was a recognized doctrine on the subject which the mysteries copied faithfully in detail. As a matter of fact, no such authorized description of the state of the dead can be shown to have existed. Classical dictionaries have to compound their accounts of the state of belief on these questions out of many different and indeed discordant materials. Homer says one thing, Pindar another; Plato differs from them both, even when speaking, like them, the language of fable, and the mythe in one of his dialogues differs from the mythe in another. The representation in the mysteries differs circumstantially from other mythical representations that have come down to us; and the question is whether Virgil may not have described the original after the manner of this particular copy. There is some reason to suspect that in certain instances this was actually the case. Virgil's Elysium, as Warburton has pointed out, is like that sketched by Aristophanes in the Frogs, and expressly identified by him with the happy state of the initiated. The inexplicable golden bough perhaps receives more light from the "palma auro subtiliter foliata," which was carried in the mysteries of Isis, than from any other parallel that has been adduced. Nay, we may even believe with Warburton that in describing the descent of Aeneas Virgil may have thought of the initiation of Augustus, and that here as elsewhere, while adopting an incident from Homer, the poet may have had ulterior purposes of his own. The supposition is shadowy and conjectural; but the thought in itself is one which might not unnaturally have found place in that assemblage of antiquarian recollections, philosophical fancies, patriotic feelings, and courtly sentiments which acted as the motive power on Virgil's imagination. Gibbon objects that Aeneas is no legislator: but though he performs no acts of legislation in the Aeneid, his spirit is legislatorial throughout: he is the repository of traditions which are to be handed down to his posterity, and his destiny, as declared by Jupiter, is to found institutions as well as walls. Nor need we be concerned to defend Virgil from the charge of having made disclosures which would have led Horace to renounce his friendship. Warburton's thoroughgoing adherence to his theory obliged him to suppose that the poet of the Aeneid had actually been initiated, a supposition which Gibbon rightly rejects as resting on no evidence. But the circumstances connected with initiation were one thing, and the grand secret itself another: and while the latter has been so successfully preserved as to have perished with its depositaries, the former meet us openly in ancient literature, in allusion or in detail, so that we may be sure that they were perfectly at the service of any uninitiated poet who chose to avail himself of them to garnish and authenticate his narrative.

Sic fatur lacrimans, classique inmittit habenas,
Et tandem Euboicis Cumarum adlabitur oris.
Obvertunt pelago proras; tum dente tenaci
Ancora fundabat navis, et litora curvae
Praetexunt puppes. Iuvenum manus emicat ardens
Litus in Hesperium; quaerit pars semina flammae
Abstrusa in venis silicis, pars densa ferarum
Tecta rapit silvas, inventaque flumina monstrat.

1—8.] 'Aeneas lands at Cumae, and his crew prepare for a meal.'

1.] [From this point to v. 158 the commentary of Ti. Donatus is lost.—H. N.] On this and the next line see note at the end of Book 5. 'Sic fatur lacrimans' is Hom.'s ὣς φάτο δάκρυ χέων (Il. 1. 357). 'Classi inmittit habenas' means that he spread his sails to the wind. Ladewig remarks that Virg. himself supplies a comment on the words in a later passage, 8. 707, "Ipsa videbatur ventis regina vocatis Vela dare, et laxos iam iamque inmittere funis." Henry says in his "Twelve Years' Voyage," &c. [though he has now given up this explanation], "This is the ordinary metaphor (as A. 5. 662, Lucr. 5. 787, Ov. M. 1. 280), but is here peculiarly appropriate, the 'habenae' of a ship being its 'rudentes' (sheets), which required to be let loose or slacked in order to allow the sails to be filled with the wind and the vessel to go at full speed."

2.] Comp. 3. 131, 569. 'Euboicis:' "Cumani ab Chalcide Euboica originem trahunt," Livy 8. 22. The colonization from Euboea was subsequent to Aeneas' time: but Virg. as usual thinks of his own age. 'Cymarum' is the reading of Rom. ['Immittit' Rom.—H. N.]

3.] The custom in the heroic times was to stop rowing so as to land stern foremost, the head of the vessel being turned to the sea for greater convenience in departure. Ruhkopf refers to Gronovius, Obss. 4. 26. [Cic. Aratea 376 (Orelli): "cum coeptant tutis contingere portus, *Obvertunt* navem magno cum pondere nautae."—H. N.]

4.] 'Fundare puppim' in this sense is found in Claudian, De Mall. Cons. 113, who however probably imitates Virg. Elsewhere it is used for making a bottom to a ship: see Forc. 'fundatus.' A difficulty remains about the use of the imperfect, which is perhaps to be explained by supposing that the mooring of the several ships would occupy some time, and so may be represented as a continuing act.

5.] The keels fringe, or, as we should say, line, the shore towards which they are turned. "Emicat in currum" 12. 327.

6.] Comp. the landing in Africa 1. 174, where Achates strikes fire from a flint. 'Semina flammae:' σπέρμα πυρός Od. 5. 490. Lucr. talks of "ignis semina" 6. 160, 206.

7.] "Ut silicis venis abstrusum excuderet ignem" G. 1. 135.

8.] It is questioned whether 'densa ferarum Tecta rapit silvas' refers to scouring the woods for game, water, &c., or to stripping them for fuel. 'Rapit' in the latter case would be parallel to "rapiunt incensa feruntque Pergama" 2. 374, in the former to "campum sonipes rapit" Stat. Theb. 5. 3. Heyne objects to the latter interpretation that in that case 'densa ferarum tecta' would be mere bombast. But the parallel which he himself quotes, v. 179 below "Itur in antiquam silvam, stabula alta ferarum," makes for the view which he censures. Wild beasts are mentioned there, though the object of going to the woods is not to take game but to hew timber, so that there seems no reason why they should not be mentioned here, though the object is only to get fuel. In the one passage we hear of "stabula *alta*," as our attention is meant to be drawn to the size of the trees: in the other of 'tecta *densa*,' as we are meant (so it may be urged) to think of the thickness of the foliage. "Lignatio" was a common military occupation, and is naturally classed with "aquatio." If we suppose the pursuit of game to be meant, we may compare Aeneas' deer-slaying 1. 184 foll. 'Inventa monstrat' = "invenit et monstrat." [In support of the interpretation 'tears and carries away trees' Henry aptly quotes Sil. 3. 189, "Ecce iugis *rapiens silvas, ac robora vasto Contorta amplexu*

At pius Aeneas arces, quibus altus Apollo
Praesidet, horrendaeque procul secreta Sibyllae,
Antrum immane, petit, magnam cui mentem animumque
Delius inspirat vates aperitque futura.
Iam subeunt Triviae lucos atque aurea tecta.

. . . Ater letifero stridebat turbine serpens," and Stat. Theb. 7. 625, "mox rapuit nemus, et montes patefecit opacos."—H. N.]

9—39.] 'Aeneas goes to consult the Sibylline oracle. He stands gazing at the sculptures on the door of the adjoining temple of Apollo, where Daedalus, its builder, had represented his own story. While he is thus engaged, the Sibyl arrives and bids him sacrifice.'

9.] It is worth while to compare Virg.'s account of Aeneas' interview with the Sibyl with Ovid's (M. 14. 101—157), a large part of which is occupied by the Sibyl's own story, told by herself to Aeneas in the course of a conversation with which, as we are told, they beguile the hardships of their journey. We must remember however that Ovid's business is to tell marvellous stories, and that the Sibyl's naturally came in as one of these. Henry is doubtless right in regarding the Sibyl's cave as the adytum of the temple of Apollo, in opposition to Heyne and Wagn., who make the two independent and at some distance from each other. He cites the parallel instance of Delphi. "The hill of Cumae," he says, "is a nearly circular or orbicular hill, rising from the plain, and on one side overhanging the sea." On the lower part of this hill, on one of the sides not next the sea, he places the sacred grove, 'Triviae lucos;' on the sloping part of the hill a hypaethral temple, having the grove on both sides and in front: in the front sculptured doors: on the fourth or hinder side, consisting merely of the bare perpendicular rock of the hill, a number of other doors, leading into a vast cave in the substance of the rock. 'Arces' seems to point to the hilly position as well as to the height of the temple. "Altus Apollo" 10. 875, where majesty seems the prominent notion. Here it would be difficult to exclude the notion of physical elevation, already indicated by 'arces' (comp. "alta sedet" 11. 837): perhaps also height of stature is intended. This would agree with the fact, mentioned by Serv. on the authority of Caelius, that the statue of Apollo at Cumae was fifteen feet high.

10.] 'Horrendae' seems rightly taken by Forb. in its strict sense, as the aspect of the Sibyl under the divine afflatus might well inspire horror: comp. vv. 47 foll., 77 foll. 'Procul' is explained by Heyne and Wagn., in conformity with their general view, of the distance of the cave from the temple: by Henry, of the distance of both from the place where Aeneas landed. Perhaps it rather denotes the depth of the cavern, stretching far into the distance. 'Secreta' 8. 463, G. 4. 403.

11.] 'Mentem animumque' is doubtless the Homeric κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν, as Cerda and others have remarked, 'mens' referring to the power of insight, 'animus' to energy of conception, language, and gesture, as Forb. says. The rhythm and expression are from Lucr. 1. 74: see Munro there, who regards the words as a mere poetical tautology. But there is still a question, which Heyne states, as to the construction of 'inspirat,'—whether it means that Apollo breathes a mind and spirit into the Sibyl, or, as we should say, inspires her mind and spirit, i. e. with the knowledge of the future. If we adopt the latter, which Heyne prefers, we must take 'magnam' closely with 'inspirat,'= "magnopere," as 'multa' 4. 3 = "saepe." But though 'inspirare aliquem aliqua re' is doubtless an admissible construction, the instances quoted by Forc. are both from later writers ("quibus viribus inspirat" Quint. 12. 10, "qui inspirari solent fatuari dicuntur" Justin 43. 1), while the conception of 'mens' as a thing communicated is abundantly supported by such passages as 1. 304., 12. 554, G. 3. 267.

12.] 'The Delian prophet' is not an unmeaning description of Apollo here, as it implies that the same power which is manifested at Delos is manifested at Cumae. As Heyne remarks, Apollo is Jupiter's prophet, just as the Sibyl is Apollo's: comp. 3. 251, Aesch. Eum. 19. 616 foll.

13.] They enter first the grove that

Daedalus, ut fama est, fugiens Minoia regna,
Praepetibus pinnis ausus se credere caelo,
Insuetum per iter gelidas enavit ad Arctos,
Chalcidicaque levis tandem super adstitit arce.
Redditus his primum terris, tibi, Phoebe, sacravit
Remigium alarum, posuitque immania templa.
In foribus letum Androgeo; tum pendere poenas
Cecropidae iussi—miserum!—septena quot annis

surrounds or abuts the temple, then the temple itself.

14.] For Daedalus and the stories connected with him see Dict. Myth. The bulk of tradition seems to point to Sicily as the place where he took refuge after leaving Crete: but Sardinia was also mentioned as a spot to which he went. Italy as well as the adjoining islands would naturally associate his name with its works of art: and so Sil. 12. 102 makes him the builder of a temple of Apollo at Capua, under circumstances similar to those in the text—one of Silius' many imitations of Virg. 'Regna' probably includes the government as well as the kingdom. At any rate 'Minoia' is significant, as it was on Minos' account that Daedalus fled from Crete.

15.] Virg. might have spoken of flying as either trusting to wings or trusting to the sky. Here he has chosen the latter, 'pinnis' being the instrumental abl. This is better than to make 'pinnis' dat., 'caelo' abl., whether 'caelo' be connected in that case with what precedes, or, as Heyne suggested and Wakef. punctuates, with what follows. "Credunt caelo" G. 4. 192 is different: see note there. 'Praepetibus' here merely means 'swift,' and has no augurial reference.

16.] We have already had 'nare' and one of its compounds used of flying. 4. 245, G. 4. 59. But Virg. may have been thinking of Lucr. 3. 591, "Quam prolapsa foras enaret in aëris auras," of the soul quitting the body. 'Gelidas ad Arctos' has perplexed the commentators: but Wagn. after Hand. Turs. 1, p. 82, seems right in explaining it as meaning no more than that Daedalus flew northward, which would be the case whether we think of his rising from the ground, or of the position of Cumae as north of Crete.

17.] Med. exhibits traces of a reading 'arcem,' which Heins. prefers. 'Chalcidica:' see above on v. 2. [Med. has 'Calchidica.'—H. N.] 'Levis' of easy motion, 5. 819, = 'volans.' 'Arce:' "the ancient citadel or arx (still called the *Rocca di Cuma*), an isolated and precipitous rock, very difficult of access, and on that account regarded as a very strong fortress:" Dict. G. 'Cumae.' 'Adstitit' 1. 301 note. ['Astitit' Pal., 'atstitit' Med.—H. N.]

18.] 'Redditus' &c. gives the reason of what follows. This being the place where he alighted, he paid a thank-offering to Apollo here. One MS. gives 'hic,' which Burm. prefers and Heyne approves: but Wagn. rightly remarks that 'his' is more poetical, as it includes 'hic.' Comp. 1. 534 note. With 'primum' Wagn. comp. 3. 209, "Servatum ex undis Strophadum me litora primum Accipiunt."

19.] Daedalus hangs up his wings, as a mariner rescued from shipwreck hangs up his garments, or a soldier the arms which he has used for the last time. 'Remigium alarum' 1. 301 note. Cerda is doubtless right in regarding the temple also as a votive offering. 'Posuit templa' G. 3. 13.

20.] For sculptures on the door of a temple comp. G. 3. 26 note. 'Letum' (erat): for Androgeus and the different accounts of his death see Dict. Myth. s. v. For the spelling 'Androgeo' or 'Androgei' see on 2. 371. Here the majority of MSS. (Med., Pal., Rom., &c.) is for the Latin genitive, 'Androgeo' being only found in later copies: but the grammarians (Serv., Charisius, Priscian, Probus) are for the Greek form here, and I have followed Wagn. in restoring it, though with considerable hesitation. 'Tum' indicates that the Athenians sending their children to death was a second subject represented. How it was represented may be gathered from v. 22, "stat ductis sortibus urna." With 'pendere poenas' comp. Catull. 64. 173, "Indomito nec dira ferens stipendia tauro," of the Minotaur.

21.] 'Miserum' interjectional, like 'in-

Corpora natorum; stat ductis sortibus urna.
Contra elata mari respondet Gnosia tellus:
Hic crudelis amor tauri, suppostaque furto
Pasiphae, mixtumque genus prolesque biformis
Minotaurus inest, Veneris monimenta nefandae;
Hic labor ille domus et inextricabilis error;
Magnum reginae sed enim miseratus amorem
Daedalus, ipse dolos tecti ambagesque resolvit,
Caeca regens filo vestigia. Tu quoque magnam
Partem opere in tanto, sineret dolor, Icare, haberes.
Bis conatus erat casus effingere in auro;

fandum,' 'nefas,' &c. Heinsius' latest notion that it could stand for 'miserorum' is contrary to Virg.'s usage: see on 3. 704. 'Septena:' the story mentioned seven youths and seven maidens: but Virg. has chosen only to name the former. ['Quodannis' Pal., Rom., and originally Med.—H. N.]

22.] 'Corpora natorum:' see on 2. 18. The force of the periphrasis here is the same as when in the writ of Habeas Corpus the body of a prisoner is required to be produced. 'Stat ductis sortibus urna' = "stat urna, et sortes inde ducuntur." Comp. G. 2. 141, "Invertere satis dentibus."

23.] 'Respondet,' like 'contra,' implies that the sculpture of Crete was a pendant to the sculpture of Athens, as Henry remarks. 'Elata mari:' see on 5. 588. Pal. has 'Cnosia'.

24.] We need not inquire how many of the subjects hinted at by Virg. were separately represented. It is sufficient to say that there was a plurality of sculptures in the Cretan part, as there had been in the Athenian. 'Crudelis amor' E. 10. 29. Here the epithet is meant to excite our pity for Pasiphae as a victim, as she actually was, the passion having been Venus' revenge on her for revealing the goddess' adultery with Mars. 'Furto' = "furtim" 4. 337. Comp. 7. 283, "Supposita de matre nothos furata creavit."

25.] 'Mixtum genus' is explained by 'proles biformis.'

26.] "'Veneris nefandae,' nefandi amoris" Heyne. 'Monimenta,' pl. for sing., referring only to the Minotaur. The licence is one of the many metrical licences of Roman epic poetry. ['Monumenta' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

27.] Forb. would make 'domus' nom. in apposition to 'labor,' like 7. 248, "Iliadumque labor vestes:" but it is doubtless gen., probably to be explained as definitive (Madv. § 286), like "opus Academicorum," "familia Scipionum." The labour is that of Daedalus, not, as Heyne thought, that of the wanderers in the labyrinth. Perhaps also 'domus' is to be constructed with 'error' as in Catull. 64. 115, which Virg. had in his mind. "Tecti frustraretur inobservabilis error," though the construction would not be quite the same as that with 'labor.' "Falleret indeprensus et inremeabilis error" 5. 591.

28.] Virg. recapitulates the heads of the story briefly, and, to one unacquainted with it, unintelligibly. 'Magnum reginae amorem' is not, what it would seem from the context it must mean, the passion of the queen Pasiphae, but that of the princess Ariadne. (Comp. 1. 273: so Valerius Flaccus uses it repeatedly of Medea: see Forc.). 'Sed enim' 1. 19 note, 2. 164. ['Set' Med.—H. N.]

29.] 'Ipse:' the framer of the puzzle consented to solve it. 'Dolos tecti' like "tecti error" Catull. l. c.: comp. also 5. 590.

30.] 'Vestigia,' not his own footsteps, but those of Theseus—another instance of Virg.'s ambiguity. The expression is from Catull. v. 113, "Errabunda regens tenui vestigia filo," where Theseus is the subject of the sentence. Comp. also 3. 659.

31.] "Opere in tali" Lucr. 6. 815. On the construction 'sineret dolor' see Madv. § 442 a. obs. 2. 'Icare, haberes' is omitted by Rom. and some other MSS. Ribbeck thinks on account of the length of the line.

32.] 'Conatus erat,' Daedalus, whose name has to be inferred from the context, especially 'patriae manus.' 'Effingere

Bis patriae cecidere manus. Quin protinus omnia
Perlegerent oculis, ni iam praemissus Achates
Adforet atque una Phoebi Triviaeque sacerdos,
Deiphobe Glauci, fatur quae talia regi:
Non hoc ista sibi tempus spectacula poscit;
Nunc grege de intacto septem mactare iuvencos
Praestiterit, totidem lectas de more bidentis.

in auro:' "caelata in auro facta" 1. 640.

33.] 'Patriae manus' like "patrius amor" 1. 643. 'Protinus,' successively, G. 4. 1. The choice lies between regarding 'omnia' as a dactyl, and compressing it into a spondee by synizesis: a hypermeter, which Macrob. Sat. 5. 14 talks of, is not to be thought of, as in the case of other hypermetric verses in Virg. the following line began with a vowel. See on G. 2. 69. The hypothesis of a dactylic ending would not be impossible in itself, but becomes highly improbable in the face of the fact that of all the possible instances in Virg. some, like G. 2. 69., 3. 449, may be regarded as hypermeters; others, like the present one and 7. 237, may be resolved by synizesis. 'Omnia' then will be a disyllable like "taeniis" 5. 269. Copyists sought to get rid of the anomaly by substituting 'omne' (actually found in Rom.), 'omnem,' 'omnes,' as in 7. 237 they substituted "precantum," "precantis" for "precantia."

34.] Terentius Scaurus in his treatise De Orthographia p. 2260 P. contends that Virg. wrote 'pellegerent,' a form printed by Ritschl in some passages in Plautus on MS. authority. For the rhetorical use of the imperf. for the pluperf. see Madv. § 347 b. obs. 2. The plural is used because Aeneas had several companions with him: comp. vv. 13, 41, 54. 'Praemissus,' sent on by Aeneas, that the Sibyl might be ready for him on his arrival at the temple. "Praemittit Achaten" 1. 644. 'Iam' probably with 'adforet' rather than with 'praemissus.'

35.] "Phoebi Triviaeque sacerdos" 10. 537, of Haemonides. Holdsworth and Spence (Miscellanea Virgiliana, pp. 207 foll.) distinguish between the priestess and the Sibyl, who, they say, being a goddess, required some other person to introduce worshippers to her. But their distinction is not really borne out by Virg., who must have intended the same person in vv. 46 foll. and 77 foll., a patent fact which they are compelled to deny. The Sibyl is nowhere called a goddess by Virg., as in v. 258 'dea' is Hecate: she is called a priestess v. 321, as they admit. It is true, as they assert, that in Silius Italicus, Book 13, where Scipio goes down into the shades, he deals in the first instance not with the Sibyl, but with the priestess Autonoe: but Silius' Sibyl is not alive, but dead: she is like Homer's Tiresias, who drinks the blood of the victim, and then acquires the power of speech, and tells the visitor what he wishes to know. They object that Deiphobe the daughter of Glaucus was not the Sibyl's name; but there were several Sibyls, and the Cumaean Sibyl in particular had several names (Dict. Myth. 'Sibylla'), so that Virg. may have followed some legend unknown to us, or may have thought himself at liberty to invent a name. On the whole subject see Heyne's Excursus. Glaucus, as the commentators remark, is a natural personage to be a Sibyl's father, being himself a prophetic god. ['Afforet' Rom.—H. N.]

36.] 'Regi' of Aeneas, as in v. 55, &c. Some MSS. leave out 'fatur—regi.'

37.] 'Poscunt' is found in Rom., and is the earlier reading of Med. The editors think it intrinsically inferior to 'poscit:' but there is little difference between making the time call for the thing to be done, and making the thing to be done call for the time. It might even be urged that as 'non' apparently goes not with 'ista' but with 'hoc,' the latter is here the more natural expression. 'Poscit' however is more likely to have been altered into 'poscunt' than vice versa, as copyists are apt to alter the number to make the verb agree with the noun immediately preceding. See Wagn. Q. V. 8. Serv. recommends 'poscit.'

38.] 'Intacto' by the yoke, more fully expressed G. 4. 540 (note) by "intacta cervice." The sacrifice is to Apollo and Diana.

39.] 'Praestiterit:' the subj. has the force of the Attic optative with ἄν, courteously avoiding a direct and dogmatic

Talibus adfata Aenean—nec sacra morantur
Iussa viri—Teucros vocat alta in templa sacerdos.
Excisum Euboicae latus ingens rupis in antrum,
Quo lati ducunt aditus centum, ostia centum;
Unde ruunt totidem voces, responsa Sibyllae.
Ventum erat ad limen, cum virgo, Poscere fata
Tempus, ait; deus, ecce, deus! Cui talia fanti
Ante fores subito non vultus, non color unus,
Non comptae mansere comae; set pectus anhelum,
Et rabie fera corda tument; maiorque videri,

assertion. 'Lectas de more bidentis' 4. 57 note. Fragm. Vat. has 'ex more.'

40—55.] 'They pass through the temple towards the adytum, when the Sibyl feels the power of the god, and calls on Aeneas to pray fervently, that the doors may open and the response be given.'

40.] 'Sacra' is a substantive, so that 'iussa sacra' is like "iussos honores" 3. 547, "iussos sapores" G. 4. 62. 'Morantur' then will mean to delay to execute, or execute slowly, as in Val. F. 7. 60, "Haud ipse morabor Quae petitis," possibly an imitation of Virg.

41.] 'Alta in templa:' see on v. 9. They had been standing before the gate, and now are summoned within.

42.] A description, as Henry rightly takes it, not of the temple but of the adytum, which, as at Delphi, was a cavern in the rock. 'Euboicae rupis,' the rock or hill of Cumae: see on v. 9. 'Latus rupis excisum in antrum' is a variety, as Heyne observes, for "antrum excisum in latere rupis."

43.] 'Aditus' and 'ostia' seem rightly explained by Henry as a sort of Virgilian hendiadys, 'aditus per centum lata ostia.' But it is not easy to understand what these entrances were. On the whole the consistency of the description seems to require that we should understand them to be the entrances of the adytum, opening into the temple (comp. 3. 92, where the 'adytum' is opened similarly at the giving of the response): but a hundred doors communicating from one side of the temple to a cavern beyond form a picture which is not readily grasped. Meanwhile the general tenor of the narrative is well illustrated by a graphic description of a worshipper at Delphi approaching the 'adytum' in the Oxford 'Arnold Prize Essay' for 1859, by Sir Charles Bowen. I quote it in an appendix to this book, as it is too long for a note.

44.] 'Ruunt' expresses the general practice: through these doors the responses of the Sibyl are habitually communicated.

45.] 'Limen,' sc. 'antri;' whether identical with any of these doors we are not told. The Sibyl goes into the cave (comp. v. 77); Aeneas and the Trojans remain outside. 'Poscere fata' is explained by what follows, v. 52. The sacrifices had been performed, but prayer was still necessary to obtain the response, and this was the time for prayer, the god having already manifested himself. The words seem to mean 'to ask Apollo for oracles,' 'fata' being used as in 1. 382 &c. Comp. G. 3. 456, "meliora deos sedet omina poscens," and possibly A. 3. 456, where however see note. Elsewhere, as in 7. 272 &c. the fates themselves are said 'poscere.' "Tempus poscere" 9. 12. For the construction see on G. 1. 213.

47.] 'Ante fores' like 'ad limen.' 'Unus' = 'idem,' with which it is not unfrequently joined: see Forc. The sense is not that her countenance and colour keep changing, but that they are different from what they were before. ['Voltus' Pal. originally.—H. N.]

48.] 'Comptae:' Heyne remarks that her hair would be already unbound, as the sacrifice had been made (see on 3. 370), so that Virg. must here mean that the hair stood on end or was tossed about. But we need not press the poet so closely. Unbound or dishevelled hair was usual when a priest or prophet approached the gods: and Virg. has chosen to represent the hair of the Sibyl as becoming disordered at this particular point of the story. ['Sed' Rom. and fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

49.] 'Rabie' with 'tument.' As the

Nec mortale sonans, adflata est numine quando
Iam propiore dei. Cessas in vota precesque
Tros, ait, Aenea? cessas? neque enim ante dehiscent
Attonitae magna ora domus. Et talia fata
Conticuit. Gelidus Teucris per dura cucurrit
Ossa tremor, funditque preces rex pectore ab imo:

forms of the gods and of the dead were supposed to be larger than those of ordinary humanity (see on 2. 773), so the Sibyl seems to increase in stature under the divine afflatus. In less poetical language we should say that she rises to her full height, and every limb is stretched with excitement. The picture is virtually the same as that of Wordsworth's Laodamia, expecting an answer to her prayer:

"Her countenance brightens, and her eye expands:
Her bosom heaves and swells, her stature grows."

'Videri' might be regarded as a historical infinitive, with Serv. and some of the early editors: but Heyne rightly constructs it with 'maior,' as if it were a translation of μείζων εἰσιδεῖν. Wagn. comp. "niveus videri" Hor. 4. Od. 2. 59, "lubricus adspici" Id. 1. Od. 19. 7. Some notion equivalent to 'facta est' must of course be supplied from the context.

50.] 'Sonare' of a person speaking loudly, 12. 529. With the expression generally comp. 1. 328, "haud tibi voltus Mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat." 'Quando' is causal rather than temporal, so that Heyne's suggestion, adopted by Jahn, to place a period at 'sonans,' and connect 'adflata est' with what follows, would be no improvement. With the position of 'quando' comp. 10. 366, "aspera quis natura loci dimittere quando Suasit equos." Serv. explains 'adflata' "nondum deo plena, sed adflata vicinitate numinis;" but 'adflare' and 'adflatus' (subst.) are terms regularly used of divine inspiration (see Forc.), like ἐπιπνεῖν and its cognates.

51.] With 'propiore' comp. the use of 'praesens,' 'adesse,' of divine favour, and the cognate 'propitius.' ['Propriore' Pal.—H. N.] 'Cessas in vota' is a variety for the more ordinary use of 'cessare' with the abl., as in Cic. Sen. 5, "neque unquam in suo studio atque opere cessavit." Forb. comp. "audere in proelia" 2. 347. We should expect the construction 'in' with acc. after a verb signifying tendency to promote an object rather than the reverse: but the explanation doubtless is that the absence of such a tendency is considered to affect the object in question no less than its presence. The phrase is imitated by Sen. Medea 406, "Nunquam meus cessabit in poenas furor." "Vota precesque" 11. 158.

52.] 'Enim' gives the reason why he should pray fervently, and 'ante' refers to fervent prayer as implied in its opposite 'cessas.' 'Dehiscent' is used of the flying open of the doors, in accommodation to 'ora.'

53.] The earlier commentators, following Serv., were satisfied with making 'attonitae' = "facientis attonitos." Later editors, who see that both on poetical and grammatical grounds it is to be understood strictly, the house being conceived of and endowed with human feelings, are still divided as to the force which should be given to it, Heyne and Wagn. referring it to the effect of the sudden opening of the doors, Henry to the spell-bound silence which prevents the opening. On the whole Henry's interpretation seems to give the most consistent and poetical picture. He compares a similar application of the word in Lucan 2. 21, "Sic funere primo Attonitae tacuere domus, cum corpora nondum Conclamata iacent." The Sibyl, in describing the feelings of the 'domus,' is in effect describing her own. The effect of the inspiration is to bewilder and confound her, so that she cannot at first master herself sufficiently to speak; and so now after a hurried injunction to Aeneas she relapses into her stormy silence.

54.] 'Dura:' iron as was the nature of the Trojan warriors, they trembled in every limb. "Gelidusque per ima cucurrit Ossa tremor" 2. 120.

55.] Heins. restored 'fundit' for 'fudit,' the old reading, found in none of Ribbeck's MSS.

Phoebe, gravis Troiae semper miserate labores,
Dardana qui Paridis derexti tela manusque
Corpus in Aeacidae, magnas obeuntia terras
Tot maria intravi duce te penitusque repostas
Massylum gentes praetentaque Syrtibus arva,
Iam tandem Italiae fugientis prendimus oras;
Hac Troiana tenus fuerit Fortuna secuta.
Vos quoque Pergameae iam fas est parcere genti,
Dique deaeque omnes, quibus obstitit Ilium et ingens

56—76.] 'Aeneas invokes Apollo as the patron of Troy and his own guide in his wanderings, praying of him, as of the gods who have hitherto opposed Troy, and of the Sibyl herself, that he may at last be allowed to settle in Latium, and promising a temple to Apollo and Diana. He begs the Sibyl not to write but speak her oracle.'

56.] "O sola infandos Troiae miserata labores" 1. 597.

57.] 'Dardana' in prose would be constructed with 'Paridis' rather than with 'tela:' but it is in any case emphatic, as its position shows. Achilles, the greatest enemy of Troy, had been destroyed by Apollo, and not only this, but destroyed through the instrumentality of a Trojan. The joint agency of Apollo and Paris in the death of Achilles was part of the Homeric tradition, Il. 22. 359, other stories making Paris the sole agent (Dict. M. 'Achilles'). In Ov. M. 12. 580 foll. Apollo, at the instance of Neptune, appears to Paris, encourages him to shoot at Achilles rather than at meaner foes, and guides his aim. 'Derexti:' see on 5. 786. With 'tela manusque,' which may be called a species of hendiadys, the notion being a single one, the hand fixing the arrow or the arrow fixed by the hand, comp. Aesch. Ag. 111, ξὺν δορὶ καὶ χερὶ πράκτορι. ['Direxti' Rom. for 'derexti.'—H. N.]

58.] 'Obire' of surrounding, Ov. M. 5. 51, "chlamydem quam limbus obibat aureus," Forc. So A. 10. 482.

59.] 'Tot' is probably to be explained from the context, and especially from v. 62. 'So many seas as I have entered, it is time that I should rest.' 'Intravi' implies that the seas were previously unknown to him, "hospita aequora," as they are called 3. 373. 'Duce te' need not mean that Apollo showed the way, but merely that he prompted them to sail till they should reach Italy. Comp. "me duce" 10. 92. 'Repostas' 3. 364 note. 'Penitus' is only an extension of the same notion, so that the two words = "longe remotas."

60.] 'Massylum gentes' 4. 132, 483. 'Syrtibus' is not dat. but abl., the expression being i. q. "arva quibus (dat.) Syrtes praetentae sunt." Comp. "praetexit nomine culpam" 4. 172.

61.] On a comparison of 3. 496, 5. 629, it may be doubted whether 'fugientis' is gen. sing., or, as Wagn. suggests, acc. pl. Perhaps it is more like Virg. to separate the noun from its epithet. 'Fugientes' is said to be the reading of eight MSS. examined by Burm. 'Prendimus' may be either present or perf., but the former seems rhetorically preferable. The word is meant to be graphic, expressing a physical grasp of a thing which had nearly slipped away. Comp. 12. 775, "teloque sequi, quem prendere cursu Non poterat." Wagn. (ed. mi.) seems right in exchanging the period usually placed after 'oras' for a semicolon, so as to make v. 62 a kind of apodosis. See on v. 59.

62.] 'Hac' separated from 'tenus,' as in 5. 603. 'Troiana fortuna' is said bitterly, 'Troy's usual fortune.' Gossrau comp. Hor. 3. Od. 3. 61, "Troiae renascens alite lugubri Fortuna tristi clade iterabitur." 'Fuerit,' the perf. subj. used as a past opt. or imperative. 'Let ill-fortune have followed us up to this point, but let her do so no longer.' The use is not quite the same as that of 'fuit' 2. 325, as here the force of the past is partially given by 'hactenus.'

63.] Wagner would write 'Pergamiae:' see on 3. 133. A few MSS. have 'parcite,' which Wakef. adopts.

64.] "Dique deaeque omnes" G. 1. 21. 'Obstare' is here used of that which creates dislike, without any reference to active opposition. So Sil. 17. 541 (quoted by Forb.), "tantumne obstat mea gloria

Gloria Dardaniae. Tuque, o sanctissima vates,
Praescia venturi, da, non indebita posco
Regna meis fatis, Latio considere Teucros
Errantisque deos agitataque numina Troiae.
Tum Phoebo et Triviae solido de marmore templum
Instituam, festosque dies de nomine Phoebi.
Te quoque magna manent regnis penetralia nostris.

-livis?" an obvious imitation of Virg., Pers. 5. 163, "an siccis dedecus obstem Cognatis?" "Ilium et ingens Gloria Teucrorum" 2. 325.

66.] 'Praescius' with gen. is found also in Val. Flaccus and Tac. (see Forc.), on the analogy of 'conscius,' 'inscius,' 'nescius,' &c. 'Da:' for the sense see 3. 85 (note), for the construction 5. 689. Some editions make the parenthesis to end with 'posco,' which Heyne rightly rejects.

67.] It is extremely difficult to say whether 'fatis' is the dat., as Burm. thinks, or the abl., as Peerlkamp and Forb. contend. Either expression would be Virgilian (comp. 7. 120, "fatis mihi debita tellus," with 11. 759 "fatis debitus Arruns"), and either would yield an appropriate sense, as the fates may be represented either as satisfying the requirements of others, or as having their own requirements satisfied (comp. the passages where the fates are said 'poscere,' 4. 614 &c.). Where the fates are identified with an individual, as here by the possessive pronoun 'meis,' they assume as it were a subordinate position (comp. 7. 293, "fatis contraria nostris Fata Phrygum"), and so may be regarded not as causing events, but as demanding their fulfilment from some other power. The question then is whether the Sibyl is here regarded as the person through whom a demand is made on destiny, or on whom the destinies of private persons make their demand. On the whole I think it must be left open, as there seems nothing in the context, in the nature of the case, or in parallel passages to incline the scale either way, though Val. F. 5. 508 (quoted by Forb.), "Non aliena peto terrisve indebita nostris," looks as if that author understood 'fatis' as dative. 'Considere' 4. 349, where as here the names of Italy and the Trojans are contrasted by way of emphasis. Rom. has 'consistere.'

68.] 'Agitata' as in 12. 803, "terris agitare vel undis Troianos potuisti." With the general sense Forb. compares Ilioneus' language 7. 229.

69.] "Ut solet, miscet historiam. Nam hoc templum in Palatio ab Augusto factum est: sed quia Augustus cohaeret Iulio, qui ab Aenea ducebat originem, vult ergo Augustum parentum vota solvisse." Serv. The temple was built in honour of Apollo (Suet. Aug. 29), but it appears from the description in Prop. 3. 23. 15 that the statue of the god stood between statues of Latona and Diana. 'Templum' was restored by Heins. from Med. and Rom. for 'templa' (Pal., Gud. &c.). Henry prefers the latter, but in the parallel instances he quotes the plural is put for the sing. for the metre, which could not be pleaded here: and the change seems due to some copyist who supposed two temples to be intended. "Templum de marmore" 4. 457, G. 3. 13.

70.] 'Instituam' is connected with 'templum' and 'dies' by a kind of zeugma, not unlike "moresque viris et moenia ponet" 1. 264. 'Instituere aras' occurs Val. F. 3. 426. Rom. has 'constituam,' which would suit 'templum,' but not 'dies.' The 'festi dies' are the ludi Apollinares instituted B.C. 212 (Liv. 25. 12).

71.] It might appear at first sight as if Aeneas were promising the Sibyl a temple: but the reference is doubtless to the honours paid by the Romans to the Sibylline books, which were first placed in the Capitol, and afterwards deposited by Augustus under the base of the statue of his Palatine Apollo. The latter is of course especially alluded to. In Ov. M. 14. 128, to which Heyne refers, Aeneas promises the Sibyl a temple in so many words; but she expressly declines the offer. as not being a goddess. 'Penetralia' may possibly point to the secrecy of the place where the books were laid up: but it is often used rather vaguely, and in Sil. 13. 62 it seems to stand for

Hic ego namque tuas sortes arcanaque fata,
Dicta meae genti, ponam, lectosque sacrabo,
Alma, viros. Foliis tantum ne carmina manda,
Ne turbata volent rapidis ludibria ventis;
Ipsa canas oro. Finem dedit ore loquendi.
At, Phoebi nondum patiens, immanis in antro
Bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit
Excussisse deum; tanto magis ille fatigat
Os rabidum, fera corda domans, fingitque premendo.
Ostia iamque domus patuere ingentia centum

a movable shrine, if not for the statue of a deity. 'Manere' of a thing in the future 7. 319 &c.

72.] 'Hic,' i. e. 'regnis nostris.' 'Tuas sortes arcanaque fata' refers of course to the Sibylline books, which were entrusted to the charge of 'lecti viri,' at first two, then ten, afterwards fifteen or more. 'Sortes' of oracles 4. 346.

73.] 'Dicta meae genti:' the oracles had not as yet been uttered but are conceived of as uttered at the time to which Aeneas looks forward, so that it is in fact an invitation to the Sibyl to utter them. Not unlike is "pugnata in ordine bella" 8. 629. 'Ponam' is used much as in 1. 264, of setting up permanently.

74.] 'Alma' is specially applied to goddesses, 1. 618., 10. 215, 220 &c., a sort of equivalent to the Greek πότνια, and so is applied as a complimentary appellation to the Sibyl here and v. 117. 'Tantum,' as Forb. remarks, is frequently used in adjurations, as in 8. 78. The request here made formed part of the advice of Helenus, 3. 456. "Foliis mandat" 3. 444.

75.] Comp. 3. 448 foll.

76.] 3. 457. "Pausam facit ore loquendi" is quoted from Lucilius by Non. p. 158. Enn. A. fr. inc. 108 has "pausam facere fremendi," where Vahlen not improbably reads "facere ore," Columna "fecere." 'Ore' with 'loquendi,' as in 1. 614 &c.; it might however go with 'finem dedit.' Some critics have thought the hemistich spurious: but there is nothing un-Virgilian about it, and it is apparently found in all the MSS.

77—97.] 'The Sibyl still struggles with the god: at last the doors fly open, and she finds voice. She tells him that his perils on land will be as great as those on sea; that another Iliad is opening: but that he must not despair, as deliverance will dawn from an unlooked-for quarter.'

77.] 'Phoebi patiens' as the horse is said "lituos pati," "verbera pati" G. 3. 183, 208. 'Immanis' qualifies 'bacchatur,' as if it had been "immane" (comp. G. 4. 370), like "spirans immane" 7. 510.

78.] 'Si possit' 9. 512. 'Pectore excussisse' 5. 679 note. Here, as Serv. remarks, the metaphor is brought out more definitely, being that of a horse trying to throw its rider. ['Posset' Rom.—H. N.]

79.] The perf. inf. is used like the Greek aorist, where a prose writer would have used the present: Madv. § 407, obs. 2. Wagn. remarks that it is much commoner in the elegiac poets than in Virg. The reason is doubtless to be found in the exigencies of the pentameter. 'Fatigat,' plies her till she is weary and gives in, the special reference here being to the use of the bit.

80.] 'Os' is meant to remind us at once of the mouth of the horse and the tongue of the Sibyl. The object of 'fingit' is the Sibyl herself, not 'os' or 'corda:' comp. Hor. 1. Ep. 2. 64, "Fingit equum tenera docilem cervice magister," and G. 2. 407, "Persequitur vitem attondens, fingitque putando," where see note. 'Premendo,' as it was by restraint that Apollo gained the victory. [The line is imitated from a passage of Varius quoted by Macrob. 6. 2. 19, "quem non ille sinit lentae moderator habenae Qua velit ire, sed angusto prius ore coercens Insultare docet campis, fingitque morando."—H. N.]

81.] See on v. 43. The doors are supposed to fly open simultaneously with the opening of the Sibyl's mouth. 'Iamque' placed as in 3. 588. 'Patuere,' the perf. of instantaneous action, G. 1. 49 &c. Aeneas is in the temple, the Sibyl in the 'adytum,' the cavern beyond.

Sponte sua, vatisque ferunt responsa per auras:
O tandem magnis pelagi defuncte periclis!
Set terrae graviora manent. In regna Lavini
Dardanidae venient; mitte hanc de pectore curam;
Sed non et venisse volent. Bella, horrida bella,
Et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno.
Non Simois tibi, nec Xanthus, nec Dorica castra
Defuerint; alius Latio iam partus Achilles,

and the sound of the prophecy is carried to him through the open doors; but the hundred passages form a picture which, as I have observed on v. 43, is hard to realize, and which scarcely seems appropriate to the circumstances of the narrative.

83.] The address is not unlike "O passi graviora" 1. 199. The Sibyl tells him that one class of perils is over, but that another, and a more grievous one, is at hand. The old pointing is doubtless right, the Sibyl's address in this line being in fact an announcement, which is followed by another announcement, 'set terrae' &c., as against Forb. and Henry, who would throw 'set—manent' into a parenthesis.

84.] ['Sed' Rom.—H. N.] 'Terrae' Med., Pal., 'terra' Rom. [Serv. recognizes both readings.—H. N.] The former is the more difficult reading, and as such is, I think, rightly restored by Wagn. There is however still considerable doubt about the interpretation of it, as it may be either a possessive gen. or a locative gen. or dat. The former is sufficiently supported by 10. 57, "Totque maris vastaeque exhausta pericula terrae;" 1. 598, "terraeque marisque Omnibus exhaustos iam casibus;" the latter has the analogy of 'humi' in its favour, and is defended by such passages as 10. 555., 11. 87, G. 2. 290, and by "Cretae" 3. 162. The passage itself is perhaps rather in favour of the locative, as there would be a slight harshness in the omission of 'pericula' if it is intended to be closely constructed with 'terrae.' Yet it would be too hazardous to argue from the passages referred to that Virg. regarded 'terrae' as an actual locative like "humi" or "Cretae," as the ordinary sense of the dative can be traced more or less clearly in all three. The etymological history of a case is one thing, the manner in which it is likely to have been employed by a poet at a time when that history was forgotten or ignored, another. I think then that Wagn. and Forb. are right in their second thoughts, in regarding 'terrae' as a possessive gen. For 'Lavini' Serv. mentions a variant 'Latini:' but the prophetess, as Heyne remarks, sees the future in the present, and calls the kingdom from the city which is to be built (1. 258).

85.] There is the same kind of emphatic contrast in 'Dardanidae' as in v. 57 above. 'Mitte hanc de pectore curam' is not a purely poetical expression, as "curam ex animo miserat" is quoted from Livy 30. 3. 'Mittere' is more commonly used alone, as 1. 203.

86.] 'They shall reach Latium, but they shall not also be glad that they have reached it.' 'They shall not wish that they had come' is another way of saying 'they shall wish that they had not come.' 'Horrida bella' 7. 41.

87.] For the general sense comp. 8. 538 foll., for the particular feature 10. 24. Heyne refers to Il. 7. 329, τῶν νῦν αἷμα κελαινὸν ἐΰρροον ἀμφὶ Σκάμανδρον Ἐσκέδασ' ὀξὺς Ἄρης.

88.] Serv. is perhaps right in supposing Simois and Xanthus to refer specially to the Tiber and the Numicius, the latter of which, according to the legend, was the scene of Aeneas' death or disappearance. The names may be used without any such reference; but without such a reference they would rather want force. 'Dorica castra' 2. 27. In 10. 60 foll., which Heyne compares, Venus asks that if the Trojans are to suffer a second destruction, they may at least suffer it in the old place, and have Xanthus and Simois near them again.

89.] 'Defuerint,' the perf. subj. or fut. perf. used instead of the ordinary future for poetical variety or metrical convenience. 'They will not have been wanting:' 'you will not say they have been wanting when you look back on the

Natus et ipse dea; nec Teucris addita Iuno
Usquam aberit; cum tu supplex in rebus egenis
Quas gentes Italum aut quas non oraveris urbes!
Causa mali tanti coniunx iterum hospita Teucris
Externique iterum thalami.
Tu ne cede malis, set contra audentior ito,
Quam tua te Fortuna sinet. Via prima salutis,
Quod minime reris, Graia pandetur ab urbe.
  Talibus ex adyto dictis Cumaea Sibylla

event.' If any special propriety is to be discovered in its use here, we may say that the prophetess throws herself as far as possible into the future, so as to look at part of what is to come as already past. 'Alius Achilles,' Turnus. Heyne comp. Eur. Tro. 614, ἄλλος τις Αἴας, ὡς ἔοικε, δεύτερος Παιδὸς πέφηνε σῆς, and Virg.'s own words, E. 4. 36, "Atque iterum ad Troiam magnus mittetur Achilles." For the peculiar sense of 'partus' see on 2. 784. 'Iam' with 'partus,' 'is already provided,' not, as Wagn. thinks, with 'alius.' 'Latio,' according to Wagn., is the dat.; I would rather regard it as the abl., 'in Latium,' like "illic" 2. 783 (not, as Wakef., 'ex Latio'), supplying 'tibi' for 'partus,' 'is in store for thee.' But it is very doubtful, as the sense may very well be, 'Latium has her defender ready.'

90.] 'Natus dea:' comp. 10. 75, "Turnum . . . cui diva Venilia mater." [Of 'addita' Servius says, "'addita,' inimica: est autem verbum Lucilii et antiquorum; ut Plautus (Aul. 3. 6. 19), 'additus Ioni Argus.'" Macrobius S. 6. 4. 2 in the same way explains it as = "adfixa, inimica," giving the passage from Lucilius in full, "si mihi non praetor siet additus atque agitet me." I do not know why Henry should so positively reject this explanation. Conington took it as simply strengthening 'nec usquam aberit,' quoting 'addere comitem,' or 'socium,' which occurs frequently in Virg., e. g. vv. 528, 777 below.—H. N.]

91.] 'Cum' connects what follows with the previous sentence as belonging to the same time, being in fact equivalent to 'et tum.' The prophecy is fulfilled by the mission to Evander, which occupies Book 8. 'Rebus egenis' of distress 10. 367.

92.] This rhetorical interrogation or exclamation, introduced into a categorical sentence, is not uncommon in Greek. Comp. Aesch. Ag. 556, τί δ' οὐ στένοντες, οὐ λαχόντες ἤματος μέρος; 'Oraveris:' the perf. implies that Aeneas will have tried every resource, yet the evil will still be unconquered.

93.] "Causa mali tanti" 11. 480, also of Lavinia. Lavinia was to be the prize of this second war, as Helen had been of the first. The parallel is more natural in the mouth of an enemy of the Trojans, like Amata (7. 363), or Turnus (9. 136 foll.); but it has its place here, as the Sibyl's object is to show that the tragedy of Troy is to repeat itself.

95.] 'Contra' (mala). 'Audentior,' all the bolder for opposition. ['Sed' Rom. —H. N.]

96.] For 'quam' Heyne [followed by Ribbeck and Henry] restored 'qua,' the reading of the first Aldine edition, supported by the MSS. of Sen. Ep. 82, as it was not likely that the Sibyl should advise Aeneas to act contrary to his destiny. The objection to giving 'quam' this sense, by connecting it either with 'audentior' or, as might be proposed, with 'contra,' seems valid, in spite of Wagn.'s defence, as though a rhetorical writer, like Tac. Hist. 2. 46 (quoted by Cerda), might talk of opposing fortune, the sentiment is not in Virg.'s manner (comp. 5. 710), and would in any case scarcely have been put by him into the mouth of a prophetess. It seems better then with Heins. and Burm. to understand 'quam' on the analogy of 'quam potest,'—'as far as your destiny will permit you.' With 'via prima salutis' comp. 2. 387.

97.] "Qua prima viam victoria pandit" 12. 626. The expression is found in Livy: see Forc. 'pando.' The city is of course Evander's, Pallanteum.

98—123.] 'Aeneas replied that he was not appalled by the prospect of dangers, but that his errand to the shades was

Horrendas canit ambages antroque remugit,
Obscuris vera involvens: ea frena furenti
Concutit, et stimulos sub pectore vertit Apollo.
Ut primum cessit furor et rabida ora quierunt,
Incipit Aeneas heros: Non ulla laborum,
O virgo, nova mi facies inopinave surgit;
Omnia praecepi atque animo mecum ante peregi.
Unum oro (quando hic inferni ianua regis
Dicitur et tenebrosa palus Acheronte refuso,)
Ire ad conspectum cari genitoris et ora

to see his father—an errand towards which he besought her assistance, as similar favours had been vouchsafed to others.'

98.] 'Cumaea' E. 4. 4 note.

99.] 'Ambages' is applied by Ov. M. 7. 761 to the riddle of the Sphinx, and is more than once used by Tac. in speaking of oracles: see Forc. 'Remugit' is explained by 'antro,' the cave echoing the scarcely human sounds (comp. 3. 92, where the "cortina" is said "mugire") which the Sibyl utters.

100.] 'Wrapping truth in mystery.' Cerda comp. Eur. Or. 891, καλοῖς κακοὺς λόγους ἑλίσσων, which Virg. may have had in his mind, though the reading there is not certain, Valckenaer conjecturing καλῶς, which Porson adopts. 'Ea' has the force of "adeo:" see on E. 1. 54. The reference is not, as Wagn. thinks, specially to 'obscuris vera involvens,' but generally to the whole description of the Sibyl's ecstasy, which is ascribed to the agency of Apollo.

101.] 'Shakes the reins so as to make her feel the bit (comp. Eur. Iph. A. 151, σεῖε χαλινούς), and plies the goad.' We need not supply 'eos' to 'stimulos,' as in cases like this the construction of the second clause is not always formally assimilated to that of the first. See on G. 2. 208. "Stimulos sub pectore vertit" 9. 718. 'Vertit' need merely indicate the direction of the goad to the part wounded: but it may also imply the continual change of direction, the weapon being turned hither and thither. The whole description is simply one of prophetic excitement. Apollo tames her and breaks her in (v. 79), but he also lashes her to fury.

102.] Aeneas waits for a calm, that she may be able to listen to him. 'Rabida ora' v. 80. [Pal. has 'rapida.'—H. N.]

103.] Aeneas' meaning appears to be not, as Heyne explains it, that he has heard what is to happen to him from his father or Helenus, but that he has prepared himself for every possible form of danger by his own reflections, so that the passage is strictly parallel to Ter. Phorm. 2. 1. 11 foll., quoted by Cerda (see Mr. Parry's note), and to Eur. Thes. fr. 392 (Nauck), referred to by Cic. Tusc. 3. 14, along with the passage from Terence.

104.] 'Laborum facies' like "scelerum facies" below v. 560, G. 1. 506. Like "species," the sense of appearance passes into that of type or variety. 'Surgere' of a new thing emerging 1. 582.

105.] For 'praecepi' many MSS. give 'percepi.' [And so Serv.—H. N.] 'Peragere' of mentally going over a thing, like "exigere" 4. 476.

106.] 'Quando' as in v. 50. 'Inferni ianua regis' like "ianua Ditis" below v. 127.

107.] 'Quando hic dicitur' = "quando hic est quae dicitur." Comp. Soph. Trach. 638, ἔνθ' Ἑλλάνων ἀγοραὶ Πυλάτιδες καλέονται (καλεῦνται Herm., κλέονται Musgrave). 'Refuso' must here be taken in the sense of overflowing, as it was the overflow of the river that formed the 'palus Acherusia.' The river is apparently looked upon as imbibing the water which forms its current and disgorging it when there is too much. It matters little whether 'Acheronte refuso' is taken as a descriptive abl. or as abl. abs. Not unlike is 7. 569, "ruptoque ingens Acheronte vorago." [Henry, following Servius, takes the 'tenebrosa palus' to be not the 'palus Acherusia,' but the lake Avernus: comparing the description v. 237 below. This is the most natural interpretation. 'Acheronte refuso' implies, as Serv. says, that Virg. represents Avernus as formed by the overflow of Acheron.—H. N.]

108.] 'Genitoris' the objective gen.

Contingat; doceas iter et sacra ostia pandas.
Illum ego per flammas et mille sequentia tela
Eripui his umeris, medioque ex hoste recepi;
Ille meum comitatus iter maria omnia mecum
Atque omnis pelagique minas caelique ferebat,
Invalidus, vires ultra sortemque senectae.
Quin, ut te supplex peterem et tua limina adirem,
Idem orans mandata dabat. Natique patrisque,
Alma, precor, miserere; potes namque omnia, nec te
Nequiquam lucis Hecate praefecit Avernis.
Si potuit Manis accersere coniugis Orpheus,

after 'conspectum.' Comp. 9. 261, "revocate parentem, Reddite conspectum."

109.] Pal., Rom. and Gud. a m. p. have 'contingam:' but 'contingo' does not seem to be used for "contingit mihi." There is no difficulty about 'sacra,' as the infernal gods had their honours as well as others. So "sacrae portae" v. 573 below.

110.] Aeneas, in describing to Dido what actually happened, does not dwell on the fire and the enemy (comp. 2. 725 foll., where we hear of alarm rather than of real danger): but we have a similar image when he speaks of his journey from Priam's palace to his own home, 2. 632.

112.] "Maria omnia vecti" 1. 524, the usual way in which the Trojans speak of their wanderings. 'Maria' is connected with 'ferebat' by a kind of zeugma. There is however nothing tautologous in 'pelagi minas' after 'maria,' as the sense is that he sailed on every sea and bore all the dangers of wind and wave.

113.] Med. and one other MS. give "caelique minas pelagique."

114.] Anchises exceeded the destiny of old age by encountering what old men in general do not encounter.

115.] Pal. a m. p., Rom., and Gud. omit 'et.'

116.] 'Dabat' seems to show that the injunction was given more than once, so that we must suppose the reference to be not to Anchises' appearance 5. 731 foll., but to directions given while he was alive. The father might naturally advise his son to consult the Sibyl about the future, as Helenus does 3. 441 foll., quite irrespectively of his own death or life. 'Natique patrisque' 4. 605.

117.] 'Alma' v. 74. 'Potes namque omnia' is explained by 'nec te' &c. 'You are all-powerful here.' "Namque potes" below v. 366, the Homeric δύνασαι γάρ (Od. 5. 27). See Burm. on Val. F. 1. 13.

118.] 'Nec—nequiquam' as in G. 1. 96, 4. 38. 'The promotion you have received from Hecate is no empty honour.' The Sibyl was priestess of Diana, who is called Hecate in her functions in the world below, 4. 511. note. 'Lucis' is explained by vv. 131, 138, 238 &c. below. 'Avernis' adj., as in G. 4. 493.

119.] 'Si potuit' has been variously taken as an unfinished sentence, as a protasis to 'et mi genus ab Iove summo' v. 123, and as following 'natique patrisque miserere' v. 117. The first explanation is perhaps nearest the truth; but the sentence does not strike us as unfinished, for the appeal which really forms the apodosis is implicitly contained in the context. 'If others have been able to obtain this favour, why should not I, whose claims are as great?' The story is of course that told at the end of Georgic 4. ['Accersere' Med. and Rom., Charis. p. 201 P., 'arcersere' Pal. The form 'accersere' should probably be restored wherever, as here, it has good manuscript evidence, though editors are fond of writing 'arcesso' in all cases. The distinction drawn by Charis. p. 227 P. and other grammarians is that 'arcesso' = "accuso," and 'accerso' = "voco;" and as a matter of fact, so far as I have been able to consult critical editions, I have found that 'accerso' very seldom occurs in the sense of "in iudicium vocare." See also Velius Longus p. 2232 P., who mentions a theory that 'accerso' was derived from "accio," 'arcesso' from "arceo." I find it very difficult to believe that the two words are the same. Servius, according to Thilo, says "'arcessere'

Threicia fretus cithara fidibusque canoris,
Si fratrem Pollux alterna morte redemit,
Itque reditque viam totiens—quid Thesea magnum,
Quid memorem Alcidem? et mi genus ab Iove summo.
Talibus orabat dictis, arasque tenebat,
Cum sic orsa loqui vates: Sate sanguine divom,
Tros Anchisiade, facilis descensus Averno;

cantis est proprie:" did he then read cersero'?—H. N.]

120.] 'Fretus' 4. 245 note. Comp. ph. Arg. 42 (quoted by Heyne) Ταίναρον κ' ἔβην σκοτίην ὁδὸν Ἄϊδος εἴσω, ιετέρῃ πίσυνος κιθάρῃ, δι' ἔρωτ' ἀλόχοιο, ıbtless an imitation of the present passe and of G. 4. 467.

121.] The story was that Pollux was owed to impart his immortality to stor and share his brother's mortality return, the two dying according to one ount on alternate days, according to other for alternate periods of six nths. In Hom. (Il. 3. 243) both are rtal.

122.] 'Ire viam' 4. 468. Gell. 10. 16 ls us that Hyginus censured Virg. for roducing Theseus, who was detained the shades, as we shall see below v. . Serv. meets the objection in a good e: "Durum exemplum. Unde nec noratus est in eo. Dicit autem inferos ere patere pietati, qui patuerunt inda cupienti:" and Heyne remarks t the point of the appeal lies simply the fact that Theseus was one of those o were allowed to go down to the des alive. Theseus and Hercules are erred to below v. 392. It is difficult say whether 'magnum' belongs to hesea,' as Wagn. thinks, following the editors, or to 'Alciden,' as Serv., and er him Heins. and Heyne take it. ere is more point in giving the epithet the person named last: Hercules, who urned in triumph, seems to deserve it ter than Theseus, who was kept below: l the epithet is bestowed on Hercules ewhere in Virg., 5. 414, "magnum Alen," 8. 103, "Amphitryoniadae magno." the other hand 'Thesea magnum' is ported by "Cissea durum," which ls a verse similarly 10. 317; and we st remember that in an ancient poet ctuation is regulated rather by the than by the eye. On the whole then eems safest to follow Wagn.

123.] 'Genus ab Iove summo' 1. 380.

124—155.] 'The Sibyl tells him in reply that for a living man to go down to the shades and return is difficult, but that it may be done by those who succeed in plucking a golden branch from a tree in the neighbouring forest, to be presented as an offering to Proserpine. Meantime, she informs him that one of his comrades is lying unburied, and bids him look to the funeral.'

124.] 4. 219 note.

125.] "Sate gente deum" 8. 36. See on v. 322 below. Serv. rather ingeniously remarks, "Unde Aeneas desiit, inde haec sumpsit exordia."

126.] 'Anchisiade' Med. (first reading), Pal., Rom., 'Anchisiada' Med. (second reading). 'Averno' Med., Pal. a m. p., 'Averni' Pal. a m. s., Rom., Gud. Serv. mentions both. The dat. (see on E. 2. 30) is more likely to have been altered into the gen. than vice versa, as the construction of a local case with a verbal noun might create a difficulty. It is paralleled however by a passage given in Forc. 'Descensus' from Hirt. B. G. 8. 40, "Erat oppidanis difficilis et praeruptus eo descensus." Some MSS., including a correction in Med., have 'est' after 'Averno' or 'Averni.' The sentiment apparently is the common one that the path to death is easily trodden, and in fact must be trodden by all, but can rarely if ever be retraced. Aesch. expresses it in his way, Pers. 689, where the shade of Darius says οἱ κατὰ χθονὸς θεοὶ λαβεῖν ἀμείνους εἰσὶν ἢ μεθιέναι [and in a fragment of the Telephus quoted by Plato, Phaedo p. 108 A ἁπλῆ οἶμος εἰς Ἅιδου φέρει.—H. N.] Cerda quotes a Greek epigram, εἰς Ἀΐδην πάντεσσι καταίβασις. Virg. makes use of the thought for his purpose here, though it does not seem very suitable. The difficulty is for a living man to make the journey; this, as we find afterwards, can only be surmounted by obtaining a passport of a particular kind (vv. 136 foll., 391 foll.): but when it has once been surmounted, the return does not appear to be less easy than any other part of the journey; at

Noctes atque dies patet atri ianua Ditis;
Set revocare gradum superasque evadere ad auras,
Hoc opus, hic labor est. Pauci, quos aequus amavit
Iuppiter, aut ardens evexit ad aethera virtus,
Dis geniti potuere. Tenent media omnia silvae,
Cocytusque sinu labens circumvenit atro.

least we do not find that Aeneas had any obstacle to overcome (v. 898). Seneca, as his manner is, enforces the same truth in the same way, apropos of Hercules' descent, Herc. F. 675 foll. [Henry explains the passage differently. "The return is more difficult than the going down, only because the going down is final and without return. All go down, and it is the easiest thing in the world to go down, and if you please to go there is nothing to hinder you. But then, you must go as others go, i. e. you must die. This you don't wish to do, and there is the rub."—H. N.]

127.] The expression may remind us, whether it was intended to do so or not, of the Greek notion of Hades as a landlord who entertained all comers, as shown by such epithets as πολύξενος Aesch. Supp. 157 &c. Heyne compares a passage from Varro quoted by Macr. Sat. 1. 16, from which it appears that on days when funeral offerings were made it was said that "mundus patet," which Varro explains "deorum tristium atque inferum quasi ianua patet." The infernal gods were conceived of as dark: thus Ov. M. 4. 438 (quoted by Forb.) has "nigri Ditis," Hor. 2 Od. 13. 21 "furvae Proserpinae."

128.] 'Revocare gradum' like "revocat pedem" 9. 125. With the whole line comp. G. 4. 485, "Iamque pedem referens casus evaserat omnis, Redditaque Eurydice superas veniebat ad auras." 'Evadere ad' 2. 458. ['Sed' Rom.—H. N.]

129.] 'Aequus' here implies kindness rather than justice, the feeling spoken of being expressly one of partiality. Serv., who is mystical in his interpretation of the whole of this passage, says that three classes of men are here pointed out as exceptions to the general rule that none can return from the shades, those who are born under a propitious star, those who are prudent, and those who are religious, the last being indicated by 'Dis geniti.'

130.] 'Evexit ad aethera virtus' seems to denote actual or potential beatification, not mere renown, in spite of the distinction between 'ad' and 'in' laid down by Wagn. Q. V. 10. So "sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli Magnanimum Aenean" 1. 259, which Wagn. admits to refer to deification. With the general thought comp. Hor. 3 Od. 3. 9 foll., ib 2. 21 foll., though perhaps the last, to which Forb. refers, belongs rather to Wagn.'s view of the passage. A Roman poet however, it should be recollected, would not discriminate the literal and metaphorical senses as sharply as we do.

131.] "Dis geniti" v. 394 below. In the spirit of the heroic time Virg. restricts the privilege to demigods, as even where it is earned by virtue, only demigods are supposed to be capable of virtue so exalted. 'Tenent' &c.: Virg.'s meaning is that between the place where they are now standing and the shades a pathless forest and the river Cocytus intervene. Possibly, as Peerlkamp thinks, he may have intended to make the forest easier of entrance than of exit: but in the subsequent description the forest is not made an obstacle at all: Aeneas goes through it under the guidance of the Sibyl without a hint of difficulty, and the only real bar is the passage of the river, which the possession of the bough enables him to overcome. But Virg. was thinking of Hom.'s lines about the difficulty of approaching his Hades, Od. 11. 157:

μέσσῳ γὰρ μεγάλοι ποταμοὶ καὶ δεινὰ ῥέεθρα,
Ὠκεανὸς μὲν πρῶτα, τὸν οὔπως ἔστι περῆσαι,
πεζὸν ἐόντ', ἢν μή τις ἔχῃ εὐεργέα νῆα.

132.] The form 'Cocytos' is restored by Wagn. from Med.; with Ribbeck however I prefer the Latin form from Rom., Pal., &c. See on G. 2. 487. 'Sinu' expresses the winding of the stream that surrounds the shades. 'Circumvenit,' the reading of all Ribbeck's MSS., was restored by Heins. for 'circumfluit.' It is used similarly in Tac. A. 2. 6, "Rhenus uno alveo continuus aut modicas insulas circumveniens."

Quod si tantus amor menti, si tanta cupido est,
Bis Stygios innare lacus, bis nigra videre
Tartara, et insano iuvat indulgere labori,
Accipe, quae peragenda prius. Latet arbore opaca
Aureus et foliis et lento vimine ramus,
Iunoni infernae dictus sacer; hunc tegit omnis
Lucus et obscuris claudunt convallibus umbrae.
Sed non ante datur telluris operta subire,
Auricomos quam qui decerpserit arbore fetus.
Hoc sibi pulchra suum ferri Proserpina munus
Instituit. Primo avulso non deficit alter

133.] Comp. 2. 10, 349, and for the construction 'cupido innare,' note on G. 1. 213. Wagn. and Ribb. omit 'est' after 'cupido,' from Pal. and a correction in Med.

134.] From Circe's exclamation Od. 12. 21, σχέτλιοι, οἳ ζώοντες ὑπήλθετε δῶμ' Ἀΐδαο, Δισθανέες, ὅτε τ' ἄλλοι ἅπαξ θνήσκουσ' ἄνθρωποι. 'Innare' of sailing on, v. 369 below. 'Lacus:' see on v. 323.

135.] 'Insano' seems to express that the toil is excessive and objectless, the same feeling which is indicated by Circe's σχέτλιοι. "Quid tantum insano iuvat indulgere dolori?" 2. 776. Possibly here we may be meant to understand 'tantum' from v. 133; but there is no necessity, as the feeling it would convey is expressed by 'insano.'

136.] Whether this notion of propitiating Proserpine by a golden bough is Virg.'s own invention we cannot tell. Heyne acutely argues from v. 409 below that it probably was a feature in some other legend. The commentators have collected many things which might have suggested the invention to Virgil—the use of a bough in supplication, and also in lustration, the golden rod of Hermes, the gilded branch in the mysteries of Isis; while the appearance of the golden bough in the wood may conceivably have been suggested, as Heyne thinks, by the golden fleece hanging from the beech in the sacred grove of Hecate, Apoll. R. 4. 123 foll. Ov. M. 14. 113 follows Virg.

137.] The bough is altogether golden, stem as well as leaves.

138.] Proserpina is 'Iuno inferna,' as Pluto is Ζεὺς χθόνιος, "Iuppiter Stygius," 4. 638. The same, or a similar title is given to her by Ovid, Statius, and Silius. 'Dictus' is here used almost in the sense of "dicatus" or "addictus," naming or pronouncing being a way of setting a thing apart and appropriating it. So Serv. here and on 1. 73 (which see), and Bentley on Hor. 2 S. 2. 134. 'Omnis,' as if the whole forest conspired to hide it. Comp. Aeneas' prayer below v. 186 foll.

139.] The sense is virtually the same as if Virg. had said "claudunt convalles umbris," the glades being looked upon as the instruments by which the trees close up the golden bough.

140.] 'Sed,' still, in spite of the difficulty of finding the bough, it is the only passport. 'Opertum' is used substantively more than once in Cic.: see Forc.

141.] Wagn. restores 'qui' from Med. and one or two other MSS. for 'quis,' which is read by Pal., Rom., Gud., &c. Either would stand, as Wagn.'s objections to the indefinite 'quis' seem untenable: but 'qui' is the more likely to have been altered. The construction is 'non ante datur quam ei qui decerpserit,' a natural confusion between the hour and the man, 'nulli nisi qui decerpserit' and 'non ante quam aliquis decerpserit.' 'Auricomus' is perhaps a coinage of Virg.'s own, on the analogy of χρυσόκομος. Val. Fl. and Sil. have followed him: see Forc. 'Fetus' of the bough as the produce of the tree, v. 207 below. In G. 1. 189 it signifies fruit opposed to leaves.

142.] 'Pulchra' need be no more than an ornamental epithet: but its position seems to show that the beauty of the gift is considered to be appropriate to the beauty of the goddess. 'Suum munus' like "Phœbo sua semper apud me Munera" E. 3. 62, though there is not the notion here of restoring to the goddess her own. 'Ferre instituit' like "mandat fieri sibi talia Daphnis" E. 5. 41.

143.] 'Primo' has the force of "primo

Aureus, et simili frondescit virga metallo.
Ergo alte vestiga oculis, et rite repertum
Carpe manu; namque ipse volens facilisque sequetur,
Si te fata vocant; aliter non viribus ullis
Vincere, nec duro poteris convellere ferro.
Praeterea iacet exanimum tibi corpus amici—
Heu nescis—totamque incestat funere classem,
Dum consulta petis nostroque in limine pendes.
Sedibus hunc refer ante suis et conde sepulchro.

quoque," the first in each case, and 'alter' of course is its correlative. ['Defecit,' i. e. 'deficit,' Pal., and so Ribbeck.—H. N.]

144.] Wagn. and Forb. think 'aureus' feeble; but surely it has considerable force here, the meaning being that a golden bough is never wanting—no sooner is one plucked than another as golden comes in its place. 'Simili' is virtually = "eodem;" but it need hardly be pointed out as a special use of the word, as the truth seems to be that the two thoughts are generally convertible. It is doubtful whether Med. has 'similis' or 'simili:' Foggini's volume gives 'simili,' Heyne and Ribbeck's collation 'similis.' 'Frondescit metallo' like "auri frondentis" v. 208.

145.] 'Ergo,' its importance being such, v. 140. 'Alte vestiga oculis' is explained by v. 136. Serv. says, "'rite carpe,' id est, cum observatione; non 'rite repertum,'" and later editors follow him. I am by no means sure however that Virg. did not intend to join 'rite repertum,' successfully, or, as we might say, duly found. At any rate, there does not appear to be any notion such as Forb. supposes, that the bough is to be plucked by the hand, not separated by the knife. What follows merely means that if the seeker is favoured, no force will be necessary; if not, no force will be sufficient. 'Manu' then will be, as it often is in Virg., semi-pleonastic, though it has not, as elsewhere, a notion of force or personal agency, but forms a kind of contrast with 'oculis.'

146.] 'Ipse' strengthened by 'volens,' as in G. 2. 500. 'Sequetur' may be illustrated by 12. 423, "Iamque secuta manum, nullo cogente, sagitta Excidit."

147.] 'Fata vocant' in a good sense: in 10. 472 in a bad one. 'Aliter' has sometimes the force of "alioquin:" see Forc. With 'non viribus ullis' comp. 12. 782. ['Nec' Rom. for 'non.'—H. N.]

148.] 'Vincere' of overcoming resistance, there being a contest between the man and the branch. 'Convellere' 3. 24, 31.

149.] 'Praeterea,' as a further thing to be done before approaching the shades, who would be offended by the neglect of the rites due to the dead. The notion of being unburied is contained in 'iacet,' the body being left to lie where it fell, instead of being taken up and burnt. So 2. 557 (note), 5. 871., 9. 486., 11. 102, in which passages however other words are added to bring out the notion more clearly. 'Tibi' to show how the obstacle affected Aeneas.

150.] 'Incestat funere' like "patrios foedasti funere voltus" 2. 539, comp. by Forb. ['Funere,' with death, or the presence of death; comp. the expression "funesta domus" or "familia," a house or family in mourning.—H. N.] The whole fleet partakes in the pollution, so that it would be hopeless for the commander to approach the shades till the pollution has been removed. Comp. the language in Soph. Ant. 1016 foll. about the unburied body of Polynices and the extent of pollution caused by it.

151.] 'Consulta' are apparently the decrees of the gods, or of destiny, so that "consulta petere" = "poscere fata." 'Pendere' of delay, as in Flor. 1. 13, "Sex mensibus barbari circa montem unum pependerunt."

152.] Some difficulty has been made about 'sedibus suis;' the choice however lies between taking it of the grave, as the natural resting-place of the dead, and the shades, as the natural abode of the spirit. The former might be supported by v. 328, the latter by v. 371. The difficulty is further increased by the apparent inconsistency of Virg.'s language or belief (see on 3. 68., 4. 34), the spirit and the body being elsewhere confused. 'Refer' however is in favour of supposing

Duc nigras pecudes; ea prima piacula sunto.
Sic demum lucos Stygis et regna invia vivis
Aspicies. Dixit, pressoque obmutuit ore.
  Aeneas maesto defixus lumina voltu
Ingreditur, linquens antrum, caecosque volutat
Eventus animo secum. Cui fidus Achates
It comes, et paribus curis vestigia figit.
Multa inter sese vario sermone serebant,

the grave to be meant, in spite of the tautology with the rest of the line, as the agency of Aeneas in transferring the spirit to its home would be only indirect. In any case 'refer' is explained by 'suis,' meaning to pay a due (comp. 2. 543 note). 'Conde sepulchro' 3. 68.

153.] The sacrifice had no reference to Misenus (comp. below vv. 236, 243 foll.), but was intended to propitiate the shades towards their living visitor. 'Nigras pecudes' is more fully explained by vv. 243 foll. 'Prima' seems rightly taken by Heyne as previous or preliminary. So nearly 1. 24, "Prima quod ad Troiam pro caris gesserat Argis."

154.] Med. a m. p. and Rom. have 'Stygiis,' a corruption which seems to have led to a false correction 'Stygios' (Pal. a m. s. &c.), and hence to the omission of 'et,' which is supported by one of Ribbeck's cursives. Wagn. rightly restored 'Stygis et,' which is apparently the original reading of Pal. 'Lucos Stygis:' it matters little whether the woods are supposed to overshadow the Styx, which may naturally be regarded as giving its name to the whole infernal territory. 'Regna invia vivis' tells plainly what the Sibyl hitherto had only asserted indirectly. See on v. 126.

155.] 'Presso ore' like "premere vocem" 9. 324. ['Ommutuit' Rom.—H. N.]

156—178.] 'On reaching the shore they find the body of Misenus, who had been drowned by a jealous sea-god. They lament, and set about the funeral.'

156.] Comp. 8. 520, where as here the downcast eye indicates both sorrow and thoughtfulness. ['Vultu' Rom.—H. N.]

157.] 'Ingreditur' seems to mean 'enters on his journey to the shore,' or perhaps merely 'goes on:' comp 8. 309. A correction in Med. gives 'progreditur.' 'Caecos eventus' probably includes the various things he had heard from the Sibyl, the prediction of vv. 83 foll., the doubt about the golden bough, and the mysterious death.

158.] Achates was with him, v. 34.

159.] 'Figere' is so often used as a synonyme of 'ponere' that it would be most natural to take 'vestigia figit' like "vestigia ponat" G. 3. 195, or the more common "vestigium facere:" the meaning merely being that he walks along moodily. Forb. however, who contends against this, may be so far right that the use of 'figere' may be intended to show that the tread is slow, the foot being as it were driven into the earth each time, though he is certainly wrong in making it equivalent to "vestigia pressit" vv. 197, 331 below, where the notion is that of stopping. Comp. Lucr. 3. 3, "inque tuis nunc Ficta pedum pono pressis vestigia signis," where curiously enough all three verbs are used, though the use of "pressis" does not really support Forb.'s view. Serv. gives both explanations of 'figit,' stepping and stopping. ['Fixit' Med. originally.—H. N.]

160.] "Vario sermone" 1. 748., 8. 309. 'Ferebant' was an old reading: but 'serebant' is found in all the best MSS., and recognized by Serv. 'Serere sermonem' is as old as Plaut., and 'serere colloquia' occurs in Livy (see Forc.): it is doubtless to be explained by giving 'serere' the sense of 'connecting,' 'setting in order,' though Stat. Achill. 2. 35 has a strange expression, "campumque patentem . . . Alterno sermone serunt," apparently taking it, if the reading is right, from "sero, sevi." [Livy 7. 39 says, "haec sermonibus serunt."—H. N.] It is possible, as Serv. hints, that Virg. means to indicate that 'sermo' and 'serere' are cognate words, according to Varro's explanation (L. L. 6. § 64), "sermo non potest in uno homine esse solo, sed ubi oratio cum altero coniuncta," though such a grammatical spirit belongs rather to the early Latin poets, who never forgot that they were lite-

Quem socium exanimem vates, quod corpus humandum
Diceret: atque illi Misenum in litore sicco,
Ut venere, vident indigna morte peremptum,
Misenum Aeoliden, quo non praestantior alter
Aere ciere viros, Martemque accendere cantu.
Hectoris hic magni fuerat comes, Hectora circum
Et lituo pugnas insignis obibat et hasta.
Postquam illum vita victor spoliavit Achilles,
Dardanio Aeneae sese fortissimus heros
Addiderat socium, non inferiora secutus.

rary teachers. The next line seems to show that Wagn. is right in understanding 'vario sermone' not of various topics, but of various conjectures on one topic.

161.] Heyne rightly remarks that it is strange they should not at once have thought of Palinurus, or rather strange that Virg. should not have perceived that Palinurus would at once be thought of as the lost comrade As Forb. observes, it is probably one of those confusions which Virg. would have rectified had he lived to finish his Aeneid. With the construction comp. 2. 121. 'Humandum' 10. 493., 11. 2. 'Exanimum' Pal., Rom., Gud., 'exanimem' Med., which is more euphonious.

162.] 'Atque': see on E. 7. 7.

163.] ['Digna' Med., the first syllable having probably been absorbed in the last syllable of 'vident.'—H. N.]

164.] It was one of the legends about the landing of Aeneas that he lost a comrade called Misenus at that time, and called that part of the coast after him (comp. v. 234 note) See Heyne, Excursus 4 and 7 to this book. One of the stories seems to have made him Aeneas' pilot, which might tend further to make Virg. waver between him and Palinurus. 'Aeoliden' probably means, as Heyne thinks, the son of Aeolus, a Trojan of age and rank, killed afterwards 12. 542 foll. There would however be plenty of Homeric precedent for making him the son of a god, and some propriety in ascribing the birth of an illustrious trumpeter to the god of the winds. 'Quo non praestantior alter.' &c. may be taken, as Cerda suggests, from Il. 2. 553, *τῷ δ' οὔπω τις ὁμοῖος ἐπιχθονίων γένετ' ἀνήρ, Κοσμῆσαι ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἀσπιδιώτας.*

165.] 'Praestantior ciere' like "boni inflare" E. 5. 1 note. Misenus has already appeared 3. 239 as a trumpeter, an officer, as has often been remarked, unknown to Hom., who however mentions a trumpet in a simile Il. 18. 219. Catull. 68. 90 has "ciere viros." Suetonius Vita Verg. 34 and Serv. here tell the story that "Martemque accendere cantu" was added by the poet during the fervour of recitation, the line having been previously a hemistich. It is at any rate a good specimen of an effective and poetical tautology. The story as told in Suetonius says further that the previous line ended at 'Aeoliden,' and that the remainder was similarly improvised, which is to the last degree unlikely, as 'aere ciere viros' postulates the existence of the previous words. Cerda thinks 'Martem accendere cantu' is imitated from Aristoph. Peace 310, *τὸν Πόλεμον ἐκζωπυρήσετ' ἔνδοθεν κεκραγότες.*

166.] 'Hectoris magni' like Hom.'s *Ἕκτορα δῖον.* 'Circum' is like the use of *ἀμφί* or *περί* in Greek to express companionship.

167.] The 'lituus' differed from the "tuba," which appears below v. 233 as Misenus' instrument, in being slightly bent: but the two are used as synonymous by Virg., just as he uses the names of various trees indifferently for the wood of which the Trojan horse is made. Heyne refers to Stat. Theb. 6. 120, 128 for a similar confusion of "lituus" and "tuba:" but the two words do not occur there, though in the former line the "tibia" is said 'cornu mugire adunco.' "Insignis" probably with 'lituo' and 'hasta,' like "insignis equis" 10. 354 &c., and the Homeric *κλυτὸς ἔγχεϊ, δουρί* &c., which Cerda comp. "Proelia obire" occurs Lucr. 4. 967, also comp. by Cerda.

168.] 'Vita spoliavit' like "corpus spoliatum lumine" 12. 935. ['Posquam' Ribbeck, from one of his cursives.—H. N.]

169.] 'Dardanio Aeneae' 1. 494.

170.] "Addiderat sese socium" 2. 339.

Sed tum, forte cava dum personat aequora concha,
Demens, et cantu vocat in certamina divos,
Aemulus exceptum Triton, si credere dignum est,
Inter saxa virum spumosa immerserat unda.
Ergo omnes magno circum clamore fremebant,
Praecipue pius Aeneas. Tum iussa Sibyllae,
Haut mora, festinant flentes, aramque sepulchri

E. 6. 20. 'Inferiora' is rightly explained by Heyne as a Grecism, τὰ ἥττω for τὸν ἥττονα. Virg.'s doctrine of the equality of Aeneas to Hector appears again 11. 291.

171.] 'Concha' is probably the same as the 'lituus' or, tuba,' being substituted for it as more appropriate to a performance on the water, and more likely to rouse the jealousy of Triton, whose instrument it was, 10. 209. Comp. Ov. M. 1. 333 foll. (too long to quote), where Triton is made by Neptune to sound on his shell a retreat for the waters of Deucalion's flood, the shell being afterwards spoken of as "cava bucina." Emm., to whom this citation is due, also quotes Hesych. s. v. κόχλος, κόχλοις τοῖς θαλασσίοις ἐχρῶντο πρὸ τῆς τῶν σαλπίγγων εὑρέσεως, a natural supposition enough. It is in fact the rationale of the myth which attributes the shell to Triton. It is possible however, as Peerlkamp and Forb. think, that Misenus is meant really to have taken up a shell on the shore and tried his powers 'Personat aequora concha' like "personat regna latratu" v. 417 below. Here as elsewhere 'dum' is followed by the present when the rest of the sentence would have led us to expect some other tense: see on E. 7. 6, G. 4. 560. Here there may be a rhetorical propriety in the discrepancy, the suddenness of the retribution being expressed by the intimation that it was over while the provocation was still going on. ['Set' Pal. originally. —H. N.]

172.] 'Demens' is used like νήπιος Il. 2. 38 and elsewhere. Strictly speaking it belongs to the second clause here rather than to the first; but the act of defiance is implied in the first clause, so that it would be wrong to point it with the second, contrary to the Homeric parallels. 'Vocare' in the sense of "provocare" is found, though not very commonly: see Forc. 'Vocare in' is very common in Virg., the general sense being apparently the same in all, that of calling to a place (e. g. "vocare in vota," to invoke the presence of the gods at a vow), though the particular applications are very different. "Provocare in aleam" occurs Plaut. Curc. 2. 3. 76 (Forc.), but "provocare ad" is more usual. Heyne, Excursus 7, remarks that in mythical language men who excel in any thing are said either to have received it from some god or to have provoked the jealousy of some god by it. Misenus is in fact like Thamyris, Arachne, &c.

173.] 'Exceptum immerserat' = "exceperat et immerserat," 'excipere' being used of surprise, as in 3. 332, E. 3. 18. ["Exceptum dicit ut feram venabulo" Ti. Donatus.—H N.] "Si credere dignum est" G. 3. 391. Virg. represents the cause of Misenus' death as mythical, as Forb. remarks.

174.] 'Inter saxa' implies that the provocation and its punishment took place on the coast, and 'spumosa' perhaps points the same way. ['Inmerserat' Pal.—H. N.]

175.] 'Fremere' of lamentation 4. 668.

176.] "Praecipue pius Aeneas" 1. 220.

177.] ['Haud' Pal.—H. N.] 'Festinare' with acc. 4. 575. 'Sepulchri' Med., Rom., 'sepulchro' Pal., Gud., which Ribbeck adopts. But Sil. 15. 387 has "alta sepulchri Protinus exstruitur caeloque educitur ara," where Drakenborch notes no various reading. 'Aram sepulchri' seems rightly understood by Serv. not of the altars to the 'Di Manes' (3. 63 note), but of the pyre piled up like an altar. 'Congerere arboribus' might be said of heaping the altar with boughs for fuel, but 'caelo educere' points to a more considerable structure, and the gen. 'sepulchri' would be somewhat harsh for 'sepulchralis,' though 'sepulchro' might be more tractable. Sil. l. c. follows Virg. closely, evidently showing that he understood him in this way. Val. Fl. 5. 10, also quoted by Heyne, is somewhat doubtful: much more Ov. M. 8. 479, whom Forb. cites. Βωμός is used in Hom. of any raised place, and in later Greek actually of a tomb: see Lidd. and Scott. [It seems

Congerere arboribus caeloque educere certant.
Itur in antiquam silvam, stabula alta ferarum,
Procumbunt piceae, sonat icta securibus ilex,
Fraxineaeque trabes cuneis et fissile robur
Scinditur, advolvunt ingentis montibus ornos.
Nec non Aeneas opera inter talia primus
Hortatur socios, paribusque accingitur armis.
Atque haec ipse suo tristi cum corde volutat,
Aspectans silvam inmensam, et sic voce precatur:

from Servius' note that Probus, and after him Aelius Donatus, made a difficulty about the line. Ti. Donatus, who says "properabant aram non saxis struere sed arboribus, ut ipsa esset sepulchrum," may have read 'sepulchro.'—H. N.]

178.] 'Congerere arboribus' μενοεικέα νήεον ὕλην Il. 23. 139. Apoll. R. 1. 403 has νήεον αὐτόθι βωμόν, which may have been in Virg.'s mind. 'Caelo educere' 2. 186.

179—211.] 'They go into the wood for fuel for the pile. Aeneas prays that he may see the golden bough. Two doves guide him to it. He plucks and carries it off.'

179.] The description is imitated from Il. 23. 114 foll. and also from Enn. A. 6. fr. 11, preserved by Macrob. Sat. 6. 2. The latter, as the rarer author, may be quoted:

"Incedunt arbusta per alta: securibus caedunt:
Percellunt magnas quercus: exciditur ilex:
Fraxinus frangitur, atque abies consternitur alta:
Pinus proceras pervortunt: omne sonabat
Arbustum fremitu silvai frondosai."

Comp. also 11. 135 foll. "Stabula alta" 9. 388., 10. 723, which show that 'alta' here means high, not deep. For the sense comp. note on v. 8 above. [Catull. 63. 53 "ferarum gelida stabula."—H. N.]

180.] Pitch-trees were used in funeral piles, "picea . . . rogis virens," Pliny 16. 40, referred to by Heyne. With 'sonat' comp. Il. l. c. ταὶ δὲ μεγάλα κτυπέουσαι πῖπτον.

181.] It signifies comparatively little whether 'fraxineaeque trabes' be connected with what precedes or with what follows. With the rest of the line comp. G. 1. 144.

182.] 'Montibus,' from the mountains, as the sense shows: but the ambiguity is harsh. 'Advolvunt,' 'litori' or 'pyrae,' like "advolvere focis ulmos" G. 3. 378. ['Advolvont' Pal.—H. N.]

183.] 'Primus' not with 'opera inter talia,' which would be more modern than classical. 'Primus' is like "praecipue" above v. 176. "Media inter talia" 4. 663.

184.] He takes up an axe like the rest. 'Accingitur' here is metaphorical, like 'armis:' but the word is sometimes used loosely: see on v. 570 below.

185.] Comp. above v. 157, "volutat secum." "Multaque dura suo tristi cum corde putabant" 8. 522. See on G. 2. 147. 'Haec' seems to mean the things which he eventually utters: but in that case 'sic' follows rather awkwardly. Heins. restored 'cum' for 'tum,' the old reading, which is found in only one MS. in the parallel passage in Book 8.

186.] The reading is exceedingly doubtful, Med., Pal., Gud., &c., giving 'forte,' Rom. 'voce,' the Lombard of Pierius, and others 'ore.' 'Forte,' though preferred by Wagn., can scarcely be right, as it is not likely that Virg. meant to represent Aeneas' exclamation as fortuitous. An unexpected exclamation could hardly be intended to prepare us for any unexpected event, as the point lies in the unuttered prayer rather than in its expression. The word may easily have come from v. 190. Serv., who gives 'forte,' regards it merely as a prop to the verse. 'Voce' on the other hand would have real force, praying aloud being contrasted with thinking silently. It does not appear, as Wagn. contends, that in 9. 403., 11. 784, where the words recur, any thing more than simple utterance is intended. Henry prefers 'ore' to 'voce,' but without saying why. What follows, as Cerda remarks, is rather a wish than a prayer: εἰ γάρ however is used in Hom. in addresses to deities.

Si nunc se nobis ille aureus arbore ramus
Ostendat nemore in tanto! quando omnia vere
Heu nimium de te vates, Misene, locuta est.
Vix ea fatus erat, geminae cum forte columbae
Ipsa sub ora viri caelo venere volantes,
Et viridi sedere solo. Tum maximus heros
Maternas agnoscit aves, laetusque precatur:
Este duces, o, si qua via est, cursumque per auras
Derigite in lucos, ubi pinguem dives opacat
Ramus humum. Tuque, o, dubiis ne defice rebus,
Diva parens. Sic effatus vestigia pressit,
Observans, quae signa ferant, quo tendere pergant.
Pascentes illae tantum prodire volando.

187. 'Arbore' on the tree, as in G. 3. 353. The sense is, Would that the first part of the Sibyl's words may prove as true as the second has done.

189.] 'Omnia vere locuta est,' the Homeric *πάντα θεὰ νημερτέα εἶπεν*. 'Heu nimium' like Aesch. Ag. 1241, *ἄγαν γ' ἀληθόμαντιν οἰκτείρας ἐρεῖς.*

190.] 'Forte' denotes the coincidence.

191.] 'Sub ora' like "sub oculos:" see Forc. 'sub.' Serv. says that in augury certain distances were fixed, within which the omen was held to pertain to the person seeing it.

193.] 'Agnovit' is found in Med. (according to Foggini: Heins. reports 'agnoscat') and one or two others. ['Agnoscit' Rom., 'adgnoscit' Pal.—H.N.]

194.] Virtually = "este duces viae, si qua est." 'Cursum,' your flight, not our course (which would be possible, 'per auras' being taken i. q. 'volando'). 'Cursus' for "volatus" seems to occur nowhere in Virg., unless E. 6. 80 (where see note) be an exception: it is found however elsewhere, as in Ov. Amor. 2. 6. 11, "Omnes quae liquido libratis in aëre cursus," quoted by Forb., who refers to a note of Heins. there.

195.] 'In lucos, ubi' = "in eam partem lucorum ubi." 'Pinguem' seems to refer to the richness of the soil which could produce a tree so gifted. Forc. gives various instances of 'dives' more or less resembling the present, among others Lucan 9. 658 of the cloud which yielded Danae's golden shower. Trapp questioned the applicability of 'opacat,' for which he would have preferred 'inaurat:' but the poet's words are not to be so closely pressed, and we may see that 'opacat' is qualified by the juxtaposition of 'dives.' Scaliger, Poet. 4. 16, referred to by Taubm., commends the word as "rarum et dignitatis plenum." ['Dirigite' Med.—H. N.]

196. 'Deficere' of forsaking a cause: see Forc. 'Rebus' is of course the dat. 'Forsake not our cause at this crisis.'

197.] The old editions had 'alma parens,' which Pierius says is found in Rom. and some others. Ribbeck however mentions no other reading than 'diva.' 'Vestigia pressit:' see above on v. 159. 'Pressit' might = "impressit," as in 11. 787, where however "per ignem" and "multa pruna" define the sense: but everything here is in favour of the sense of "repressit," as Forb. admits. "Attoniti pressere gradum," is quoted by Forc. from Val. Fl. 2. 454. So "comprime gressum" below v. 389, "pedem repressit" 2. 378. 'Promere vestigia' is also found, as Forb. remarks, of treading in the steps of another (see Forc.); but this is not likely to be meant here.

198.] 'Quae signa ferant' = "quid significent," as "ea signa dedit" 2. 171 = "id significavit." 'Signum' is used of omens: see on 4. 167.

199.] The meaning seems to be that they keep flying on and alighting to feed alternately—in other words that in their feeding they fly on from spot to spot. [Feeling the difficulty of 'volando' in its ordinary sense, Serv. suggests, and Ti. Donatus adopts, the extraordinary notion that 'volare' may here be used of walking, from "vola," the flat part of the foot.—H. N.]

Quantum acie possent oculi servare sequentum,
Inde ubi venere ad fauces grave olentis Averni,
Tollunt se celeres, liquidumque per aëra lapsae
Sedibus optatis geminae super arbore sidunt,
Discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit.
Quale solet silvis brumali frigore viscum
Fronde virere nova, quod non sua seminat arbos,

200.] 'Possent' is rightly explained by Forb. as indicating the object of the doves in flying onward, as against Wagn., who thinks it implies repeated action—'as far as at each given time,' &c. 'Acies' is used strictly of the pupil of the eye as the organ of vision. "Acies ipsa, qua cernimus, quae pupula vocatur" Cic. N. D. 2. 57. 'Servare' of observing or keeping in view, as in v. 338 below, &c. 'Sequentum' may mean following with the eye, as Forb. takes it: but it would seem from the context that though Aeneas stopped at first, he afterwards went on as they went on, so that the word may have its more ordinary sense. We hear nothing later of Aeneas' movements till v. 210, where the expression shows that he did not remain standing for the whole previous time.

201.] 'Grave olentis' is explained by vv. 240 foll. below.

202.] 'Tollunt se celeres' may possibly refer, as Serv. explains it, to their desire to escape the stench, so fatal to birds; but the meaning is sufficiently clear without. ['Labsae' Med.—H. N.]

203.] 'Sedibus optatis' seems to mean 'having chosen their place to settle' (comp. 1. 425., 3. 109, 132), as Heyne explains it. The birds are said to mark the spot before finally alighting there. Wagn.'s objection that 'optare' is used of choosing the site of a permanent abode tells for little in a passage where the term is evidently used metaphorically, being applied to the birds simply in virtue of their being about to settle, no matter for how long. At the same time it it is quite possible to take it 'wished for' with Wagn., as though Aeneas wished for no definite spot, he wished for the spot where the golden branch grew, wherever that might be. 'Gemina' is the reading of Med. and most MSS., and also of Priscian, p. 1001; I agree with Henry however that it cannot be made to yield a natural sense, though the word sometimes = "biformis," and is applied in this sense in poetry to Triton and Chiron: see Forc. 'Geminae,' the reading of Rom. and the Longobardic MS., as quoted by Pierius, and a few others, was adopted by Burm. and Heyne, and gives, as Henry remarks, a vivid and natural picture. We do not care to know whether they flew precisely together; but that they settled at the same moment in the same spot is a pleasing circumstance. A Greek writer in speaking of it might change from the plural to the dual. 'Super:' they alight at the top of the tree.

204.] 'Aura auri' is explained "splendor auri" by Serv., who may be right in applying the same doctrine to Hor. 2 Od. 8. 24. The account of this use of the word is apparently to be sought in the connexion between the notions of light and air (see on G 2. 340, and comp. v. 747 below, "aurai simplicis ignem"), and also between those of light and motion, as in *αἰόλος*, &c., the gleaming light being naturally identified with the flickering breeze. [I am disposed to think that there were two words 'aura,' one meaning light, the feminine of which "aurum" is the neuter, and the other meaning air. Horace may perhaps mean the former 1 Od. 5. 9 foll. "Qui te nunc fruitur credulus *aurea* . . . nescius *aurae* fallacis. Miseri quibus Intemptata *nites.*"—H. N.] The jingle is of course intended: see on 2. 494 &c. "'Discolor,' ex ea quae viridis fuit, aliud genus coloris effulsit," Ti. Donatus. 'Refulsit' 1. 402 note. Rom. and another give 'auro.'

205.] 'Viscum' G. 1. 139 of the birdlime collected from the mistletoe, here of the plant itself. 'Brumali frigore:' the mistletoe flourishes in the winter, and the time is naturally chosen for the sake of contrast between its leaves and the bareness of the tree on which it grows, though the circumstance really makes it less like that with which it is compared, as there the golden bough was seen among green ones.

206.] 'Quod non sua seminat arbos' might refer to the growth of the plant from a tree which is not really its parent,

Et croceo fetu teretis circumdare truncos :
Talis erat species auri frondentis opaca
Ilice, sic leni crepitabat brattea vento.
Corripit Aeneas extemplo avidusque refringit
Cunctantem, et vatis portat sub tecta Sibyllae.
  Nec minus interea Misenum in litore Teucri
Flebant, et cineri ingrato suprema ferebant.

'non sua' being joined as in G. 2. 82: but it more probably alludes to the opinion of the ancients that it was really an animal product, the excrement of birds (Pliny 16. 247., 24. 11), not, as later research has proved it to be, a parasitic plant, the seeds of which are deposited by birds on other trees. 'Sua' then refers to natural production, as "sopor suus" G. 4. 190 seems to mean natural or kindly sleep. 'Seminat' seems to be used vaguely in the sense of producing. Comp. the use of 'semina' for plants in G. 2. 268, 356 &c. The word is prosaic rather than poetical: see Forc.

207.] 'Croceo fetu:' Pliny 24. 11 says of the mistletoe "Optimum est . . . extra fulvum, intus porraceum." The colour is of course a prominent feature in the comparison. 'Truncos' the trunks, as in G. 3. 233: see Forc. Some MSS. mentioned by Pierius have 'ramos.'

208.] 'Auri frondentis:' comp. v. 144 above. 'Opaca' v. 136. The dark shade of course gives the contrast.

209.] 'Ilice:' the particular kind of tree has not hitherto been specified by Virg., a proof that he attaches no importance to the specification. 'Leni vento' 3. 70. 'Crepitabat' is not strictly speaking a point in the comparison. Virg. only means 'the leaf looked thus as it rustled tinkling in the wind.' 'Brattea' is thin foil, thinner than "lammina," a metallic plate. It is classed with cobweb for its thinness by Lucr. 4. 727. The leaf is called 'brattea' here, as the 'brattea' is called "folium" in Latin, in Greek πέταλον, and in English foil or leaf. Some MSS. (including Gud. originally) have 'crepitabant,' which Heins. adopted, strangely regarding 'brattea' as a noun of multitude, whereas the fact would seem to be, as Heyne remarks, that 'brattea' was mistaken for a neuter plural.

210.] "'Corripit:' ne prolixior esset narratio, non dixit quomodo ad ipsam arborem Aeneas venerit," Ti. Donatus. The old reading before Heins. was "extemplo Aeneas." Rom. has 'exemplo.'

211.] 'Cunctantem' is not to be pressed, as we know from vv. 147 foll. that it cannot really have offered any resistance, so that it must be taken as a correlative to 'avidus,' Aeneas' eagerness being too great even for the willingness of the branch. Even thus however the choice of the word seems a little unfortunate. Heyne comp. "lento vimine" above v. 137. For the application of the word to things inanimate comp. G. 2. 236, "glaebas cunctantis." 'Tecta Sibyllae' seems to be the temple.

212—235.] 'Meantime the Trojans were conducting Misenus' funeral through all its details. Aeneas raises a tomb over his remains.'

212.] 'Nec minus interea' 1. 633 &c., a common form of transition in Virg. Hom. generally draws the contrast between two contemporaneous actions by repeating the first in a summary form before proceeding to the second—ὡς ὁ μὲν . . . αὐτάρ: and so does Virg. sometimes, as in 1. 656 foll. The meaning here is that while Aeneas is plucking the bough and carrying it to the temple, the Trojans, having finished hewing wood, are constructing the pile, &c.

213.] 'Flebant' of funeral lamentation E. 5. 21. "'Ingrato:' tristi, ut gratum laetum aliquid dicimus. Alii 'ingrato' dicunt gratiam non sentienti," Serv. Heyne, after Taubm., rightly prefers the latter. So in the Copa (attributed to Virg.) v. 35, "Quid cineri ingrato servas bene olentia serta?" Heyne comp. κωφὴν γαῖαν of the body of Hector, Il. 24. 54. The dead body is called 'cinis' by anticipation, as Ti. Donatus remarks. Forc. quotes no instance of 'suprema' for obsequies earlier than Virg., after whose time it is frequent. "Supremis muneribus" 11. 25, "supremum honorem" ib. 61. 'Ferre' of offerings 3. 19 &c.

Principio pinguem taedis et robore secto
Ingentem struxere pyram, cui frondibus atris
Intexunt latera, et feralis ante cupressos
Constituunt, decorantque super fulgentibus armis.
Pars calidos latices et aëna undantia flammis
Expediunt, corpusque lavant frigentis et unguunt.
Fit gemitus. Tum membra toro defleta reponunt,
Purpureasque super vestes, velamina nota,

214.] With the description of the pile comp. that of the pile of Patroclus Il. 23. 165 foll. On the whole I agree with Wakef. and Henry in connecting 'taedis' with 'pinguem,' 'robore secto' with 'ingentem:' see on 4. 505, where 'taedis' and 'robore secto' are also explained.

215.] 'Ingentem:' comp. v. 178 above. The greater the pile, the greater the honour. Patroclus' pile measured a hundred feet both ways, Il. l. c.; there however many bodies of men and horses were burnt. 'Frondibus atris,' leafy boughs from funeral trees like the yew.

216, 217.] "Sectaque intexunt abiete costas" 2. 16. Cerda distinguishes 'frondibus atris intexunt latera' from 'feralis ante cupressos constituunt,' making the latter refer to the custom of planting cypresses at Rome before the doors of the dead (Pliny 16. 139). This however does not prove that cypresses were planted before funeral piles, while we know on other authority that they were used in making or dressing the piles. Serv. tells us from Varro that piles were surrounded with cypresses that the smell of the burning wood might overpower that of the burning body, and Stat. 9. 460., 5. 51, in passages apparently imitated from the present, makes the cypress used in the composition of the pile. (Sil. 10. 535 has "maestas ad busta cupressos," which may possibly support Cerda's view, as the cypresses are distinguished from other trees which would form a part of the pile: but the passage is too brief to build upon.) 'Ante constituunt' will then refer to the laying down or perhaps setting upright of cypress trees or branches before the process indicated by 'intexunt' takes place. Or Heyne may be right in taking 'ante' locally, the pile being faced with trunks of cypresses. These he supposes to be used for trophies, like the oak in 11. 4. in which sense of course he understands the next clause 'decorantque' &c.; but Forb. seems right in arguing from 11. 193 foll. that the arms (whether of Misenus himself, Il. 6. 418. Od. 12. 13, or of enemies despoiled by him) are thrown on the pile. See on 4. 496. ['Cypressos' Rom.—H. N.]

218.] The washing and anointing of Patroclus' body are described more minutely Il. 18. 343 foll. 'Undantia' with 'flammis,' as it is the process of boiling that is going on. Comp. Virg.'s own simile 7. 462 foll.

219.] 'Expediunt' 1. 178. The meaning is simply that they get the pots boiled or get ready boiling water. The remainder of the line is from Enn. A. 3 fr. 8, "Tarquini corpus bona femina lavit et unxit," as Serv. remarks. 'Frigentis corpus' is more poetical than 'mortui corpus' or than 'frigidum corpus.'

220.] Forb. comp Ter. And. 1. 1. 101, "ad sepulcrum venimus: In ignem imposita est: fletur." 'Fit gemitus' like "fit strepitus" 1. 725, "fit sonitus" 2. 209. 'Defleta' like "fleti" v. 481, "deflere" having the additional force of weeping one's fill, as in 11. 59. 'Toro' = "feretro," the bier being laid on the pile and burnt with it. Comp. 4. 507, 659, where it is used of the "lectus iugalis" which Dido has spread on the top of the pile.

221.] Purple robes were used for wrapping the dead at great Roman funerals. See among a number of testimonies in Cerda's note Livy 34. 7, "Purpura viri utemur . . . magistratibus in coloniis municipiisque . . . togae praetextae habendae ius permittemus, nec id ut vivi solum habeant tantum insigne, sed etiam ut cum eo crementur mortui." There is also some Homeric analogy for the custom. In Od. 24. 59 the ocean nymphs put immortal garments round the dead Achilles, who is apparently burned in them: in Il. 24. 795 foll., when Hector has been burned, his relations collect his bones and put them in a basket, πορφυρέοις πέπλοισι καλύψαντες μαλακοῖσιν. Virg. makes Aeneas wrap Pallas in the same

Coniciunt. Pars ingenti subiere feretro,
Triste ministerium, et subiectam more parentum
Aversi tenuere facem. Congesta cremantur
Turea dona, dapes, fuso crateres olivo.

manner 11. 72 foll. 'Velamina nota,' as Heyne remarks, can hardly be understood except of the garments Misenus had worn when alive. The other alternative would be to refer 'nota' to the customariness of thus covering the dead. There is the same sort of doubt about "munera nota" 11. 195.

222.] 'Subire' in the sense of supporting generally takes an acc., sometimes, though rarely, the dat. or abl. It is not easy to distinguish these two last cases: in sense they would appear to differ, the one being equivalent to the acc. (move towards a thing, place one's self under), the other denoting motion when placed under. In the few instances where the construction occurs the reading is not always certain, the acc. being generally found as a variety. Forc. quotes among others Cic. Div. Verr. 14, "Poterisne eius orationis subire invidiae?" the reading of Asconius, who comments on it, "'Quasi Latine dixit, ut 'magno ponderi subire.'" But the MSS. of Cic. give 'invidiam.' To carry the bier was esteemed an honour to the deceased among the Romans, as to bear the pall with us: Taubm. comp. Tac. A. 1. 8, "Conclamant patres, corpus (Augusti) ad rogum umeris senatorum ferendum."

223.] 'Triste ministerium' is not, as Heyne thought, an interjection, but a cognate acc., or acc. in apposition to the action of the verb. The construction is infinitely rarer in Latin than in Greek (see on G. 3. 41): Forb. however comp. 9. 53., 10. 311., 11. 383, to which add 8. 487. But the words may conceivably be a nom.; comp. 1. 168., 8. 422. 'Subiectam' &c. = 'subiecere et tenuere.' 'Subicere' of setting fire to a thing 2. 37., 11. 186. Cerda comp. Lucr. 6. 1285, "subdebantque faces," of burning the dead during the plague of Athens. It would seem from 11. 185, "huc corpora quisque suorum More tulere patrum," that 'more parentum' here refers to the whole action, probably indeed to the whole process of the funeral. If it has any special reference, it would probably be to 'aversi,' as Lersch understands it Antiqq. 9. § 86. Serv. however says "'More parentum:' propinquioribus enim virilis sexus hoc dabatur officium," an explanation which may either mean that Virg. implies that the nearest male relatives officiated, or that Misenus' comrades took the part which would naturally have devolved on his parents. This latter view is taken by Erythraeus, who comp. Lucan 6. 530 foll. (of the witch Erichtho):

"Fumantis iuvenum cineres ardentiaque ossa
E mediis rapit ipsa rogis ipsamque parentes
Quam tenuere facem."

But the sense of 'more parentum' is fixed by "more patrum" 11, l. c. Virg. perhaps means that the same who carried the bier afterwards applied the torch: but his words need not be pressed. Comp. G. 4. 167 note. Pal. seems to have had another reading, 'subiectas faces.'

225.] Lersch, § 86, comp. Arnob. 7. 51, "Pulticulae, tura cum carnibus, rapacium alimenta sunt ignium et parentalibus coniunctissima mortuorum," Tac. A. 3. 2, "Pro opibus loci vestem, odores, aliaque funerum sollemnia cremabant." The first passage explains 'dapes,' which doubtless refers to the victims, not, as some have thought, to the spices and oil. So perhaps 3. 301, where see note. In 5. 92 the reference is doubtful. For the application of 'dapes' to sacrifices see Forc. Victims are also mentioned 11. 197 foll., after Il. 23. 166, Od. 24. 65, none of which passages however speak of spices or oil. Libations of oil were made in the subsequent offerings to the grave (E. 5. 68 note: see other passages quoted by Lersch, § 68, "De Libationibus"), which seem to have had much in common with the actual funeral solemnities. See also Od. 24. 73, referred to on v. 227 below. 'Fuso crateres olivo' is doubtless the abl. of description, cups of poured out oil. Really of course it is not the cup that is burnt, but its contents, so that 'crateres' is used somewhat like "pocula" E. 8. 28. [For 'dapes' Pal. has 'ferunt'; a reminiscence apparently of 1. 679, 5. 101 "dona ferens, ferunt."—H. N.]

Postquam conlapsi cineres et flamma quievit,
Reliquias vino et bibulam lavere favillam,
Ossaque lecta cado texit Corynaeus aëno.
Idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda,
Spargens rore levi et ramo felicis olivae,

226.] The line, as Heyne remarks, is modelled on Il. 9. 212, *αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ πῦρ ἐκάη καὶ φλὸξ ἐμαράνθη*, compared with Il. 23. 228, *τῆμος πυρκαΐη ἐμαραίνετο, παύσατο δὲ φλόξ*. 'Conlapsi cineres' is from Il. 23. 251, *βαθεῖα δὲ κάππεσε τέφρη*. ['Conlabsi' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

227.] In Il. 23. 250., 24. 791 the flame is quenched with wine and then the bones are collected: but in Od. 24. 72, the bones are collected after the body is consumed and are placed in (a vessel containing?) wine and oil. In Il. 23. 253 a double layer of fat is spread over the bones. Virg. seems to follow the Od., probably understanding *λέγομεν ἐν οἴνῳ καὶ ἀλείφατι* of something which took place before the bones were placed in the vessel. In the three passages of Hom. the fire is allowed to burn all night and is quenched or quenches itself the next morning: and Virg.'s account in Book 11 (vv. 201, 210) is somewhat similar. ['Relliquias' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

228.] 'Lecta,' collected from the pile. *λέγειν* or *λέγεσθαι* in Hom. ll. cc. The process was called *ὀστολογία*: Aesch. wrote a play named *'Οστολόγοι*. 'Cadus' is doubtless an urn, as *κάδος* is used for a balloting urn. In Hom. the vessels differ: Patroclus' bones are placed in a golden *φιάλη*, Hector's in a golden *λάρναξ*, Achilles' in a golden *ἀμφιφορεύς*, the work of Hephaestus and gift of Dionysus. Brazen urns are common among Italian remains. Corynaeus is specified, as Heyne remarks, merely for specification's sake. The name occurs again 9. 571., 12. 298. This man may be identified with either, as both are probably Trojans. The name is variously spelt in the MSS.: but Heyne remarks that it must be *Κορυναῖος* from *Κορύνη*. ['Coryneus' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

229.] Corynaeus also performs the lustration, that the crews might be purified from the pollution contracted by the dead body, v. 150 above. It does not appear whether lustration formed a regular part of a Roman funeral, as of course we cannot argue from this passage that it did: but there was a lustration in the month of February, the month of special solemnities in honour of the Di Manes. Macrob. Sat. 1. 13 says "lustrari eo mense civitatem necesse erat, quo statuit ut iusta dis Manibus solverentur." 'Ter:' comp. E. 8. 73, 75 notes. Serv. says "'Circumtulit:' purgavit. Antiquum verbum est. Plautus: 'Pro larvato te circumferam,' i. e. purgabo." This passage is not in the extant works of Plautus: but there is a similar one in Amph. 2. 2. 143, "quin tu istanc iubes Pro cerrita circumferri?" It is to be explained on the analogy of the double structure of 'circumdare' &c. 'aliquam rem alicui' and 'aliquem aliqua re.' 'circumtulit socios pura unda' being a variety for 'circumtulit socios puram undam.' See on G. 4. 337. If not originally Virg.'s own expression, it is at any rate precisely such a one as we should expect him to affect, so that we need not be tempted by varieties like 'puram undam,' the reading of one MS., 'circumvenit,' found in another, or 'circumluit,' which is found in the margin of a MS. of Macrob. Sat. 3. 1. Sophocles, whose inversions of language are very like Virg.'s, has a similar expression El. 709, *οὗ αὐτοὺς οἱ τεταγμένοι βραβῆς Κλήροις ἔπηλαν*, which has been similarly altered by reading *κλήρους*.

230.] The manner of the lustration is described, sprinkling with a wetted branch. Bay was used as well as olive, Juv. 2. 158. Serv. quotes Aelius Donatus as saying that Virg. substituted the olive for the bay out of compliment to Augustus, whose birthday was marked by the springing up of a bay on the Palatine, and that it was not thought well that the triumphal associations of the tree should be mixed up with funeral reminiscences. Lersch shows that the olive was connected with funerals from Pliny 35. 160, "Quin et defunctos sese multi fictilibus soliis condi maluere, sicut M. Varro, Pythagorico modo, in myrti et oleae et populi nigrae foliis." Cerda shows the same connexion from Demosth. and Artemidorus. 'Rore et ramo' is a

Lustravitque viros, dixitque novissima verba.
At pius Aeneas ingenti mole sepulchrum
Imponit, suaque arma viro remumque tubamque,
Monte sub aërio, qui nunc Misenus ab illo
Dicitur, aeternumque tenet per saecula nomen.
His actis propere exsequitur praecepta Sibyllae.
Spelunca alta fuit vastoque inmanis hiatu,
Scrupea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris,

good instauce of ἓν διὰ δυοῖν: see on G. 2. 192. "Felici comptus oliva" 7. 751, distinguished from the oleaster.

231.] For 'viros' Rom., Pal. a m. p., and others give 'domos,' apparently introduced by some one who thought of the lustration of houses of Rome. Pierius thought it might be explained of the camp. Another MS. has 'choros,' which Heins. preferred, but Heyne rightly rejects. 'Dixitque novissima verba' 4. 650. The reference seems to be to the "vale" with which they took leave of the dead, not to the "ilicet," with which the assembly was dismissed. Serv. objects to the former view that the "vale" was not said till after the burial: but 11. 97 seems to show that it might come even before the burning. In v. 506 below, 3. 68 we may remember that the erection of the tomb stood in place of a proper burial.

232.] The mention of Aeneas may be intended to intimate that it was at this point that he returned (see v. 212 above); but such things cannot be pressed in Virg. The setting up of a tomb in Hom. follows similarly at once upon the burning and the collecting of the bones, Il. 23. 255 foll., 24. 797 foll., Od. 12. 14., 24. 80 foll. The first and last of these passages will illustrate 'ingenti mole,' the size of the barrow, of earth and stones, being greater according to the honour intended. So Aesch. Cho. 351, πολύχωστον ἂν εἶχες Τάφον διαποντίου γᾶς, Δώμασιν εὐφόρητον. ['Sepulcrum' Pal.—H. N.]

233.] 'Arma' seems to refer to 'remumque tubamque,' like "Cerealia arma" 1. 177 &c., as his arms in the strict sense appear to have been burnt with him, v. 217. Serv., who felt the difficulty, took the meaning to be that the arms were sculptured on the tomb. 'Viro' explains 'sua,' which would naturally refer to Aeneas himself. The oar Misenus has in common with Elpenor, Od. 11. 77., 12. 15, who has his fixed ἀκροτάτῳ τύμβῳ: the trumpet is his own. ['Inponit' Pal. fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

234.] The 'aerial promontory' still bears the name 'Punta di Miseno.'

235.] Comp. the promise to Palinurus below v. 381. "Et nunc magnum tenet Ardea nomen" 7. 412. Virg. perhaps thought of Apoll. R. 2. 841 foll. ['Exequitur' Med.—H. N.]

236—263.] 'Aeneas then begins the preliminaries of his descent. Black cattle are sacrificed to the infernal powers at the mouth of a mephitic cave As the day dawns, the approach of Hecate is perceived, and Aeneas and his guide descend.'

236.] 'His actis' 12. 843.

237.] This grotto is not the same as that mentioned v. 11 above. Heyne identifies it with one now called Baian, as looking towards Baiae. With the latter part of the line comp. Lucr. 5. 376, "sed patet inmani ('inmane' Wakef.) et vasto respectat hiatu." The description seems partially taken from that of the σπέος 'Αΐδαο (in the [Asiatic] Acherusian promontory) in Apoll. R. 2. 735 foll., though the vapour there is not mephitic, but icy. ['Inmanis' Med. and Rom.—H. N.]

238.] ["'Scrupea saxa' aspera:" Isid. Orig. 16. 3. 5, and so several glossaries. "'Scrupea' lapillosa; nam scrupus proprie est lapillus brevis, qui incedentibus impedimento est et pressus sollicitudinem creat" Serv. So Aelius Donatus on Ter. And. 5. 4. 37: all probably from Verrius Flaccus: see Festus p. 333 Müller. 'Scrupeus' then means, properly, abounding in small stones, so rough, jagged. Ennius Tr. v. 100 (Ribbeck) has "scrupea saxa," Pacuvius 309 "scrupea saxea Bacchi templa," Id. 252 "scruposam specum."—H. N.] 'Tuta' participle, sheltered, as in 1. 571 &c. The meaning seems to be that the darkness appears to afford it a protection.

Quam super haut ullae poterant inpune volantes
Tendere iter pinnis: talis sese halitus atris
Faucibus effundens supera ad convexa ferebat:
[Unde locum Grai dixerunt nomine Avernum.]
Quattuor hic primum nigrantis terga iuvencos
Constituit frontique invergit vina sacerdos,
Et summas carpens media inter cornua saetas

239.] Translated from Apoll. R. 4. 601, *οὐδέ τις ὕδωρ κεῖνο* (the lake of the Eridanus) *διὰ πτερὰ κοῦφα τανύσσας Οἰωνὸς δύναται βαλέειν ὕπερ.* With the whole passage comp. Lucr. 6. 740 foll.:

"Principio, quod Averna vocantur nomine, id ab re
Inpositumst, quia sunt avibus contraria cunctis,
E regione ea quod loca cum venere volantes,
Remigii oblitae pinnarum vela remittunt,
Praecipitesque cadunt molli cervice profusae
In terram, si forte ita fert natura locorum,
Aut in aquam, si forte lacus substratus Avernist.
Is locus est Cumas apud, acri sulpure montes
Oppleti calidis ubi fumant fontibus aucti."

See also ib. 818 foll. 'Volantes' used substantively, as in v. 728 below, Lucr. 2. 1083. So "volitans" G. 3. 147. ['Haud' Pal. and fragm. Vat.; 'impune' Med. and Rom.—H. N.]

240.] "Tendit iter velis" 7. 7.

241.] Comp. Lucr. 6. 819, "Mortiferam vim, de terra quae surgit in auras." "Supera convexa" v. 750 below. Ribbeck reads 'super' from Pal. and Med. a m. p., and Rom.; but the cause of the mistake is obvious.

242.] This line is wanting in fragm. Vat. and others, and is added in Med. by a later hand. Rom. however has it. Serv. does not explain it, nor does Non. quote it p. 14 s. v. 'Avernus,' as he might have been expected to do. There is a similar line in the Periegesis of Dionysius, v. 1151, *τοὔνεκά μιν φῶτες ἐπικλείουσιν Ἄορνον*, rendered by Priscian, Perieg. 1056, "Unde locis Grai posuerunt nomen Aornin." Heyne thinks it a gloss, and Wagn. and Ribbeck remove it from the text. There is nothing un-Virgilian about it: Virg. is fond of talking of the names of places, as Henry remarks (comp. e. g. 3. 693): he refers to a Greek name G. 3. 148 (a common habit with his master Lucr.): and the expression 'nomine dicere,' to which Wagn. objects, is found v. 441 below, as is observed by Forb. On the other hand the external evidence is such as to leave the question doubtful, so I have placed the line in brackets. There is a further question whether 'Aornon' or 'Avernum' ought to be read. The MSS. which retain the line would seem generally in favour of this latter, which I have adopted: but it would seem more likely that Virg. would use the Greek word than the Latin transformation of it, which hides the etymology. Is it certain that Lucr. in talking of the etymology of 'Avernus' did not mean to derive it from "avis?" Possibly however Virg. may have so far complied with the Latin form as to give 'Aornum,' the reading of Gud. and others, adopted by Heins.

243.] Comp. G. 4. 538 foll., where four bulls and four heifers are sacrificed to the Manes of Orpheus and Eurydice. "Nigrantis terga iuvencos" 5. 97. Black was the colour of the victims sacrificed to the shades, v. 153 above, Od. 10. 523—527.

244.] 'Constituit' 5. 237. 'Frontique invergit vina:' comp. 4. 61 note. Plaut. Curc. 1. 2. 12 has "Invergere in me liquores tuos sino ductim." Serv. draws a distinction between 'fundere' and 'vergere' in sacrifices: "'Fundere' est supina manu libare, quod fit in sacris supernis; 'vergere' autem est conversa in sinistram partem manu ita fundere ut patera convertatur: quod in infernis sacris fit." 'Invergo' however is used by Val. Fl. 2. 611 of pouring sacrificial wine into the sea.

245.] The plucking of hairs from the head of the victim and the throwing of them into the fire as *ἀπαρχαί* is a Homeric custom, Od. 3. 445, *πολλὰ δ' Ἀθήνῃ Εὔχετ' ἀπαρχόμενος, κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλων*, from which we see also

Ignibus inponit sacris, libamina prima,
Voce vocans Hecaten, Caeloque Ereboque potentem.
Supponunt alii cultros, tepidumque cruorem
Succipiunt pateris. Ipse atri velleris agnam
Aeneas matri Eumenidum magnaeque sorori

ıt prayers were made during the pro-ıs, as in v. 247. 'Saetae' of the hair oxen 7. 790.

246.] 'Libamina prima,' ἀπαρχαί, as bare' is used of pouring out or taking ay the first part of anything. Gell. his preface says, "Primitias quasdam quasi libamenta ingenuarum artium dimus." Stat. Theb. 6. 224 has "rap-mque suis libamen ab armis Quisque ːit," of offerings on a funeral pile, each e giving as it were a taste or specimen his weapons. 'Inponit' is frequently ed of offerings 1. 49., 4. 453. ['Im-nit' Rom.—H. N.]

247.] See on v. 245. The line is imi-ted from Apoll. R. 3. 1209, ἐπὶ δὲ γάδας χέε λοιβὰς Βριμὼ κικλήσκων κάτην ἐπαρωγὸν ἀέθλων. 'Voce vo-ns' 4. 680 note. For Hecate's at-.butes see on 4. 510. 'Caelo potentem' ıs strong than 'Caeli potentem,' im-ying not sovereignty over a place, but wer in it. 'Caeloque Ereboque' 7. 0.

248.] Cerda, followed by Heyne and orb., explains 'supponunt cultros' of e custom of sacrificing victims to the ds below with their heads downwards, ose devoted to the gods above being crificed with their heads upturned, the ἔρυσαν of Hom. For this he quotes yrsilus De Rebus Lesbiacis 2 (? the ssage does not occur in the remains of yrsilus in Müller's Fragmenta Histo-orum Graecorum), εἰώθασιν οἱ ἱερεῖς τὰ τομα τοῖς κάτω θεοῖς ἐναγιζόμενα ἐν τῇ ἀποτέμνεσθαι τὰς κεφαλάς· οὕτω γὰρ ουσι τοῖς ὑποχθονίοις· τοῖς δὲ οὐρανίοις ω ἀναστρέφουσι τῶν ἱερείων τὸν τράχηλον λάζοντες. The same words however ıve already met us in G. 3. 492, where e cannot suppose that a sacrifice to the fernal gods is specially meant. All at is said is that the throat is cut from ːneath, and this might be done equally ell whether the victims' heads were rned up or down—more easily indeed the former case. It is more probable at the special reference, if any, is to ıother (Roman ?) sacrificial custom men-med by Cerda in the same note, that of first striking the victims down with an axe or club, afterwards cutting their throats, a process which seems to have required two persons, according to a passage from Dionys. Hal. 7. 72, quoted by Cerda, θύειν τότε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις αὐτὰ ἐκέλευον. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν, ἑστῶτος ἔτι τοῦ θύματος, σκυτάλῃ τοὺς κροτάφους ἔπαιον. οἱ δὲ πίπτοντος ὑπετίθεσαν τὰς σφαγίδας. Serv. says that 'supponere' was a sacri-ficial word, being of neutral signification and consequently avoiding a bad omen: and the three last words in the passage of Dionys. confirm the statement, as they would hardly have been translated from an expression found only in the poets. 'Tepidum cruorem' 8. 106.

249.] The form 'succipiunt' is sup-ported by Pal. and fragm. Vat., Gud. a m. s. &c., and expressly recognized by Serv., who says "antique: nam modo 'suscipiunt' dicunt:" it has accordingly been restored by Wagn. in later edd., here and 1. 175. [See on 4. 391.—H. N.] The object of catching the blood is said by Ti. Donatus to be "ne iam sacratus in terram cadat." The Greek feeling would seem to have been just the reverse, as what was poured on the earth was supposed to reach the powers below. So Od. 11. 35 Ulysses cuts the throats of the sheep into a trench, that the shades may flock round it. Virg. however seems to mean that the blood is caught in bowls that it may be afterwards poured out, apparently on the ground (3. 67., 5. 78). Perhaps we may say then that this mode of offering was adopted as giving more solemnity to the act, and involving as it were a separate consecra-tion of the blood apart from that of the victims. 'Ipse:' Aeneas also acts as sacrificer, in the Homeric fashion. Stat. Theb. 4. 445 has "Velleris obscuri pe-cudes."

250.] The mother of the Eumenides was Night (7. 331., 12. 846, Aesch. Eum. 416 &c.), her great sister Earth, both being daughters of Chaos. Comp. Hes. Theog. 116 foll., where however the birth of Gaea from Chaos is not expressly stated.

Ense ferit, sterilemque tibi, Proserpina, vaccam.
Tum Stygio regi nocturnas incohat aras,
Et solida imponit taurorum viscera flammis,
Pingue super oleum fundens ardentibus extis.
Ecce autem, primi sub lumina solis et ortus
Sub pedibus mugire solum, et iuga coepta moveri

251.] So Od. 11. 30 Ulysses vows that on his return to Ithaca he will sacrifice to the shades, στεῖραν βοῦν ἥτις ἀρίστη. Lersch quotes from Arnob. 7. 21, "Bos si sterilis [caedatur] Unxiae, quam Proserpinae tribuitis." 'Ense ferit' may possibly be referred to striking down the victim, according to the distinction taken on v. 248. Serv. has a notion that the sword was used rather than any other weapon because, having been consecrated by the act, it became available for keeping the shades at a distance. 'Ense ferit' 12. 458.

252.] 'Stygio regi' of Pluto, like "Iovi Stygio" 4. 638. 'Nocturnas:' sacrifices to the infernal gods were performed by night, which is now going on, as we see from v. 255. Cerda refers to Turnebus V. L. 28. 44. ['Incohat' Pal., 'inchoat' Med. and fragm. Vat., 'incoat' Rom. originally, 'inchoat' corrected. 'Incohat' is probably right: see Diomedes, p. 365 (Keil), who quotes Verrius Flaccus, and Suetonius in favour of this spelling: Probus Cath. p. 38 (Keil) is on the same side. The spelling 'inchoat' was probably due to a fancied etymology from "chaos:" see Diomedes l. c. and Paulus p. 107 (Müller). The word is often applied to the sketching out and commencement of buildings, and not seldom to temples (e. g. Cic. de Domo 51): hence perhaps Serv.'s remark "est verbum sacrorum." Begins to build, or, as Henry says, builds roughly and incompletely.—H. N.]

253.] 'Solida' = "integra" as in 2. 639: see Forc., where this sense is abundantly illustrated. Holocausts were offered to the infernal gods, Apoll. R. 3. 1033. For 'viscera' see on G. 3. 559., 4. 302. It is on this line that Serv. gives the explanation there cited. 'Imponere' above v. 246. ['Inponit' Pal.—H. N.]

254.] Modelled on Il. 11. 775, σπένδων αἴθοπα οἶνον ἐπ' αἰθομένοις ἱεροῖσιν. All Ribbeck's MSS. give 'superque:' 'super' is found in a few copies mentioned by Heyne, and in the Canon. and Balliol MSS. The 'que' seems to have been added as a support to the verse, as apparently in 1. 668, where it is similarly found in the best MSS. [Ribbeck, reading 'superque,' supposes a verse to have dropped out between this and the next line.—H. N.] Between 'infundens' (Med.) and 'fundens' (fragm. Vat., Pal., Rom., Gud., &c.) there is little or nothing to choose, except on external grounds. Both 'superfundo' and 'superinfundo' are found in composition, though the latter appears to have no higher authority than Celsus. Comp. however "superimponere." 'Exta' are the entrails proper as distinguished from "viscera." Comp. Aesch. Ag. 1221. σὺν ἐντέροις τε σπλάγχν'. Oil was one of the offerings to the dead (see on v. 225), but it may have been intended merely to feed the fire. Emmen. refers to Schedius de Dis German. c. 29 for the statement that oil was used for wine in sacrifices to Pluto.

255.] 'Primi sub lumina solis et ortus,' ἓν διὰ δυοῖν. 'Primi' = 'prima,' and 'prima lumina' = 'ortus.' "Lumina solis" 8. 69, Lucr. 1. 5. Comp. also 7. 130, "primo cum lumine solis." Med. and some others have 'limina,' an impossible reading here, as Burm. remarks, though it might stand in a passage where place, not time, was spoken of. The description here, like parts of that which has preceded, is modelled on Jason's invocation of Hecate Apoll. R. 3. 1191—1223, where the time and circumstances of the approach of the goddess are the same as here.

256.] Comp. 4. 490, "mugire videbis Sub pedibus terram, et descendere montibus ornos." See also on E. 4. 50. Πίσεα δ' ἔτρεμε πάντα κατὰ στίβον Apoll. R. 3. 1217. 'Iuga silvarum:' the ridges are regarded as belonging to the woods which grow on them rather than vice versa. So "iuga nemorum" 11. 545, "dorso nemoris" G. 3. 436, comp. by Forb. Seneca, Nat. Q. 6. 13, quotes the words with "iuga celsa," which might stand, 'visa' being understood from the next line.

Silvarum, visaeque canes ululare per umbram,
Adventante dea. Procul o, procul este, profani,
Conclamat vates, totoque absistite luco;
Tuque invade viam, vaginaque eripe ferrum;
Nunc animis opus, Aenea, nunc pectore firmo.
Tantum effata, furens antro se immisit aperto;
Ille ducem haut timidis vadentem passibus aequat.
  Di, quibus imperium est animarum, Umbraeque silentes,
Et Chaos, et Phlegethon, loca nocte tacentia late,
Sit mihi fas audita loqui; sit numine vestro
Pandere res alta terra et caligine mersas.

257.] *ἀμφὶ δὲ τήν γε* (Hecate) *Ὀξείῃ ὑλακῇ χθόνιοι κύνες ἐφθέγγοντο*, Apoll. R. 3. 1216, which shows that the dogs here are infernal hounds accompanying Hecate. Many MSS. have 'visi;' but the fem. is more usual in a context like this: comp. G. 1. 470. 'Ululare' of dogs, as of wolves 7. 18, G. 1. 486. Comp. *ὑλάσκω*. So possibly 4. 609 (note), "Nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes."

258.] 'Procul o, procul este, profani' is perhaps a translation of Callim. Hymn to Apollo v. 2, *ἑκάς, ἑκάς, ὅστις ἀλιτρός*. The uninitiated were warned off at the commencement of the mysteries: comp. Hor. 3 Od. 1. 1, and see Lobeck's Aglaophamus, vol. 1, pp. 450 foll. If the words have any distinct reference here, it must be, as Wagn. points out, to the companions of Aeneas, who were not to undertake the journey with him. With 'procul este,' as used rather than "procul ite," comp. the use of 'abesse,' *ἀπεῖναι*.

260.] "'Invadere viam,' exactly the opp. of 'evadere viam' 2. 731, is to enter upon a journey, set out," Henry. Why Aeneas is told to draw his sword does not appear. Ulysses does so, Od. 11. 48 foll., as commanded by Circe, and thereby prevents the ghosts from drinking the blood before he chooses that they should do so: but when Aeneas uses his sword vv. 290 foll. below, he is warned by the Sibyl that he can do them no harm. "Vaginaque eripit ensem" 4. 579.

262.] 'Furens:' the arrival of Hecate and the greatness of the undertaking having brought back the afflatus. ['Inmisit' Rom —H. N.]

263.] 'Aequare' of keeping pace with, 3. 671. ['Haud' Pal. and fragm. Vat. —H. N.]

264—267.] 'Give me leave, powers of the dead, to tell the tale of what they saw.'

264.] The interposition of a special invocation is modelled on Hom.'s practice, e. g. before the catalogue of the ships. As the commentators have remarked, it greatly enhances the solemnity of the present passage. "Di, quibus imperium pelagi est" 5. 235. 'Umbrae—late' are vocatives co-ordinate with 'Di,' not, as they might possibly be, nominatives co-ordinate with 'imperium,' though 'loca' is perhaps rather awkward of things addressed as persons. 'Umbrae' are the ghosts, who are called "silentes" below v. 432 without a substantive.

265.] 'Chaos' is classed with Erebus 4. 510, as here with 'Phlegethon' (vv. 550 foll.), singled out from the infernal rivers as the most terrible of all. Mythologically Night and Erebus were children of Chaos, which represents the formless void out of which things come and into which they were resolved. 'Loca nocte tacentia late,' as the infernal regions are called "loca senta situ" below v. 462, "loca turbida" v. 534. 'Tacentia' was restored by Heins. from Med., Rom., and fragm. Vat. for the common reading 'silentia,' which is found in the margin of Med.

266.] Virg. professes to have obtained his information from tradition, like Hom. Il. 2. 486, *ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν, οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν*. The second 'sit' is for "liceat," as in E. 10. 46, though it would be possible to understand 'fas.' 'Numine,' as in 1. 133, 2. 777 &c., seems to have its etymological sense of 'consent' or 'permission,' though it might also mean 'aid' or 'influence.'

267.] 'To disclose the secrets of the world below.' So the Sibyl in Sil. 13.

Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram,
Perque domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna:
Quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna
Est iter in silvis, ubi caelum condidit umbra
Iuppiter, et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.
Vestibulum ante ipsum primisque in faucibus Orci

790 says of Homer that he revealed to the earth all that goes on in the shades before he had seen it, "haec cuncta, prius quam cerneret, ordine terris Prodidit."

268—294.] 'As they went on in the twilight, they saw terrible monsters at the infernal gate, phantoms of all things that on earth make man's life wretched. There is also a giant elm where dreams congregate, and about the door Gorgons and Hydras and Chimaeras dire. Aeneas would have struck at him with his sword, had not the Sibyl told him they were mere spectres.'

268.] A few MSS. (including Gud. a m. p.) give 'obscura soli,' which, as Heyne remarks, would be the more ordinary distribution of the epithets. 'Obscurus' of persons concealed 2. 135, G. 4. 424. For 'solus' applied to things where persons are really thought of, comp. G. 3. 249; though in each case there is of course a certain propriety in the epithet as applied to the thing. Heins. restored 'umbram' for 'umbras' (Gud. a m. s. &c.).

269.] 'Vacuas' and 'inania' both give the notion of empty space, indicating that the mansions of the dead are capable of receiving all comers, and that their present inmates are unsubstantial, so that earthly travellers there would feel a sense of desolation, the same which has been already expressed by 'sola sub nocte.' Hom. makes the unburied Patroclus say ἀλλ' αὔτως ἀλάλημαι ἀν' εὐρυπυλὲς Ἄϊδος δῶ, Il. 23. 74. With 'inania regna' Taubm. well comp. "domus exilis Plutonia" Hor. 1 Od. 4. 17. "Locus inanis" is applied to Avernus by Lucr. 6. 822 in a different sense, the inability of the birds to exist there being accounted for by the supposition that there is no atmosphere.

270.] 'Per incertam lunam' answers to 'per umbram,' v. 268, 'sub luce maligna' to 'sola sub nocte.' The moonlight is looked upon as a medium through which they pass. Comp. 2. 255, "per amica silentia lunae," ib. 340 "oblati per lunam," though in both cases the expression is somewhat less harsh: see also G. 4. 59, "nare per aestatem liquidam." Henry is rather hypercritical in objecting to the ordinary view of 'incertam lunam' as "the struggling moonbeam's misty light," like "incertos soles" 3. 203, though the epithet doubtless includes the sense which he maintains, 'unsure, not to be depended on,' a general attribute of moonlight as compared with sunlight. Serv. mentions a reading 'inceptam,' still found in some MSS., and apparently supported by Ti. Donatus, who explains "in ipsis initiis positam," though Serv. thinks the two words mean the same thing, as it must be the new moon that is spoken of. 'Maligna' churlish or niggardly, as in G. 2. 179.

271.] "'In silvis,' quae etiam exiguum illud lucis sua densitate possunt eripere." Ti. Donatus. There is also of course a reference to the difficulty of picking one's way where there is no road. Comp. the description of Nisus and Euryalus 9. 381 foll.: also Hor. 2. S. 3. 48, "velut silvis, ubi passim Palantis error certo de tramite pellit."

272.] 'Iuppiter,' as the god of the sky. E. 7. 60. 'Colorem:' the early commentators discuss this doctrine of the removal of colour by night. Serv. says "Hoc et videmus, et tractatur ab Epicureis, rebus tollere noctem colorum varietatem: unde et apud inferos omnia nigra esse dicuntur. Contra hos Academici una repugnant: nam squamas piscium lucere per noctem comprobatur." Comp. the exposition of Lucr. 2. 730—841.

273.] "Vestibulum ante ipsum primoque in limine" 2. 469, where see note on the meaning of 'vestibulum.' [The 'fauces' in a house were the narrow passage to the right of the "tablinum." leading into the peristylium. Virg., as Sulpicius Apollinaris (ap. Gell. 16. 5) remarked, uses the word here metaphorically for the passage leading to the 'vestibulum.' 'Primis in faucibus' Pal., and so Ribbeck.—H. N.] Comp. G. 4. 467, "Taenarias fauces, alta ostia Ditis." Orcus, the god of the dead, is here as

Luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae;
Pallentesque habitant Morbi, tristisque Senectus,
Et Metus, et malesuada Fames, ac turpis Egestas,
Terribiles visu formae, Letumque, Labosque;
Tum consanguineus Leti Sopor, et mala mentis

elsewhere used for the place, like Ἀΐδης. Ti. Donatus remarks of the assemblage of personified evils that follows, "In hoc erant omnia quae cruciant vivos aut defunctos affligunt." Germ. refers very happily to a bold personification in Lucr. 3. 65. foll., which not improbably suggested this mythological picture to Virg., and at any rate furnishes an admirable comment on it:

"Turpis enim fermo contemptus, et acris egestas
Semota ab dulci vita stabilique videntur,
Et quasi iam leti portas cunctarier ante."

We may well be reminded also of such passages as Psalm lxxxviii. 2 foll., "For my soul is full of trouble, and my life draweth nigh unto hell. . . . Free among the dead, like unto them that are wounded and lie in the grave, who are out of remembrance, and are cut away from thy hand." [Cicero N. D. 3. 17 enumerates, as the children of Erebus and Night, "Amor, Dolus, Metus, Labor, Invidentia, Fatum, Senectus, Mors, Tenebrae, Miseria, Querella, Gratia, Fraus, Pertinacia, Parcae, Hesperides, Somnia." —H. N.]

274.] 'Luctus' is half personified 2. 369. 'Ultrices Curae' seems rightly explained by Serv. of the stings of conscience. The commentators refer to the well-known passage in Juv. 13. 192 foll.

275.] "Subeunt morbi tristisque senectus, Et labor et durae rapit inclementia mortis" G. 3. 67.

276.] 'Malesuadus' occurs in Plaut.: see Forc. The sense is not unlike that which is sometimes borne by 'improbus' in Virg., e. g. 280, 356. Comp. Hom.'s language about the stomach Od. 17. 286 foll. 'Turpis' seems to refer to physical unsightliness. 'Ac' was restored by Heins. for 'et.'

277.] "Horribili visu portenta" 11. 271. 'Letum' appears as if strictly speaking it ought not to have been placed before the gates of Orcus: but it is regarded as one of the many human ills. 'Labos' was restored by Heins. for 'Labor.'

278.] As Macrob., Sat. 5. 7, points out from Il. 14. 231, ἔνθ' Ὕπνῳ ξύμβλητο, κασιγνήτῳ Θανάτοιο (comp. Il. 16. 682, where Sleep and Death carry off the dead Sarpedon to Lycia). A critic of this work in the "Reader finds a difficulty in the introduction of Sleep among these forms of human ill, and suggests that 'Sopor' really means lethargy. But though Sleep regarded from one point of view is the restorer of nature, it is quite intelligible that it should be considered as itself a sign of the weakness which it remedies, at the same time that the suspension of consciousness, in which it resembles death, may naturally impress the imagination as an actual evil. That it is not fanciful to attribute such considerations to an ancient poet may be seen by comparing the Sophoclean ὕπνος ὁ παντογήρως (Ant. 606), where the feeling is precisely the same, Sleep being regarded as an actual agent in human decay, though it has been lost on several of the later critics, who wish to alter the text. [In favour of the view that 'Sopor' means lethargy, it may further be noticed that 'sopor' means unconsciousness in general, "somnus" only sleep: that Virg. here seems to be thinking of Lucr. 3. 459 foll., "His accedit uti videamus, corpus ut ipsum Suscipere in manes *morbos* durumque dolorem, Sic animum *curas acres luctumque metumque*, . . . Interdumque gravo lethargo fertur in altum Aeternumque *soporem* oculis nutuque cadenti:" and that Seneca probably understood Virg. in this sense when he wrote in his Hercules (690) "Taxo imminente, quam tenent *segnis Sopor*, Famesque maesta tabido rictu iacens."—H. N.] 'Mala mentis gaudia' i. q. "malae mentis gaudia." [Stat. Theb. 1. 229, "mala gaudia matrum," may be imitating Virg.—H. N.] Sen. Ep. 59 thinks the epithet an improper one, as joy is always a good thing, since none but the wise can feel it. Virg. doubtless means to include evil pleasures of all

Gaudia, mortiferumque adverso in limine Bellum,
Ferrëique Eumenidum thalami, et Discordia demens,
Vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis.
In medio ramos annosaque bracchia pandit
Ulmus opaca, ingens, quam sedem Somnia volgo
Vana tenere ferunt, foliisque sub omnibus haerent.

kinds, as real evils, the end of which is death. ["Haec sunt quae in scelera homines ducunt: adulter quippe, latro, homicida, cum lucra et voluptatem de sceleribus capiunt, sic in mala gaudia perducuntur" Ti. Donatus. May 'mentis' mean passion? comp. Horace's "compesce mentem" and Virg.'s "mentem Venus ipsa dedit."—H. N.]

279.] "Adverso in limine" below v. 636. Here it is merely poetical surplusage, saying, what has been said before, that these figures are at the gate fronting those who wished to enter, unless we choose to say with Serv. that war, being the chief cause of death, is placed at the threshold when the others are at the vestibule, or, what would be the same thing, that the thought is repeated in order to call special attention to the case of war. For the personification of War comp. 1. 294., 7. 607, and see Aristoph. Peace 205 &c.

280.] The Furies are mentioned below, vv. 570 foll., as carrying on their work within: so that it has been questioned why they are represented here among the guardians of the gate. It has been replied that the Furies may be distinguished from the Eumenides; that the meaning may be that they sleep here, but work elsewhere, a view somewhat favoured by the form of expression, which speaks of their chambers, not of themselves, though it would naturally stand for the Furies and their chambers; that Virg. has been inconsistent, perhaps following different legends. Either of the two latter views seems probable. Virg. however has doubtless an object in placing the Furies on the threshold, which seems to have been their seat (see on v. 563 below), and there is something of the same inconsistency in his language about the Hydra, vv. 287, 576. The 'thalami' are chambers, compared by Heyne to the cells of the porters in some Roman houses (Dict. A. 'Domus,' 'Ianua'). Vulcan's 'thalamus' is of gold, 8. 372, where the synizesis "aureo" illustrates 'ferrei' here. Another question was raised by Serv. about the propriety of the word as applied to the Furies, 'thalamus' generally meaning a bridal chamber: but Cerda shows from Ov. M. 2. 738 &c. that it is attributed to maidens also. 'Discordia' had been already personified by Ennius (?) whose words are quoted by Hor. 1. S. 4. 60. So the Homeric Ἔρις.

281.] Virg. represents Discord as a Fury, with snakes for hair. 'Vipereum crinem' like "anguino capillo" Catull. 64. 193. 'Vipereus' occurs again 7. 351. 753. [Rom. has 'innixa.'—H. N.]

282.] 'In medio' is explained by Ti. Donatus of the "impluvium," perhaps rightly, comp. 2. 512 foll, where a baytree grows in the "impluvium" of Priam's palace. We must not however expect to be able to trace such details in the description of these vast shadowy realms. Heyne explains it "in medio vestibuli:" see on v. 285. "Ramos et bracchia tendens" G. 2. 296.

283.] "Opaca, ingens" 3. 619. The notion of dreams perched like birds on a tree Heyne traces to Il. 14. 286 foll., where Sleep, taking the form of a bird, perches on one of the trees of Ida, before coming down upon Zeus. Virg. may mean that the dreams are actually in the form of birds, as Henry thinks, comp. Sil. 13. 594 foll., who, imitating this passage, represents a yew on the banks of Cocytus as peopled by noisome birds. 'Volgo' may go either with 'ferunt' or with 'tenere:' but the latter seems more forcible. Wagn. comp. 3. 643, "habitant ad litora volgo." In Od. 24. 12 the δῆμος Ὀνείρων is reached before the shades. ['Vulgo' Med., Rom.—H. N.]

284.] 'Vana' seems to mean fallacious as well as unsubstantial. Comp. the distinction between "verae umbrae" and "falsa insomnia" below vv. 894 foll. "Ne vana putes haec fingere somnum" 8. 42. 'Haerent' sc. 'somnia.' The parallels to this change of construction quoted by Wagn. Q. V. 34. 4 are mostly instances like 4. 263, where the subject of the second verb is the same as that

Multaque praeterea variarum monstra ferarum
Centauri in foribus stabulant Scyllaeque biformes
Et centumgeminus Briareus ac belua Lernae,
Horrendum stridens, flammisque armata Chimaera,
Gorgones Harpyiaeque et forma tricorporis umbrae.

of the first, but the first verb is constructed with a relative clause which is dropped in the second. One however comes tolerably near, 9. 593, "Cui Remulo cognomen erat, Turnique minorem Germanam nuper thalamo sociatus habebat." Serv. and the older commentators suppose Virg. to refer to a notion that dreams become false at the fall of the leaf.

285.] 'Praeterea' may be beside the dream-laden elm, which we must then suppose to be in the middle of the vestibule, or besides the shapes mentioned vv. 274 foll. 'Monstra ferarum' = "monstruosae ferae," as "monstra deum" 8. 698 = "monstruosi Di." The figures here are not personifications, but mythological monsters. Hom. knows nothing of them, though he makes Ulysses afraid lest Persephone should send the Gorgon's head from Hades against him Od. 11. 634: but Aristoph. Frogs 143, 277, speaks of wild beasts which have to be encountered immediately on crossing the infernal lake.

286.] 'Stabulant' neuter, G. 3. 224. The word is appropriate to the Centaurs. 'Scyllae' may be meant to include the two Scyllas, as the daughter of Nisus was turned into a monster according to one legend (see on E. 6. 74), or the plural may be rhetorical, like Milton's "Hydras and Chimaeras dire." It would almost seem as if Virg. wished them to be conceived of as a monstrous race, like the Centaurs. Lucr., whom Virg. doubtless had in view, speaking philosophically, treats them as a class, "Centauros itaque et Scyllarum membra videmus, Cerbereasque canum facies," 4. 732, and again "Centauros . . . Scyllas et cetera de genere horum" 5. 891 foll.

287.] 'Centumgeminus' = "centuplex," as "tergeminus" 4. 510 = "triplex," "septemgeminus" v. 801 below = "septemplex." The latter part of the compound has no very precise force, as is frequently the case in compounds in Greek, though the notion probably is that as "geminus" indicates repetition, "tergeminus" &c. may indicate a thing repeated three &c. times. "Tergeminus" is applied by Lucr. 5. 28 to Geryon, who had three bodies. Briareus had not a hundred bodies, but a hundred hands (Il. 1. 402 foll.), so that the expression is far from exact. Possibly however as Virg. (following Apollodorus) gives him fifty heads 10. 565 foll., he may have given him a hundred here. In Hom. there seems no reason for supposing him to have had more than one. The word is said to occur only in Val. F. 6. 118, where it is applied to the hundred-gated Thebes. 'Belua Lernae,' the Hydra, called "Lernaeus anguis" 8. 300, "Lernaea pestis" Lucr. 5. 26.

288.] 'Stridens' of the Hydra, as elsewhere of serpents. The Chimaera is called 'flammis armata,' as the Parthian arrow is called "armata felle veneni" 12. 857. Wakef., thinking the expression commonplace, ingeniously proposed 'animata,' which would produce a translation, though not perhaps a very Virgilian one, of Hom.'s δεινὸν ἀποπνείουσα πυρὸς μένος αἰθομένοιο, Il. 6. 182. The Chimaera is one of Turnus' cognizances, 7. 785 foll.

289.] The 'forma tricorporis umbrae' is Geryon, mentioned again 7. 662., 8. 202. Aesch. Ag. 870 calls him τρισώματος, and Lucr. 5. 28 talks of "tripectora tergemini vis Geryonai." Sil. uses the word 'tricorpor' twice, each time of Geryon. The words 'forma umbrae' (for 'formae' see on 3. 591) sufficiently indicate the spectral and unsubstantial nature of the appearances, pointed out by the Sibyl in the following lines. Some of these monsters had been actually killed, so that it was natural that they should appear spectrally in Hades: others, like the Harpies, were products of the infernal world (comp. 3. 214), and though when appearing on earth they may have had bodies, they may be supposed to be divested of them in the shades, where spirit acts upon spirit. The train of thought may be the same as that in Hom. (Od. 11. 602), where though Hercules himself is among the gods, his εἴδωλον is in the shades (comp. Shelley's 'Phantasm of Jupiter' in the Prometheus Unbound): or Virg. may have been influenced more or less by a

Corripit hic subita trepidus formidine ferrum
Aeneas, strictamque aciem venientibus offert,
Et, ni docta comes tenuis sine corpore vitas
Admoneat volitare cava sub imagine formae,
Inruat, et frustra ferro diverberet umbras.
Hinc via, Tartarei quae fert Acherontis ad undas.

philosophical motive, intending to hint at the unreality of these terrible shapes. The words of Serv. may be worth quoting. "'Harpyiaeque;' aut iam mortuas intellege, aut secundum Platonem et alios simulacra licet vivarum illic fuisse. Nam dicunt esse omnium rerum ideas quasdam, i. e. imagines, ad quarum similitudinem procreantur universa." Serv. also tells us that after these lines four others were inserted by some, who believed them to have been left by Virg., but omitted by those who revised his work. It will be seen that they are of the same quality as those quoted on 3. 204:

"Gorgonis in medio portentum inmane Medusae,
Vipereae circum ora comae cui sibila torquent,
Infamesque (qu. informesque?) rigent oculi, mentoque sub imo
Serpentum extremis nodantur vincula caudis."

290.] 'Hic' of time, 2. 122, &c. 'Trepidus' with 'formidine,' as in 9. 169.

291.] 'Strictam aciem' 2. 333. To offer a weapon at a person is a common expression in our own older writers.

292.] 'Docta,' instructed, perhaps by Hecate, v. 565 below. But the word often means little more than wise or skilful: see Forc. 'Tenuis vitas' G. 4. 224. 'Sine corpore:' see on G. 4. 475, where, as in v. 303 below, Virg. is not quite consistent with his language here.

293.] Virg.'s words are a paraphrase of τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ ἀΐσσουσιν Od. 10. 495, translated by Cic. De Div. 1. 40, "ceteros umbrarum vagari modo." The kind of motion is connected with the want of substance and stability. 'Cava imagine' means more than "nube cava" 1. 516, "cava umbra" 2. 360 note, expressing not merely that the spirits are enclosed by the visible shape, but that the shape is essentially hollow, ψυχὴ καὶ εἴδωλον, ἀτὰρ φρένες οὐκ ἔνι πάμπαν (Il. 23. 105: comp. Od. 10. 493). [Henry takes 'sub imagine formae' as = 'presenting the appearance of a form.'—H. N.] 'Admoneat—inruat:' see on 5. 325.

294.] In Hom. Ulysses' sword operates as a real terror to the ghosts (see on v. 260 above). The legend was that Hercules drew his sword on the Gorgon when he went down to the shades, and was reassured by Hermes as Aeneas here is by the Sibyl (Apollodorus 2. 5. 12: Schol. on Il. 8. 368). 'Diverberet' 5. 503 note.

295—316.] 'Next they see the way to Acheron. Charon is there with his ferry-boat, old and squalid, but vigorous. Ghosts keep crowding to the boat: some of them are admitted, others rejected.'

295.] 'Hinc' seems to mean that it is only after passing the gate of Orcus that they see the way to Acheron. Acheron is called 'Tartareus' from its dismal associations, though it is not, like Phlegethon, v. 551, a river specially surrounding Tartarus, but apparently encompasses the whole of the lower world. But Virg.'s conception of the four infernal rivers, as given by Hom., is very confused. Hom. says briefly, Od. 10. 513 foll.:

ἔνθα μὲν εἰς Ἀχέροντα Πυριφλεγέθων τε ῥέουσιν
Κωκυτός θ', ὃς δὴ Στυγὸς ὕδατός ἐστιν ἀπορρώξ·
πέτρη τε, ξύνεσίς τε δύω ποταμῶν ἐριδούπων,

but he does not mention them at all when he comes to the actual journey of his hero. Virg. conducts Aeneas over the water circumstantially, but from his description we should infer that there is only one river, which, after being called Acheron or Cocytus here, turns out eventually to be Styx, v. 385. Heyne remarks with justice (Excursus 9) that the poet would have found it awkward to have to describe the passage of all three, especially as Styx alone is said to surround the lower world nine times, v. 439. Generally we may say that Virg. found the notion of a single river of death most convenient for poetical purposes, but that he wished as usual to in-

Turbidus hic caeno vastaque voragine gurges
Aestuat atque omnem Cocyto eructat harenam.
Portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina servat
Terribili squalore Charon, cui plurima mento
Canities inculta iacet, stant lumina flamma,
Sordidus ex umeris nodo dependet amictus.

troduce the various points of the legends he followed, and so he employed the names Acheron, Cocytus, and Styx, whenever the river was to be spoken of, with a dim conception of Acheron as emptying itself into Cocytus, and perhaps of Styx as the most inward of the three, and a clear one of Phlegethon as specially surrounding Tartarus. Plato gives a much more definite description in his Phaedo, pp. 112, 113, speaking of four rivers, Ocean, Acheron, Pyriphlegethon, and Styx, the last of which disappears under the earth and reappears as Cocytus, an attempt apparently to realize the picture in Hom.: and later Roman poets, as Heyne observes, Exc. 9, have introduced varieties of their own. ['Undam' Nonius, p. 303.—H. N.]

296.] Acheron has here the Platonic characteristics of a marshy slough, combined with those of a rapid river. 'Caenum' and 'harena' are doubtless the same, as Heyne thinks. Comp. the description of the muddy pool in Catull. 17. 10, "totius ut lacus putidaeque paludis Lividissima maximeque est profunda vorago," ib. 25, "Et supinum animum in gravi derelinquere caeno, Ferream ut soleam tenaci in voragine mula." 'Vorago' is applied to the infernal rivers in the only other passages where it occurs in Virg., 7. 569., 9. 105., 10. 114. 'Hic' may be either adv. or pron., perhaps better the former.

297.] 'Disgorges into Cocytus,' into which Virg. evidently supposed Acheron to empty itself. Hom., as we have seen, makes Cocytus an ἀποῤῥώξ or arm of Styx.

298.] 'Portitor,' properly a person who collects the portoria, duties on exports and imports, or tolls (Dict. A. 'Portorium'); hence a person who receives toll for carrying passengers or goods, and so, as here, a ferryman, a sense which it bears Sen. De Benef. 6. 18, and in various passages of the poets, where, as here, it is applied to Charon. In later Latin it came to be used for a porter: see Forc. We have had the word used of Charon G. 4. 502.

299.] 'Terribili squalore' is not to be taken with 'horrendus,' but forms in fact a second epithet. Charon is later than Hom., who employs only the agency of Hermes for transporting the dead to the shades (Od. 24), while the living cross the Ocean river in ships: he appears however in Aristoph. Frogs 180, &c., and was represented by Polygnotus in his paintings in the Lesche of the Cnidians at Delphi.

300.] 'Canities' for "cani," as in 9. 612., 10. 844., 12. 611. 'Stant lumina flamma' like "pulvere caelum Stare vident" 12. 407, comp. by Turn. V. L. 28. 32. 'Stant' expresses the fixedness of the eyes (Ti. Donatus), and the mass of the flame (Henry). 'His eyes are fixed orbs of fire.' The comparison of eyes to fire occurs more than once in Hom., e. g. Il. 1. 104, ὄσσε δέ οἱ πυρὶ λαμπετόωντι ἐΐκτην. 'Flammae' is read by many MSS., including Med. (originally), Rom., and Pal. from a correction: but the attributive gen. [now approved by Henry] would be harsh. Some copies have 'flammea,' which is approved by Heins., and might be scanned by synizesis (comp. 7. 448, "flammea torquens lumina").

301.] Charon apparently wears a scarf or chlamys, which is twisted round the shoulder (Dict. Ant. 'Chlamys,' 'Nodus'). Cerda shows that this was a pilot's costume from Plaut. Mil. 4. 4. 48 foll.:

"Facito uti venias ornatu ornatus huc nauclerico,
* * * * * * *
Palliolum habeas ferrugineum, nam is colos thalassicu'st:
Id conexum in umero laevo, expapillato bracchio;
. . . adsimulato quasi gubernator sies."

'Nodus' is to be taken strictly, not as implying a "fibula" or brooch, which would hardly be in keeping with the rest

Ipse ratem conto subigit, velisque ministrat,
Et ferruginea subvectat corpora cumba,
Iam senior, set cruda deo viridisque senectus.
Huc omnis turba ad ripas effusa ruebat,
Matres atque viri, defunctaque corpora vita
Magnanimum heroum, pueri innuptaeque puellae,
Impositique rogis iuvenes ante ora parentum:

of Charon's trim. Some early correctors read 'nudo,' which Pier. rightly rejects.

302.] 'Ipse,' without assistance, old as he was. 'Subigit' G. 1. 202, apparently expressing the motion of the pole or oar, pushing up from beneath. 'Conto' 5. 208. "Velisque ministrat" 10. 218. It has been a question since the time of Serv. whether 'velis' is dat. or abl. "Ministrare" is used intransitively with a dat. of the person or thing served, and it also takes an abl. of the instrument of the service; two constructions which are exemplified in "Claudius Vinio fictilibus ministrari iussit," Tac. H. 1. 48. 'Ministrat velis' then might either be 'attends to the sails,' or 'manages the ship (understanding 'rati' or 'ratem') by means of the sails.' Either construction would suit the present passage: 10. 218 is in favour of the dat., as there is nothing to suggest 'rati' or 'ratem,' unless we consider 'velis ministrat' to have become an elliptical phrase. On the other hand [Livy 34. 6 has "administratio navis":] Tac. Germ. 44 has "naves velis ministrantur," which makes strongly for the abl., and Val. F. 3. 38 has "ipse ratem vento stellisque ministrat," evidently imitating either this passage or that in A. 10. Stat. Theb. 7. 752, "Ipse sedens telis pariterque ministrat habenis" (of Apollo sitting in the car with Amphiaraus, like Pallas with Diomed in Il. 5), also an evident imitation of Virg., is rather in favour of the dat., as it could not so well be said that Apollo was ministering either to the car or to Amphiaraus. [In the tenth book 'velis' is probably the dative: in this passage probably the abl.—H. N.]

303.] 'Ferruginea' (see note on G. 1. 467) seems to denote the murky hue of the infernal boat. It may however merely indicate the ordinary colour of ships (comp. νεὸς κυανοπρῴροιο Il. 15. 693), as Plaut. referred to on v. 301 says as a reason for wearing the 'ferrugineum pallium' "is colos thalassicu'st." At any rate it is evidently the same with "caeruleam puppim"" v. 410 below. 'Subvectat' used like "subvectus" 8. 58, perhaps to express the difficulty of the exertion. 'Corpora:' see on G. 4. 475, and comp. v. 391 below. 'Cumba' G. 4. 506. ['Cymba' Rom.—H. N.]

304.] "Iam senior" 5. 179. 'Senior' with Virg., as Forb. remarks, is not the same as "senex." In its technical sense among the Romans it was applied to those who were between forty-five and sixty, Gell. 10. 28, referred to by Forb. 'Cruda senectus' is a translation of ὠμὸν γῆρας, which occurs Od. 15. 357, Hes. Works 705, though apparently in a different sense of untimely (or perhaps cruel) old age. There is however a compound ὠμογέρων applied to Ulysses Il. 23. 791, and this is doubtless what Virg. meant to represent here, 'crudus' meaning fresh, with the blood still in the veins, opposed to dried up and withered: i. q. 'viridis' in short. 'Viridis' is elsewhere applied to youth, as in 5. 295, so that its connexion with 'senectus' is a kind of oxymoron [It means, in all probability, not green, but vigorous; Cic. Lael. 3 "senectus . . . aufert eam viriditatem in qua erat Scipio:" Tusc. 3. 31 "ut quam diu in illo opinato malo vis quaedam insit, ut vigeat et habeat quandam viriditatem, tam diu appelletur recens:" Hor. 1 Od. 9. 17 "donec virenti canities abest:" Epod. 13. 4 "dumque virent genua." —H. N.] Serv. remarks of 'deo' "τὸ αἴτιον: ideo cruda et viridis, quia in deo." 'Deo' doubtless refers to Charon specially: but the sentence might conceivably be taken as a general sentiment: 'the old age of a god is fresh and green.' ['Sed' Rom.—H. N.]

305.] 'Huc' may be explained by 'ad ripas' (see on E. 1. 54), or it may refer to the boat. 'Effusa' qualifies 'ruebat.'

306.] This and the two next lines are repeated from G. 4. 475—477, where see notes. For 'magnanimum' see on 3. 704.

308.] ['Inpositi' Pal.—H. N.]

Quam multa in silvis autumni frigore primo
Lapsa cadunt folia, aut ad terram gurgite ab alto
Quam multae glomerantur aves, ubi frigidus annus
Trans pontum fugat et terris inmittit apricis.
Stabant orantes primi transmittere cursum,
Tendebantque manus ripae ulterioris amore.
Navita set tristis nunc hos nunc accipit illos,
Ast alios longe summotos arcet harena.
Aeneas miratus enim motusque tumultu
Dic, ait, o virgo, quid volt concursus ad amnem?

309.] "Quam multa" G. 4. 473, where the simile resembles the second of the two now before us. The comparison to falling leaves is apparently from Apoll. R. 4. 216, ἢ ὅσα φύλλα χαμᾶζε περικλαδέος πέσεν ὕλης, Φυλλοχόῳ ἔνι μηνί, where the thing compared is an ordinary concourse of people. Hom. compares a multitude to leaves on the trees, Il. 2. 467. Putting the similes side by side, we may see that there is a delicate propriety in Virg.'s which is wanting to Apollonius', the pale ghosts being compared to the withered leaves. The well-known reversal of the comparison in Shelley's Ode to the West Wind, where the "leaves dead" are compared to "ghosts from the enchanter fleeing," and designated as "yellow, and black, and pale, and hectic red, Pestilence-stricken multitudes," will illustrate what was in Virg's mind. "Prima autumni sub frigora" G. 2. 321.

310.] "'Lapsa cadunt' fere idem quod 'decussa cadunt:' vide Döderlein Synon. vol. 1, p. 128," Wagn. 'Ad terram gurgite ab alto:' the birds are apparently supposed to have accomplished their voyage over the sea, and to be just alighting in a mass in the warmer clime that is to receive them. Mr. Long however remarks, that the flocking together of the birds before departure would be a fitter and more natural comparison. The simile of birds is probably from Il. 3. 3 foll., where the Trojans are compared to cranes migrating for the winter, ἐπεὶ οὖν χειμῶνα φύγον καὶ ἀθέσφατον ὄμβρον. "Gurgite ab alto" 7. 704, which resembles this passage, "nubem volucrum urgueri ad litora" corresponding to 'ad terram glomerantur.'

311.] 'Frigidus annus,' the cold part of the year, as "pomifer annus" Hor. 3 Od. 23. 8 is the fruit-bearing part of the year, "annus hibernus" Id. Epod. 2. 29 the wintry part of the year (both comp. by Forb.). So "formosissimus annus" E. 3. 57. Burm. reads 'amnis' from a few inferior MSS., interpreting it of the Strymon, as in Lucan 3. 199 we have "Strymon tepido committere Nilo Bistonias consuetus aves," but, as Heyne remarks, 'amnis' alone would be obscure, especially as the correlative is 'terris,' not any equivalent of 'Nilo.'

312.] 'Terris' is awkward after 'terram,' but such repetitions are found elsewhere in Virg. (e. g. 2. 632, 633), so that we need not prefer 'et campis' from one MS., or 'atque oris' from another. ['Immittit' Rom.—H. N.]

313.] "'Primi transmittere' figura Graeca est, ut primi transirent," Serv. 'Transmittere' takes an acc. of the thing sent across ("transmissae classes" 3. 403), and so here of the passage, though in Greek we should distinguish them as the acc. of the object and the cognate. In 4. 154 the acc. is of the space passed over, the passage being put into the instrumental abl. Scaliger, Poetics 4. 48, observes "Ecce cum tractu morae videtur ipse versus stare."

314.] "Magno telluris amore" 1. 171 note.

315.] 'Accipit' v. 412. 'Nunc hos, nunc illos:' each longs to be first, but he takes some early, some late, some not at all. ['Sed' Rom.—H N.]

316.] 'Summotos arcet' like "submersas obrue" 1. 69. 'Harena,' the earth at the water's edge, as in 1. 540, 541 it is synonymous with "prima terra."

317—336.] Aeneas inquires the meaning of what he sees, and is told by the Sibyl that only those who have been buried are ferried over, the rest having to wait a hundred years. He grieves over the fate of the unburied, recognizing among them his comrades lost in the wreck between Sicily and Africa.'

317.] 'Enim' may either have its ordi-

Quidve petunt animae? vel quo discrimine ripas
Hae linquunt, illae remis vada livida verrunt?
Olli sic breviter fata est longaeva sacerdos:
Anchisa generate, deum certissima proles,
Cocyti stagna alta vides Stygiamque paludem,
Di cuius iurare timent et fallere numen.
Haec omnis, quam cernis, inops inhumataque turba est;

nary sense 'for,' 'miratus' and 'motus' being taken as principal verbs, and the clause made parenthetical (comp. 4. 105, "Olli (sensit enim simulata mente locutam) . . . Sic contra est ingressa Venus," Ov. F. 1. 659, "cum mihi (sensit enim), lux haec indicitur, inquit Musa,") or be understood as a strengthening particle, as in 10. 874, "Aeneas adgnovit enim laetusque precatur." Perhaps the latter is better; but it is very doubtful. "Mota tumultu" 8. 371.

319.] 'Quo discrimine:' what constitutes the distinction, according to which some are rejected, others admitted.

320.] "'Hae linquunt:' repulsae scilicet, non transeuntes," Serv. 'Remis verrunt' 3. 668. Here they are said to do what Charon does for them. 'Livida' of turbid water Catull. 17. 11, quoted on v. 296 above. Pal. has 'vertunt:' comp. 3. 668., 5. 141 note. ['Linqunt' Rom., —H. N.]

321.] Comp. v. 398. 'Longaeva:' the legend was that the Sibyl obtained from Apollo the boon of as many years of life as the grains of sand she happened to be holding in her hand.

322.] Some have supposed a contrast between 'Anchisa generate' and 'deum certissima proles:' but vv. 125, 126 above are rather against this. 'Deum certissima proles' like "cara deum suboles" E. 4. 49, where 'deum' appears to be used generally, as we should say 'offspring of heaven.' This interpretation has been questioned in both passages by Mr. Munro (Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology, vol. 4, pp. 290 foll.), who prefers explaining the words as equivalent to "divina proles" or "suboles" (as in Lucr. 4. 1232, where "virum suboles" must = "virilis"), the genitive indicating the quality of the issue, not its parentage. In the present passage the sense strongly favours, if it does not absolutely require the ordinary interpretation, as the point seems to be that Aeneas is one of the class of "Dis geniti" vv. 131, 394 (comp. v. 123), rather than that his own quality is godlike. Ascanius is called "Dis genite et geniture deos" 9. 642: Aeneas is called "sate gente deum" 8. 36, where "gente deum" apparently must = "dis." Aeneas was in fact sprung from more gods than one, from Venus, and hence from Jupiter, not to mention Saturn and Caelus. So Soph. Ant. 986 has θεῶν παῖς of Cleopatra the daughter of Boreas. "Genus deorum" 4. 12, "deum gens" 10. 228, both said of Aeneas, are in the same category with the present line, and must be ruled by the interpretation given to it. 'Certissima,' because they were pretenders to the honour, as even mythology itself admitted, doubts about parentage forming the staple of some of the mythological stories, such as that of Phaethon. So Aristaeus in the passage referred to above, G. 4. 322, affects to doubt his own descent when in trouble. Thus Hercules 8. 301 is called "vera Iovis proles," having justified himself by his actions.

323.] 'This that you see is the pool of Cocytus.' So 1. 338, "Punica regna vides, Tyrios et Agenoris urbem." Cocytus and Styx are mentioned almost as if they were the same river: see on v. 296 above. The infernal rivers were supposed to form or flow into lakes or marshes (v. 107, Plato Phaedo, pp. 112, 113); so they are spoken of as if lakes or marshes themselves, being turbid and sluggish. So "Stygios lacus" v. 134 above.

324.] 'Cuius,' of Styx. Καὶ τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, ὅς τε μέγιστος Ὅρκος δεινότατός τε πέλει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν Il. 15. 37, Od. 5. 185: comp. Il. 2. 755., 14. 271. So Jupiter swears by the Styx 9. 104., 10. 113. 'Iurare' with acc. v. 351 below. 'Iurare et fallere' to be taken closely together, i. q. "iuratum numen fallere" or "peierare." Comp. the well-known passage of St. Paul, Rom. 6. 17, χάρις δὲ τῷ Θεῷ ὅτι ἦτε δοῦλοι τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ὑπηκούσατε δὲ ἐκ καρδίας εἰς ὃν παρεδόθητε τύπον διδαχῆς.

325.] The belief that only those who had been buried could be received among

Portitor ille Charon; hi, quos vehit unda, sepulti.
Nec ripas datur horrendas et rauca fluenta
Transportare prius, quam sedibus ossa quierunt.
Centum errant annos volitantque haec litora circum;
Tum demum admissi stagna exoptata revisunt.
Constitit Anchisa satus et vestigia pressit,
Multa putans, sortemque animi miseratus iniquam.
Cernit ibi maestos et mortis honore carentis
Leucaspim et Lyciae ductorem classis Oronten,
Quos simul a Troia ventosa per aequora vectos

the shades is as old as Hom., Il. 23. 71 foll.: comp. the story of Elpenor, Od. 11, who however does not appear to have been prevented, like Patroclus, from crossing the river, though he is the first to meet Ulysses. Patroclus is kept off, not by Charon, who, as has been remarked above, was unknown to Hom., but by the other ghosts. Heyne remarks on the humane character of the superstition, which was likely to have its effect on savage tribes. Serv. has a strange notion that 'inops' means unburied, "Ops" being taken mythologically for the earth-goddess. "Inhumata infletaque turba" 11. 372. [' Turbast' Med. originally.—H. N.]

327.] 'Datur,' Charonti. A prose writer would probably have said 'transportari,' as the prohibition really touches the dead rather than Charon. 'Ripas horrendas transportare' seems to mean to carry from one side of the dreadful river to another. 'Transportare' is used with two accusatives (see Forc.), and the more ordinary one of the object is here to be supplied from the context. With 'ripas horrendas' we may comp. Soph. Polyx. fr. 478:

ἀκτὰς ἀπαίωνάς τε καὶ μελαμβαθεῖς
λιποῦσα λίμνης ἦλθον, ἄρσενας χοὰς
'Αχέροντος ὀξυπλῆγας ἠχούσας γόους.

328.] 'Sedibus:' see on v. 152 above. Here it must mean the grave.

329.] It is not known whether this specification of 100 years is due to any earlier authority or to Virg's invention. 'Errant:' ἀλλ' αὔτως ἀλάλημαι Il. 23. 74, of the unburied Patroclus.

330.] 'Revisunt,' because they had been driven away to a distance v. 316. At any rate we may say that having visited the river once with the hope of crossing and been disappointed, they now visit it again with a hope that has become a certainty. 'Stagna' v. 323.

331.] "Satus Anchisa" 5. 244, 424. 'Vestigia pressit' v. 197.

332.] 'Multa putans' 8. 522. I have restored 'animi' for 'animo,' though found only in Med. "Animi miserata" is supported by the whole weight of the better MSS. in 10. 686, and the expression is just one of those which are likely to have been repeated by Virg. and altered by transcribers not understanding it, as has been the case in the inferior copies there. 'Animi' really = "animo," the gen. being probably quasi-locative: see on 2. 61.

333.] 'Mortis honore' like "honos tumuli" 10. 493. Comp. the Homeric τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων Il. 16. 457.

334.] Leucaspis is not mentioned elsewhere in Virg. The name is a Greek one, as are many of those assigned by Virg., and even by Hom., to the inferior Trojans. In Hom. it is an epithet of Deiphobus Il. 22. 294. The death of Orontes and his Lycians has been mentioned 1. 113. 'Oronten' Pal., 'Orontem' Med., Rom., Gud., &c.: Heyne restored the former, which some copies have in 1. 113: and Wagn. supports it there by the remark that in 1. 220 the best MSS. have 'Oronti,' the Latin form of the Greek gen. of proper names in 'es,' not 'Orontis.' In A. 1 we hear only of one ship: but the words here do not imply that the whole of the Lycian part of the fleet perished with its general. [Med. has 'ductoremque.' —H. N.]

335.] 'Simul' may either be taken with 'obruit,' meaning that Leucaspis and Orontes died together, or with 'vectos,' meaning that they were fellow-voyagers of Aeneas. Wagn. thinks the latter sense weak; but surely it has

Obruit Auster, aqua involvens navemque virosque.
  Ecce gubernator sese Palinurus agebat,
Qui Libyco nuper cursu, dum sidera servat,
Exciderat puppi mediis effusus in undis.
Hunc ubi vix multa maestum cognovit in umbra,
Sic prior adloquitur: Quis te, Palinure, deorum
Eripuit nobis, medioque sub aequore mersit?
Dic age. Namque mihi, fallax haud ante repertus,
Hoc uno responso animum delusit Apollo,

peculiar force, showing what passed through Aeneas' mind and drew his tears, the thought that these men had been with him throughout his seven years' wanderings. With the other sense it would be possible to take 'vectos' as = "navigantis," as Wagn. wishes (see on G. 1. 206, where "ventosa per aequora vectis" has occurred already), so as to refer the words to the circumstances of the storm in which they met their death: but in that case we should rather have had 'a Sicilia' than 'a Troia.' I think then it is best to understand 'ventosa per aequora vectos' of all the sufferings during the seven years' voyage (comp. 1. 524, "ventis maria omnia vecti"), referring 'simul' to Aeneas, and I have removed the commas accordingly. Pal. a m. p. has 'ab Troia,' which Ribbeck adopts.

336.] 'Obruit Auster:' comp. Hor. 1. Od. 28. 91, "Me quoque devexi rapidus comes Orionis Illyricis Notus obruit undis." "Silvas armenta virosque Involvens secum" 12. 689. ['Virum' originally Pal.—H. N.]

337—383.] 'He next sees Palinurus, and inquires how he came to be lost at sea, contrary to Apollo's prediction. Palinurus acquits Apollo, says that he fell overboard by accident, and swam to shore, when he was killed by the natives, and begs that he may either be buried or taken with Aeneas across the Styx. The Sibyl rebukes him, but tells him that he shall have funeral solemnities, and that the spot where he was murdered shall bear his name.'

337.] The line may remind us of 5. 833, "Princeps ante omnis densum Palinurus agebat Agmen," and Taubm. remarks, "Qui in vita naves, mortuus seipsum agebat." Virg. cannot have intended this, but he is perhaps to blame for not having excluded the possibility of the supposition. 'Sese agebat' is explained by Serv. "sine negotio incedere," by Manutius and some of the earlier commentators, of slow and melancholy motion; but it would seem from the use of the words 8. 465., 9. 696, quoted by Forb., that it is simply a poetical equivalent for "ibat." Comp. G. 2. 364.

338.] 'Libyco cursu:' see Introduction to Book 5. They had halted at Sicily, so that the voyage was not really more from Libya to Italy than from any other place where they had stopped since sailing from Troy. Serv. remarks, "Bene 'Libyco:' navigatio enim non a diverticulo, sed ab intentione accipit nomen." 'Sidera servat' 5. 25. 'Dum servat—exciderat:' see on v. 171 above, and the notes there referred to. Here again there is a rhetorical propriety in representing Palinurus' watching of the stars as still going on: comp. 5. 852, 853. ['Lybico' Med.—H. N.]

339.] We might have expected "medias effusus in undas:" but Virg. probably wished to combine the notion of the acc. with that of the abl., "effusus in undas in medio cursu." Arusianus Messius, p. 140 Lindemann, says "Diligentiores quidam grammatici hoc ita dividi volunt: 'Cum in mediis undis esset, puppi effusus exciderat;'" but this I think would be 'nimia diligentia.' Forb. comp. 10. 838, "fusus propexam in pectore barbam."

340.] The darkness rendered the recognition difficult (comp. v. 452), and perhaps increased the melancholy of Palinurus' appearance.

342.] 'Medio' like 'mediis in undis.' Ulysses addresses Elpenor more briefly, Od. 11. 57, 58.

343.] Apparently from Aesch. Choeph. 559, ἄναξ Ἀπόλλων, μάντις ἀψευδὴς τὸ πρίν. ['Haut' Rom.—H. N.]

344.] 'Hoc uno responso:' see Introduction to Book 5. The only prediction bearing on the subject is made not to Aeneas but by Neptune to Venus, and

Qui fore te ponto incolumem, finisque canebat
Venturum Ausonios. En haec promissa fides est?
Ille autem: Neque te Phoebi cortina fefellit,
Dux Anchisiade, nec me deus aequore mersit.
Namque gubernaclum multa vi forte revolsum,
Cui datus haerebam custos cursusque regebam,
Praecipitans traxi mecum. Maria aspera iuro
Non ullum pro me tantum cepisse timorem,
Quam tua ne, spoliata armis, excussa magistro,

expressly mentions the loss of one of the crew, 5. 812 foll.

345.] There seems no authority for constructing 'ponto incolumem,' 'unharmed by the sea,' as we might be not sorry to do; so that 'ponto' must be understood 'in your course through the sea,' a sort of abl. of circumstance.

346.] It may be questioned whether the interrogation usually placed after 'fides est' should not be changed into an exclamation, as the force of the words is substantially equivalent to "en dextra fidesque" 4. 597. But we have had 'en' with interrogatives 4. 534, E. 1. 68, and the interrogation is perhaps the more natural form into which to throw a sentence like this. "Fides promissa" has occurred already 4. 552. Some MSS. mentioned by Pier. has 'fidesque,' evidently from a recollection of 4. 597.

347.] 'Ille autem' v. 695 below. 'Cortina' 3. 92, the seat of the priestess delivering the oracle. Comp. Aesch. Eum. 616, οὐπώποτ' εἶπον μαντικοῖσιν ἐν θρόνοις Ὃ μὴ κελεύσαι Ζεὺς Ὀλυμπίων πατήρ.

348.] [The MSS. here agree in giving 'Anchisiade.'—H.N.] 'Deus' generally, any god, an answer to Aeneas' question v. 341. Palinurus did not know the agency of the god of sleep in throwing him overboard, as Ilioneus did not know the agency of Aeolus in producing the storm 1. 535. Palinurus denies two things, that a god had any thing to with throwing him into the sea, and that he was drowned at all, Aeneas' question having assumed both. Elpenor says the contrary, Od. 11. 61, ἆσέ με δαίμονος αἶσα κακή.

349.] He accounts for it as an accident—he slipped, and the rudder which he held gave way with the shock, 'forte,' the violence applied being fortuitous. Comp. the description given 5. 858 foll. ['Multa vix arte' Pal. "Multa vix arte revolsam" 5. 270.—H. N.]

350.] It matters little whether 'cui' goes with 'datus' or with 'haerebam.' 'Datus custos' like "comes datus" 11. 33. Palinurus says that the post was assigned to him, and that he adhered to it faithfully. Something must be borrowed from 'cui' for 'cursus regebam,' if we connect 'cui' with 'haerebam.' See on G. 2. 208. 'Regebam' 5. 868. ['Gerebam' Pal. for 'regebam.'—H. N.]

351.] 'Praecipitans,' intrans. 2. 9, 'in my fall.' Palinurus swears by the seas, or calls the seas to witness, as Antigone, Eur. Phoen. 1677, calls her sword to witness, ἴστω σίδηρος ὅρκιόν τέ μοι ξίφος. ['Duro' Rom. for 'iuro.'—H. N.]

352.] The commentators seem to have assumed that 'timorem' is the object of 'cepisse:' but it might with equal propriety be regarded as the subject. Virg. has no expression elsewhere like "capio timorem," while "dementia cepit" 5. 465, "formidine captos" 2. 384, "si te ceperunt taedia laudis" G. 4. 332, might be quoted for "timor capit." On the other hand 'cepisse' may idiomatically have the sense of 'concepisse,' and "capere metum" occurs Livy 33. 27, "accipere metum" Ter. Haut. 2. 3. 96. With 'pro me' Wagn. comp. 12. 48, "Quam pro me curam geris, hanc precor, optime, pro me Deponas." 'Tantum—quam;' comp. Cic. Mil. 22, "Id quidem non tanti est quam quod non inimici mentem satiavit."

353.] Ribbeck reads 'ni' from a quotation in Rufinianus p. 56 (Halm). 'Armis,' a general expression for the rudder. "Spoliata magistro" 5. 224. 'Excussa magistro,' a variety for 'excusso magistro' ("excutitur magister" 1. 115), the shock being regarded as having separated the ship from the pilot rather than vice versa.

Deficeret tantis navis surgentibus undis.
Tris Notus hibernas immensa per aequora noctes
Vexit me violentus aqua; vix lumine quarto
Prospexi Italiam summa sublimis ab unda.
Paulatim adnabam terrae; iam tuta tenebam,
Ni gens crudelis madida cum veste gravatum
Prensantemque uncis manibus capita aspera montis
Ferro invasisset, praedamque ignara putasset.

354.] 'Tantis surgentibus undis' is doubtless the abl.: it might however be the dat., as in v. 196, as a person or thing may be said to fail the antagonist he opposes unsuccessfully as well as the friend he does not help, just as "sufficit umbo ictibus" 9. 810 is said of the shield resisting the blows. We hear nothing of a storm in the narrative at the end of Book 5: see Introduction to that Book. Those who would defend Virg. from the charge of inconsistency say that Palinurus would naturally overrate the danger arising from his loss, and point out that 5. 866 gives some colour to what he says.

355.] Peerlkamp observes with reason that we should hardly have gathered from the narrative that so long a time had elapsed between the loss of Palinurus and Aeneas' visit to the shades. See Introduction to Book 5. Ulysses floats for two days, Od. 5. 388 foll., and sees land on the third. Palinurus is doubtless meant to float on the spars which he dragged down with him. 'Hibernas:' winter nights, and consequently long. ['Inmensa' Pal.—H. N.]

356.] 'Vexit aqua' like "pelagoque vehatur" 10. 165, "fertur aqua" 8. 549. 'Lumen' for a day is as old as Enn. (Med. fr. 8), "Si te secundo lumine hic offendero, Moriere." So "lux" 3. 117, &c. Comp. Lucr. 6. 1197, "Octavoque fere candenti lumine solis Aut etiam nona reddebant lampade vitam."

357.] *ὁ δ' ἄρα σχεδὸν εἴσιδε γαῖαν, Ὀξὺ μάλα προϊδών, μεγάλου ὑπὸ κύματος ἀρθείς*, Od. 5. 392. 'Ab unda' however is evidently to be connected with 'prospexit' (comp. v. 385), not with 'sublimis.'

358.] Serv. mentions another possible punctuation, "Paulatim adnabam: terrae iam tuta tenebam," and Ladewig and Haupt have adopted it. Either would stand; but the ordinary punctuation seems slightly preferable, 'tuta' being used similarly 9. 366 "tuta capessunt," 11. 871 "tuta petunt." "Terrae tuta" might however be supported by 11. 882 "tuta domorum," and 3. 387 "tuta urbem componere terra." With 'adnabam' comp. 1. 538 "huc pauci vestris adnavimus oris," 4. 613 "terris adnare." 'Tenebam ni invasisset,' a rhetorical expression which is perhaps best explained as a condensed formula; 'I was just in safety and should have continued unless' &c. So 8. 522, 'They were musing sadly, and would have mused longer, but.' As in passages like G. 2. 132, 133, the juxtaposition of incongruous words is meant to show the critical nature of the impediment, preventing a thing which was just taking place. ['Terrae etiam,' i. e. 'et iam' Rom.—H. N.]

359.] We should have expected 'cum' to be omitted; but Virg. has combined two expressions, 'madida cum veste' and 'madida veste gravatum.' Wagn. cites a similar expression in Greek, *οἱ δὲ σὺν γήρᾳ βαρεῖς Ἱερῆς* Soph. O. R. 17. "Madidaque fluens in veste" 5. 179.

360.] This line partly gives the picture, partly, like the preceding clause, supplies a reason why he was easily killed: his movements were impeded by his wet clothes, and his hands were clinging to the cliff. 'Uncis manibus' G. 2. 365. Ulysses' attempts to hold on by the rocks are described more at length Od. 5. 428 foll. 'Capita:' he had crawled up the cliff and was clinging to the top. ['Mons,' as Serv. says, is used here for "saxum." —H. N.] Ti. Donatus has a curious explanation, "Aspera saxorum, quae ex montis radicibus, veluti capita, in mari exstant."

361.] The barbarians thought Palinurus a shipwrecked man, who would probably have some of his property about him. So Wagn. rightly. Wakef., combining the readings of two MSS., read

Nunc me fluctus habet, versantque in litore venti.
Quod te per caeli iucundum lumen et auras,
Per genitorem oro, per spes surgentis Iuli,
Eripe me his, invicte, malis: aut tu mihi terram
Inice, namque potes, portusque require Velinos;
Aut tu, si qua via est, si quam tibi diva creatrix
Ostendit—neque enim, credo, sine numine divum
Flumina tanta paras Stygiamque innare paludem—
Da dextram misero, et tecum me tolle per undas,
Sedibus ut saltem placidis in morte quiescam.

gnava petisset,' a plausible but un-cessary change.

362.] Perhaps imitated from Eur. Hec.), quoted by Heyne, κεῖμαι δ' ἐπ' ἀκταῖς, λοτ' ἐν πόντου σάλῳ. The sense at any te is the same: "my body is sometimes ssed by the waves, sometimes thrown the shore." Palinurus identifies him-lf with his body, naturally enough. rv. comp. Il. 1. 4, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἑλώρια τεῦχε ύνεσσι. 'Fluctus habet' like "pontus bet Libyae" 1. 556. The reality cor-sponds to Aeneas' prediction 5. 871. Habent' Med.—H. N.]

363.] So Elpenor adjures Ulysses to ry him, Od. 11. 66 foll. 'Quod' in ljurations 2. 141 note. For the adjura-on by the light of day comp. 3. 600. alinurus adjures Aeneas by the things at the latter holds most dear, as is ident from the next line, and from the rallel in Od. 11. Wagn. rightly joins uras' as well as 'lumen' to 'caeli,' aeli auras' occurring 7. 543, 766.

364.] 10. 524. "Ascanium surgentem spes heredis Iuli" 4. 274 note. Heins. stored 'spes' for 'spem' from the best SS. and Macrob. Sat. 5. 7.

365.] An odd literary blunder is con-cted with this line. Tetricus, the rival Aurelian, sent to his conqueror the ords "Eripe me his, invicte, malis," d Trebellius Pollio in his life of etricus (Trig. Tyr. 23) supposes it to his own. 'Tu' as in G. 4. 106 (note) ves force and in this case urgency to e request. [For the strictures of Virg.'s icient critics upon his historical blunder mentioning Velia, see vol. i, (fourth lition) p. xli.—H. N.]

366.] 'Terram inice:' Palinurus puts s request in the easiest form, like the ariner in Hor. 1 Od. 28. 35, "Quam-iam festinas, non est mora longa, licebit iecto ter pulvere curras." 'Namque potes,' δύνασαι γάρ. The meaning is that Aeneas would find the body without difficulty, and would not have to retrace his steps far by repairing again ('re-quire') to Velia. So Elpenor, Od. l. c. οἶδα γάρ, ὡς ἐνθένδε κιὼν δόμου ἐξ 'Αΐδαο Νῆσον ἐς Αἰαίην σχήσεις εὐεργέα νῆα,—words which in sense answer to this pass-age, though in language they more re-semble vv. 368 foll.

367.] 'Si qua via est' v. 194 above. 'Via' metaphorical, as in v. 96, &c. So Serv. "si est ulla ratio." But it may be the way over the water, as Forb. thinks. 'Diva creatrix' 8. 534.

368.] 'Sine numine divom' 2. 777., 5. 56. ['Divom' Pal.—H. N.]

369.] "Stygios innare lacus" v. 134 above.

370.] From Il. 23. 75, καί μοι δὸς τὴν χεῖρ', ὀλοφύρομαι. 'Tollere' of taking on board 3. 601. 'Dextra' seems to be the hand of promise, as in 3. 610., 7. 366, not the hand of help. 'Me tolle per undas,' apparently a condensed expres-sion for "tolle et vehe per undas."

371.] 'Saltem' is explained by Serv. "quia nautae semper vagantur:" by Wagn. "quod unum est mortuo so-lacium." It seems possible to combine both views: Palinurus would seek for rest as a consolation for his untimely end, and rest in the grave after his wanderings, as he could not have the rest which is the great theme of the Aeneid, rest in a Trojan settlement. This latter view will not oblige us to connect 'saltem' with 'in morte,' which the order of the words and the general requirements of the line are against. 'Sedibus quiescam' v. 328, where how-ever the sense is different. We may comp. also Virg.'s language about Antenor, 1. 247 foll. "sedesque locavit . . . nunc placida conpostus pace quiescit," though

Talia fatus erat, coepit cum talia vates:
Unde haec, o Palinure, tibi tam dira cupido?
Tu Stygias inhumatus aquas amnemque severum
Eumenidum aspicies, ripamve iniussus adibis?
Desine fata deum flecti sperare precando.
Set cape dicta memor, duri solacia casus.
Nam tua finitimi, longe lateque per urbes
Prodigiis acti caelestibus, ossa piabunt,
Et statuent tumulum, et tumulo sollemnia mittent,
Aeternumque locus Palinuri nomen habebit.
His dictis curae emotae, pulsusque parumper

the rest there is not that of death, but that of settled abode.

372.] Priscian, p. 1186, quotes this line, "Vix ea fatus erat, coepit cum talia virgo." The earlier part of his reading, if it had any authority, would perhaps be preferable to that in the text, as the repetition of 'talia' seems awkward.

373.] 'Tam dira cupido' v. 721 above, G. 1. 37 note. The notion in each case is that the intensity of the longing blinds the wisher to a sense of its unreasonableness or impropriety.

374.] "Amnemque severum Cocyti," G. 3. 37 note, when the Furies have been mentioned immediately before. The Eumenides here probably stand merely for the infernal gods, as Heyne thinks, without having any special relation to the river. But for the parallel in G. 3, and the mention of the river before and after, we might be tempted to read 'agmen.' Cerda however refers to Stat. Theb. 1. 89, where Tisiphone is sitting by Cocytus, and to Claud. Ruf. 1. 119 foll., where Megaera dips a torch in Phlegethon. Plato, Phaedo, p. 114, speaks of criminals as thrown into one or other of the infernal rivers: and Virg. may have some such meaning in his mind, though this is not the use to which the rivers are put in his story.

375.] 'Adibis' was restored by Brunck and Heyne from Rom. and Med. for 'abibis,' the old reading, retained even by Heins. Serv. mentions both. It would be difficult to see the propriety of 'abibis,' as there is no question of going *from* any place to the bank. 'Adire' on the other hand is correlative to "accipere," v. 315. 'Iniussus,' by the gods or by Charon, and so virtually in this context = "inhumatus."

376.] "Flecti precibus" 2. 689. 'Spero' with inf. pass. 4. 292. "Fata deum" 7. 239.

377.] 'Cape' = "accipe." Forb. comp. Hor. A. P. 367, "hoc tibi dictum Tolle memor." 'Receive and retain.' ['Sed' Rom.—H. N.]

378.] Difficulties have been raised about 'longe lateque per urbes' in connexion with 'finitimi,' but Virg.'s meaning evidently is that the whole neighbourhood round for a great distance shall be plagued for the crime of the wretches who killed Palinurus. 'Longe lateque per urbes' is to be connected with 'acti,' the meaning being, as Wagn. observes, that the plague shall be general, not that expiation shall be made in various places.

379.] 'Acti,' as we should say, goaded, as in 5. 659. Serv. says, "De historia hoc traxit. Lucanis enim pestilentia laborantibus respondit oraculum Manis Palinuri esse placandos. Ob quam rem non longe a Velia ei lucum et tumulum et cenotaphion dederunt." 'Piare' is used of appeasing the gods, as in Hor. 2 Ep. 1. 143, "Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant," the meaning apparently being to render 'pius,' which was applied to the gods as well as to men (2. 536., 4. 382), so that it nearly = "placare." Here 'ossa' = "Manes."

380.] "Tumulo referunt sollemnia" 5. 605 (comp. 3. 301). 'Mittere' of funeral offerings, 4. 624, G. 4. 545.

381.] Comp. v. 235, which seems to show that 'aeternum' agrees with 'nomen.' Here again the name has survived even to our own day, the place, a promontory, being called 'Punta di Palinuro.' Serv. remarks not badly, "'Palinuri:' plus est quam si 'tuum' diceret."

382.] For 'emotae' we might have expected 'amotae,' which is more common, and is here read by some MSS.; but

Corde dolor tristi; gaudet cognomine terra.
Ergo iter inceptum peragunt fluvioque propinquant.
Navita quos iam inde ut Stygia prospexit ab unda
Per tacitum nemus ire pedemque advertere ripae,
Sic prior adgreditur dictis, atque increpat ultro:
Quisquis es, armatus qui nostra ad flumina tendis,
Fare age, quid venias, iam istinc, et comprime gressum.

Forb. quotes Hor. 4 Od. 15. 11, "emovitque culpas." It seems to be generally constructed with a substantive of the place from which a thing has been removed (see Forc.), so that here it might be proposed to take 'corde' with it. 'Parumper' is explained by Serv. "paulatim," by Non. p. 378, "cito et velociter,' referring to this passage: but in the passages from Enn. which Non. adduces it naturally bears the sense which it appears to have elsewhere (see Forc.), 'for a while:' and such is doubtless its meaning here. Palinurus would naturally think again of his hard case, but the prospect cheered him awhile.

383.] All Ribbeck's MSS. [and Nonius p. 378] read 'terrae,' and he adopts it. [So probably Ti. Donatus, who paraphrases "gaudebat se, tristem licet, tamen perpetuam memoriam sui nominis in illis regionibus habiturum."—H. N.] Serv. however evidently read 'terra,' as he explains 'cognomine' as an adj., "facit autem *hic* et *haec* cognominis." His first gloss "nominis sui similitudine," points to a misunderstanding of 'terra' as if it were nom. 'Cognominis' is found in Plaut. and in later prose writers: see Forc. Serv. adds, "quod autem communi genere in '*e*' misit ablativum metri necessitas fecit." Ovid, doubtless from a similar necessity, uses "caeleste" and "perenne" as ablatives, M. 1. 743, F. 3. 654. A copyist with a superficial knowledge of Latin would naturally suppose 'cognomine' to be a substantive here: and how little copyists can be trusted as interpreters may be seen from the punctuation of Med. in this very line, 'Corde dolor, tristi gaudet cognomine terrae.' Heins. sums up the authorities for 'terra,' "Soli Rottendorphius secundus, Morentani primus et quartus a manu prima hic sapiebant, et pro diversa lectione alter Hamburgicus." [Henry takes 'terra' as nom.—H. N.]

384—416.] 'As Aeneas and the Sibyl approach the river they are stopped by Charon, who says that living persons may not pass the Styx, and that the breach of the rule has done harm heretofore. The Sibyl pleads Aeneas' good intentions, and produces the bough. Charon is mollified and transports them to the other side.'

384.] "Ergo iter inceptum celerant," 8. 90. Here 'ergo' denotes not a consequence from what has been related, but a resumption of the main subject, as in G. 4. 206 note. 'Peragunt' strictly refers to their going through their whole journey point by point, so that it extends to a time subsequent to 'fluvioque propinquant.' Comp. Ov. F. 1. 188, "peragat coeptum dulcis ut annus iter." Practically in a context like this we may take it 'begin to go through.' Thus it would nearly = 'pergunt,' which Peerlkamp wishes to substitute for it here; it is important however to observe that this force is not inherent in the word, but communicated from the context.

385.] 'Iam inde' may either mean, from that place, or from that point of time, the reference in either case being fixed by 'fluvioque propinquant.' The former seems right; comp. "iam istinc" just below, v. 389. 'Iam' is not unfrequently joined with 'inde;' see Forc. 'Inde.' Med. has 'conspexit.'

386.] 'Advertere;' comp. the nautical sense of the word 5. 34 note. The line seems to be intended to express quick and quiet motion.

387.] 'Adgreditur dictis' 3. 358., 4. 92. ['Adloquitor' Rom.—H. N.] 'Increpat ultro' 9. 127. 'Ultro' 2. 145 note.

388.] ['Tendes' Pal.—H. N.]

389.] φθέγγεο, μηδ' ἀκέων ἐπ' ἔμ' ἔρχεο· τίπτε δέ σε χρεώ; Il. 10. 85. 'Iam istinc' is rightly joined by Wagn. with 'fare:' 'speak from the place where you are, without coming nearer.' So apparently Serv. 'a loco in quo es.' Stat. Theb. 3. 347 (comp. by Lachmann on Lucr. 3. 806) has "iam illinc a postibus aulae Vociferans." ['Stinc' Med. originally for 'istinc.'—H. N.] 'Comprime gressum,' like "vestigia pressit" v. 197.

Umbrarum hic locus est, Somni Noctisque soporae;
Corpora viva nefas Stygia vectare carina.
Nec vero Alciden me sum laetatus euntem
Accepisse lacu, nec Thesea Pirithoumque,
Dis quamquam geniti atque invicti viribus essent.
Tartareum ille manu custodem in vincla petivit
Ipsius a solio regis, traxitque trementem;
Hi dominam Ditis thalamo deducere adorti.
Quae contra breviter fata est Amphrysia vates:
Nullae hic insidiae tales; absiste moveri;

390.] Sleep is mentioned as connected with death, and alien from active life, and so the epithet 'soporae,' a somewhat uncommon word: see Forc. Rom. gives 'et' for 'est.'

391.] 'Corpora viva,' as the shades are sometimes called 'corpora,' v. 303, &c.

392.] 'Nec me sum laetatus accepisse' seems to be a translation of οὔτι χαίρων εἰσεδεξάμην. The form of the line is perhaps from Apoll. R. 3. 584, οὐδὲ γὰρ Αἰολίδην Φρίξον μάλα περ χατέοντα Δέχθαι ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν. Serv. cites Orpheus for the statement that Charon was terrified by Hercules into taking him on board, and was punished afterwards by being kept a whole year in chains. 'Nec vero,' nor indeed: οὐδὲ μήν, comp. v. 801.

393.] 'Lacu' is rightly joined by Süpfl with 'accepisse,' not with 'euntem.' 'Lacu accepisse' virtually = "cumba accepisse."

394.] 'Dis geniti' v. 131. Neptune was the ancestor of Theseus, Jove of Pirithous. 'Invicti viribus' seems to refer to the story told above on v. 392, as if Charon meant to say that though he could plead that his passengers were deserving from their divine descent, and further that he had no choice in the matter, as they were stronger than he, it did not avail to shield him from punishment.

395.] 'Custos' of Cerberus, v. 424. For 'in vincla petivit' Forb. quotes Quint. 7. 1. 54, "in iis controversiis in quibus petuntur in vincula qui parentes suos non alunt." "Ducere" or "abripere in vincula" is also found; see Forc. 'vinculum.' The object of Hercules' expedition to Hades is mentioned briefly Il. 8. 366 foll., Od. 11. 623 foll. 'Manu' G. 2. 156 note.

396.] 'Ipsius—regis' used to be connected with 'traxitque,' contrary to Virg.'s custom about the position of 'que.' Wakef. first made the change, which improves the passage in every respect. 'Traxitque trementem' is forcible, as showing how completely the attempt succeeded. We may suppose either that Cerberus broke his chain and fled to his masters's throne, as Serv. suggests, or that Virg. followed some story which spoke of Cerberus as attached to Pluto's throne, instead of placing him where he himself places him in vv. 417 foll.

397.] It was doubted in Serv.'s time whether 'Ditis' went with 'dominam' or with 'thalamo.' There seems, however, no authority for the use of 'domina' with a gen. in ordinary writing for 'uxor,' nor perhaps for that of the Greek δέσποινα, which Serv. adduces, though a wife is often so called in relation to the inferior members of the household, and even by her husband in the language of compliment. Even the English 'lady' would hardly be used of a wife in plain speaking or writing, though common enough in the conventional language of society. 'Dominam' then is to be taken separately, and explained either in relation to 'thalamo,' or as said by Charon of his mistress and the queen of the shades, as it is frequently used of goddesses; see on 3. 113. The use of δέσποινα as a special title of Proserpine (see Lidd. and Scott) contributes further to make it appropriate here. 'Adoriri' with inf. Lucr. 3. 515.

398.] 'Quae contra' like "contra quem" 9. 280. 'Amphrysia:' "longe petitum epitheton," as Serv. remarks, being given to the Sibyl from her association with Apollo, the "pastor ab Amphryso," G. 3. 2.

399.] "Nil tale" 9. 207. 'Absiste moveri' parenthetical, as in 11. 408.

Nec vim tela ferunt; licet ingens ianitor antro
Aeternum latrans exsanguis terreat umbras,
Casta licet patrui servet Proserpina limen.
Troius Aeneas, pietate insignis et armis,
Ad genitorem imas Erebi descendit ad umbras.
Si te nulla movet tantae pietatis imago,
At ramum hunc—aperit ramum, qui veste latebat—
Adgnoscas. Tumida ex ira tum corda residunt.
Nec plura his. Ille admirans venerabile donum

agm. Vat. has 'hinc,' corrected into ic;' "non male," says Ribbeck.

400.] "Vim ferre" 10. 77, where it = nferre;" otherwise 'ferunt' might = raeportant." Cerberus is called "iani- Orci" 8. 296; "ianitor aulae" Hor. Od. 11. 16. 'Antro,' in his den.

401.] There seems something contemp- ous in 'exsanguis terreat umbras.' xsanguis' is used to express the effect terror (2. 212, &c.), so that to frighten ose who are bloodless already is to slay e slain. A similar taunt too appears 'patrui' v. 402, as if Proserpine were matched. 'Let Cerberus continue to ghten the weak, and Proserpine keep r unenvied state' would seem to be e spirit of the two lines. The Sibyl's ne is affected by her sympathy with neas, so that she falls, excusably per- ps, into a strain which, though natural a philosophical Roman, would hardly found in Homer.

402.] 'Casta' seems to be a predicate. Servare limen" 2. 567. Here it seems q. the Greek ἔσω καθῆσθαι, ἔνδον μένειν, κουρεῖν, &c., the Roman "domi mansit, nam fecit," the characteristic of a good ife in ancient times. So Prop. 2. 6. 24, uoted by Cerda, "Felix Admeti coniunx lectus Ulixis Et quaecunque viri mina limen amat." Perhaps I may be lowed to refer to my notes on Aesch. ho. 919, 138.

403.] "Troius Aeneas" 1. 596. "In- gnem pietate virum" 1. 10. "Nec pie- te fuit nec bello maior et armis" 1. 45.

404.] 'Descendit ad genitorem,' "ad s (Manis) descendam" 12. 649. It is e emphatic part of the line; it is to see is father that he undertakes the descent, t to perform any act of violence. 'Imas rebi descendit ad umbras' forms as it ere one verbal notion, which is in fact e excuse for the somewhat loose form of expression, 'imas' being intended not to be taken strictly, as if Aeneas were really penetrating the lowest depths of the infernal world, but simply to discriminate the shades from the world above, and thus mark the difficulty of the undertaking. 'Erebi umbras,' 4. 26.

405.] "Si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum" 4. 272. Here, and probably there, 'nulla' i. q. "nullo modo." Comp. E. 10. 12 &c. "Pietatis imago" 9. 294., 10. 824. Here it means the sight of goodness, embodied in Aeneas. See on 2. 369.

406.] 'At' after a conditional protasis G. 4. 241. ['Ad' Pal.—H. N.]

407.] 'Adgnoscas' probably in an imperative sense. 'Tumida' and 'residunt' illustrate each other, the metaphor being from water in a storm. Comp. G. 2. 479, 480. 'Ex ira' expresses the change from the previous state, like "ex imbri" G. 1. 393. "Tumor omnis et irae" 8. 40.

408.] 'His' is dat., not abl., the construction being to be completed by a verb supplied from the context. That verb was rightly supposed by Jahn in his first ed. (in his second he changed his mind) to be 'regerit,' or some word of similar meaning, though we need not follow him in altering the punctuation into 'nec plura his ille: admirans.' Charon is mollified, and does not reply. No pronoun has been used in the preceding clause 'tumida—residunt,' and none accordingly is used here, where the expression is elliptical: in the next clause Virg. expresses himself fully, and consequently uses 'ille.' The old interpretation made 'tumida—residunt' part of the Sibyl's speech, on which Heyne remarks rightly that we should then have expected 'resident.' Serv. explains "Nec est aliquid ulterius dictum vel a Sibylla vel a Charonte post ramum visum," which

Fatalis virgae, longo post tempore visum,
Caeruleam advertit puppim, ripaeque propinquat.
Inde alias animas, quae per iuga longa sedebant,
Deturbat, laxatque foros; simul accipit alveo
Ingentem Aenean. Gemuit sub pondere cumba
Sutilis, et multam accepit rimosa paludem.
Tandem trans fluvium incolumis vatemque virumque
Informi limo glaucaque exponit in ulva.
Cerberus haec ingens latratu regna trifauci
Personat, adverso recubans immanis in antro.
Cui vates, horrere videns iam colla colubris,
Melle soporatam et medicatis frugibus offam

is Jahn's second view, and virtually that of Heyne, Wagn., and Forb., who supply "Sibylla addidit." If this view be adopted, it would seem better to make 'his' the abl., supplying "dicta sunt." 'Donum,' to Proserpine vv. 632 foll.

409.] 'Fatalis' is rightly explained by Serv. from v. 147. 'Longo post tempore visum:' see on v. 136. It is scarcely likely that Hercules or Theseus was represented as having come with the bough, as Charon seems to say that they prevailed by other means, and that the consequences were accordingly disastrous.

410.] 'Caeruleam' i. q. "ferrugineam" v. 303: see on G. 1. 467. ['Puppem' Med.—H. N.]

411.] 'Alias,' other than Aeneas, according to the Greek and Latin idiom of including a person or thing among those from whom it is intended to distinguish him. See on 1. 198, and comp. Lidd. and Scott ἄλλος. 'Iuga:' "Graece dixit: ζυγά enim dicunt quae transtra nominamus," Serv. No other instance of this use of the word is given by Forc.

412.] 'Deturbat' 5. 175. 'Laxare' of clearing, like "via vix tandem voci laxata" 11. 151. 'Alveo' of the hollow of the boat, a sense found in prose as well as in verse: see Forc. For the synizesis comp. 7. 33.

413.] We are occasionally reminded by Virg. of Aeneas' size, as in 5. 487. Here the contrast between the gigantic hero and the shades whose place he takes and its effects on the boat are rather grotesque.

414.] 'Sutilis' seems to indicate that it was a light boat of skins, such as was used by the ancient Britons, or of rushes or flags, like those of the Egyptians (comp. Pliny 7. 206). The latter view agrees with the supposition that the conception of Charon was derived from Egypt. [Rom. has 'suptilis.'—H. N.] 'Rimosa:' Charon's boat is described as crazy by Lucian, Dial. Mort. 22 (quoted by Wagn.). τὸ σκαφίδιον καὶ ὑπόσαθρόν ἐστι καὶ διαῤῥεῖ τὰ πολλά. 'Accepit paludem:' comp. "laxis laterum conpagibus omnes Accipiunt inimicum imbrem" 1. 122. The meaning is that the weight made rents in the boat.

415.] Jahn thinks 'incolumis' may be nom. sing., indicating that the boat survived the strain put on it: but Forb. rightly objects to this as too artificial.

416.] "Limus niger et deformis harundo" G. 4. 478. 'Exponere' of a ship 10. 305. 'Glauca ulva' like "harundine glauca" 10. 205. 'In' in the second clause, as in 2. 654., 5. 512.

417—425.] 'They next see Cerberus, who barks furiously. The Sibyl throws him a drugged cake, which he eats and falls asleep.'

417.] 'Trifauci,' apparently from 'trifaux,' is found nowhere else. With 'trifauci latratu,' an expression very similar to many in Greek poetry, we may perhaps comp. "tripectora vis Geryonai" Lucr. 5. 28. The name of Cerberus is not mentioned in Hom., who simply speaks of κύων, but occurs in Hesiod Theog. 311.

418.] 'Adverso,' fronting them as they came from the landing-place. 'Immanis' with 'recubans.' Comp. v. 423 below, and 3. 631, "iacuitque per antrum Inmensus." ['Inmanis' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

419.] Cerberus has snakes for hair (comp. Hor. 3 Od. 11. 17), so that when he is angry his snakes bristle. ['Colubris' Pal.—H. N.]

420.] The μελιτοῦττα was a funeral

Obicit. Ille fame rabida tria guttura pandens
Corripit obiectam, atque inmania terga resolvit
Fusus humi, totoque ingens extenditur antro.
Occupat Aeneas aditum custode sepulto,
Evaditque celer ripam inremeabilis undae.
Continuo auditae voces, vagitus et ingens,
Infantumque animae flentes in limine primo,

offering, and there seems reason for thinking that it was supposed to be given to Cerberus. Suidas s. v. *μελιτοῦττα* says, *ἰστέον ὅτι μελιτοῦττα ἐδίδοτο τοῖς νεκροῖς, ὡς εἰς τὸν Κέρβερον.* Another belief was that it was given to the dogs that accompanied Hecate (v. 257): see Dissen on Tibull. 1. 2. 54. Those who went into Trophonius' cave took it with them as a sop to the serpents, Aristoph. Clouds 507. There may be also a reference, as Heyne thinks, to the drugging of the dragon of Colchis by Jason; indeed a reference to Apoll. R. 4. 152 foll. will show that Virg. has had the whole passage in his mind, though Medea there does not give a cake, but sprinkles drugs over the dragon's eyes. 'Soporatam:' see on 5. 855. Turn. 28. 45 wished to read 'saporatam' from one or two MSS. of Virg. and of Priscian, who quotes the passage (p. 705 P), honey not being a soporific: but 'melle et medicatis frugibus' are to be taken together, and 'saporatus' is a word of no authority. The cake is made of honey and wheat ('frugibus'), with soporific drugs, such as the capsules of poppy (Henry). See on 4. 486, G. 4. 505. The cake is called 'offa,' a fragment, as 'offae' are frequently said to be thrown to dogs. Cerda comp. Plaut. Mil. 1. 1. 49, where it is used of the broken meat given to parasites.

421.] 'Rabida' of hunger, like "improba ventris rabies" 2. 356.

422.] 'Obiectam' after 'obicit,' like "auso" after "ausi" v. 624. 'Inmania terga resolvit' is a translation of *δολιχὴν ἀνελύετ' ἄκανθαν* Apoll. R. 4. 150. Forb. comp. "somno vinoque soluti Procubuere" 9. 189. ['Immania' Rom. and Gud.—H. N.]

423.] 'Fusus' G. 2. 527 &c. [Lucr. 3. 757 "cum somnus membra profudit."—H. N.] "Corpora fundat humi" 1. 193. 'Toto—antro:' *τὰ δ' ἀπείρονα πολλὸν ὀπίσσω Κύκλα πολυπρέμνοιο δι' ἐξ ὕλης τετάνυστο* Apoll. R. 4. 160. See on v. 418 above.

424.] 'Occupat Aeneas aditum' v. 635, where it seems to mean little more than 'adit.' Here there is doubtless a notion of a movement quickly executed. 'Occupat aditum' is not unlike "invade viam" v. 260. 'Sepulto' of sleep, as in 2. 265 (note), where "somno" is expressed.

425.] 'Evadere' with acc. of the space passed over 2. 731. 'Inremeabilis' (5. 591) is rightly taken by Heyne as an ordinary epithet of the Styx, "from whose bourne no traveller returns," not, as Serv. proposes for an alternative, as indicating that Aeneas himself was to return another way.

426—439.] 'The first place in the world of spirits is occupied by infants, who wail for the life they never enjoyed. Then came those who have been put to death by unjust sentences: these have their dooms revised. Next are suicides, who bitterly repent their rashness, and wish to be on earth again, in vain.'

426.] 'Continuo:' immediately on leaving the bank. 'Vagitus infantumque animae flentes' = "vagitus animarum flentium."

427.] ["Novem circulis inferi cincti esse dicuntur, quos nunc exequitur. Nam primum dicit animas infantum tenere, secundum eorum qui sibi per simplicitatem adesse nequiverunt, tertium eorum qui evitantes aerumnas se necarunt, quartum eorum qui amarunt, quintum virorum fortium esse dicit, sextum nocentes tenent qui puniuntur a iudicibus, in septimo animae purgantur, in octavo sunt animae ita purgatae, ut redeant in corpora, in nono, ut iam non redeant, scilicet campus Elysius." Serv. The first five circles include all who from whatever cause have died a premature death. There was a notion that such a death excluded from full admission into the lower world: Plautus, Mostellaria 2. 2. 67 "nam me Acheruntem recipere Orcus noluit, Quia praemature vita careo." Tertullian de Anima 56 "aiunt et immatura morte

Quos dulcis vitae exsortes et ab ubere raptos
Abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo.
Hos iuxta falso damnati crimine mortis.

praeventas eo usque vagari istic, donec reliquatio compleatur aetatum, quas tum pervixissent si non intempestive obiissent." Virg. may have been influenced by this view in distributing the ghosts of the prematurely dead in his outer circles. —H. N.] A writer in the 'Saturday Review' (Sept. 25, 1858), thinks that 'in limine primo' alludes to the Roman custom of burying new-born infants "in suggrundis," under the eaves of the house. Here of course it is the threshold of Orcus that is spoken of. Wakef., whom Ribbeck follows, ingeniously punctuated after 'flentes,' connecting 'in limine primo' with 'vitae,' which he separated from 'exsortis'—an arrangement supported by Lucan 2. 106, quoted by Cerda, "nec primo in limine vitae Infantis miseri nascentia rumpere fata," but on the whole repudiated by the present passage, even independently of the reviewer's illustration. [Henry quotes parallel passages in support of it from Seneca, Statius, and Val. Flaccus. —H. N.] Plato deals very summarily with these infants in the vision of Er, Rep. 10. p. 615 c, τῶν δὲ εὐθὺς γενομένων [ἀποθανόντων] καὶ ὀλίγον χρόνον βιούντων πέρι ἄλλα ἔλεγεν οὐκ ἄξια μνήμης.

428.] "'Exsortes,' expertes: quos Graeci ἀκλήρους dicunt," Serv. ['Exortis' Med. —H. N.] "Ab ubere raptum" 7. 484. Lucr. 5. 226 on the contrary thinks the cries of the living infant reasonable, on account of the sorrows which await him in life.

429.] Repeated 11. 28. Muretus V. L. 13. 2 explains this line by a reference to a custom of burying those who had died prematurely before daybreak, the calamity being thought too great for the sun to look upon—an explanation which, when taken in connexion with the illustration discovered in v. 427, is perhaps not hastily to be rejected, though of course it cannot be applied to 11. 28. If we take 'atra dies' in its ordinary sense, it may be modelled on the various uses of ἦμαρ in Hom. 'Mergere' of plunging in doom vv. 512, 615. 'Acerbus' is specially used of untimely death, as in Cic. De Domo Sua c. 16, quoted by Forc., "funus etsi miserum atque acerbum fuisset," like "crudus." ['Apstulit' Pal.—H. N.]

430.] The meaning seems clear, that a separate place is assigned to those who have met their death by unjust condemnation. It has been asked why they should be made to suffer: but there is no suffering in this part of the shades: there is merely the absence of the enjoyment of life, the Homeric condition of the dead which Achilles declares to be worse than the lowest function on earth. That they should endure this is not unjust: the iniquity which dismissed them from life does not make their lives good or bad; that is decided by Minos, as we shall see immediately. We should expect however that they would not occupy this place permanently, but that on the rehearing of their case some would be despatched to Tartarus, others to Elysium. But Virg. does not say this, and if we compare the case of these persons with those of the infants and the suicides, we may doubt whether he intended it. Infants remain in their limbo apparently because they have had no opportunity of showing whether they were worthy of Elysium or of Tartarus: those who have cut short their own lives are not to be credited with the good or evil of their lives, but are consigned at once and for ever to a twilight condition like that imagined by Hom.; and so perhaps the victims of unjust sentences may be dealt with as those who having accidentally come into the state of death are exempted alike from reward and punishment. But we must not probe Virg.'s meaning too deeply: he has deserted the simplicity of Hom. for something far more complicated, and it is not surprising that in borrowing details from other sources he should have been led occasionally to combine inconsistencies. Warburton thought the reference here was to a story in Plato's Gorgias, pp. 523 foll., where the establishment of infernal judges is said to have been owing to the inequality of the sentences originally passed by living judges who had to decide the condition after death of those who were still in the body. Virg. may have thought of this: but his words are hardly reconcilable with it, as Warburton admits by his proposal to alter 'crimine' into 'tempore.' Virg. coincides with Plato in putting the place of judgment before the spot where the roads to Tartarus and Elysium diverge (vv. 540 foll.), and also

Nec verō hae sine sorte datae, sine iudice, sedes:
Quaesitor Minos urnam movet; ille silentum

in particularizing Minos, who according to Plato is a supreme judge of appeal, Asiatics being judged in the first instance by Rhadamanthus, Europeans by Aeacus. Virg. may also have thought of another passage in Plato, of which Cerda reminds us—that in the Apology, p. 41 B, where Socrates dwells on the pleasure of meeting in the shades those who, like himself, have died in consequence of an unjust sentence, εἴ τις τῶν παλαιῶν διὰ κρίσιν ἄδικον τέθνηκε, such as Palamedes and the greater Ajax, though it is clear that if Plato had been asked where he intended to place these, he would have replied, in Elysium. There still remains a difficulty about the construction, as 'mortis' may be connected either with 'damnati' or with 'crimine.' Perhaps in the absence of any instance of 'crimen mortis' = "crimen capitale" (comp. "causa capitis," "iudicium capitis"), it will be safer to adopt the former, 'damnatus' with the gen. of the punishment being sufficiently common (see Forc. s. v.).

431.] 'Hae sedes" seems to be used generally of the lower world, so that this and the two following lines will be virtually parenthetical. At the same time it would be too much to suppose that Virg. meant to commit himself to stating that the jurisdiction of Minos extended to all those who came down into the shades; we should rather infer, as was hinted in the last note, that some at least of those who died prematurely were left without any judgment at all, and consigned neither to Tartarus nor to Elysium. What the effect of this new judgment is on those on whom it is undoubtedly meant to operate, the falsely condemned, he has not told us, and perhaps he did not clearly realize himself. Meantime in this line, as in those that follow, he has introduced the phraseology of the Roman law, 'sine sorte' apparently referring to the "sortitio iudicum," the choice by lot of "iudices" for a particular case out of the whole judicial body. (The notion of Serv. and some early critics that the reference is to the drawing of lots to decide the order in which the causes should come on is far less likely.) In any case Minos is represented as 'quaesitor,' the name given to the presiding magistrate on a Roman criminal trial, who was assisted by the 'iudices' just mentioned. To say anything definite about those who in the world below would answer to these 'iudices' would have been embarrassing to Virg., as, if Rhadamanthus and Aeacus were meant, they would hold their places without "sortitio," while it would not be easy to conceive of a judicial body among the shades themselves: so the poet as usual leaves the matter in obscurity. The pseudo-Asconius however, commenting on Cic. Verr. Act. 1. 10, refers to this passage in the following words: "Ad hanc similitudinem poeta Vergilius Minoem, iudicem apud inferos, tanquam si praetor sit rerum capitalium, 'quaesitorem' appellat: dat ibi sortitionem, ubi 'urnam' nominat: dat electionem iudicum, cum dicit 'consiliumque vocat:' dat cognitionem facinorum, cum dicit 'vitasque et crimina discit.'" But though 'consilium' is the technical term for the 'iudices' in relation to the presiding magistrate, and the word is found in Pal. and Gud. a m. p., the context is against it, as we should expect the 'silentes' to be the same as those whose 'vitae et crimina' are the subject of cognizance, though the position of 'que' does not necessarily prove this (see on G. 2. 119). Mr. Long suggests that the 'consilium' may consist of those who have been tried and pronounced innocent. On the whole it seems better to retain 'concilium' and refer it to the assemblage of those who are to be tried. Sen. H. F. 735 has "Non unus alta sede quaesitor sedens Iudicia trepidis sera sortitur reis," an evident imitation of Virg., but not showing what he understood by "sortitio," though he goes on to mention Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Aeacus as judges in separate courts. 'Datae,' assigned to their occupants: the word however seems to have been chosen as associated with 'sorte' in the expression "sorte datus," which occurs 1. 139.

432.] In Hom., as Heyne remarks, Excursus 2, 'De Iudicibus apud Inferos,' Minos is seen judging (Od. 11. 568 foll.), but apparently only as other persons follow in the shades the occupations which engrossed them in life, e. g. Orion, who is mentioned immediately after, the sport of hunting. (See on 8. 670.) 'Urnam movet:' comp. Hor. 3 Od. 1. 16, "Omne capax movet urna nomen," and perhaps Id. 1 S. 9. 30, "mota divina

Conciliumque vocat vitasque et crimina discit.
Proxima deinde tenent maesti loca, qui sibi letum
Insontes peperere manu, lucemque perosi
Proiecere animas. Quam vellent aethere in alto
Nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores!
Fas opstat, tristique palus inamabilis unda
Alligat, et noviens Styx interfusa coercet.
Nec procul hinc partem fusi monstrantur in omnem

anus urna." 'Silentes' of the dead is common in later poets: see Forc.

433.] 'Conciliumque vocat' 10. 2. 'Learns what their lives have been, and rehears the charges against them.'

434.] 'Maesti' anticipates vv. 436, 437. 'Letum sibi parere' like "mortem sibi consciscere," and similar phrases. Virg. seems to have had in his mind Lucr. 3. 79:

"Et saepe usque adeo, mortis formidine, vitae
Percipit humanos odium lucisque videndae,
Ut sibi consciscant maerenti pectore letum."

435.] 'Insontes,' because they had done nothing worthy of death, so that their death was gratuitous. 'Manu' almost = 'ipsi.' Forb. comp. Prop. 5. 11. 17, "Immatura licet, tamen huc non noxia veni," where the contrast is between capital punishment and other untimely deaths. We may also contrast the case of those who were ordered to kill themselves. "Mortem orat; taedet caeli convexa tueri" 4. 451.

436.] 'Proiecere animas,' "prodigally throw their lives away," as Dryden renders it. "Proicere corpus" occurs Catull. 64. 82 of Thesus' sacrificing his life for his country. So "animae prodigum Paullum" Hor. 1. Od. 12. 37. Comp. 11. 360, "in aperta pericula civis Proicis," where the use of the word is substantially the same. 'Quam vellent' &c. is from the celebrated lines Od. 11. 488 foll.

Μὴ δή μοι θάνατόν γε παραύδα, φαίδιμ' Ὀδυσσεῦ·
βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἐὼν θητευέμεν ἄλλῳ,
ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ, ᾧ μὴ βίοτος πολὺς εἴη,
ἢ πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν.

For 'quam' the second reading of Med. has 'quas,' which would be intelligible, but much less forcible. 'Aethere in alto' G. 4. 74. Here it = "in vita."

437.] 'Pauperiem' and 'duros labores' are perhaps chosen to indicate the things for fear of which men have been driven to death—"the whips and scorns of time, the oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely."

438.] "Fata obstant" 4. 440, [and so Serv. here, who explains 'fata' as = "iura naturae." Henry prefers 'fata' to 'fas.'—H. N.] There is no force in the objection that 'fas' elsewhere in Virg. is spoken of as permitting, not as denying. "Fas prohibet" occurs in Ov. Trist. 2. 205, quoted by Forc., and when Virg. G. 1. 269 talks of "fas et iura sinunt" he implies that 'fas' may forbid as well as allow. Θέμις is the Greek equivalent of 'fas' (comp. Auson Technopaegnion de Deis, v. 1, "prima deum Fas, Quae Themis est Grais"), and is similarly used of permitting: yet we have ἀποστατεῖ θέμις Aesch. Eum. 414 in the sense of οὐ θέμις. The remainder of the line and the whole of v. 439 are repeated from G. 4. 479, 480, with the exception of 'tristi,' which there is 'tarda.' Here however there is a variant, 'tristis . . . undae,' found in Pal., Gud. (which has 'unda' m. s.), and doubtless originally in both Rom. and Med., and adopted by Ribbeck. But the parallel in G. 4. is against it, and Serv. knew nothing of 'undae,' preferring 'tristi' to 'tristis' "ne duo sint epitheta." Lastly, some inferior MSS. have 'innabilis.' ['Obstat' Med.—H. N.]

439.] ['Novies' Med. and Rom.; 'cohercet' Rom.—H. N.]

440—476.] 'They then come to what are called the Mourning Fields, tenanted by those who have died of love. Here Aeneas sees Dido, whom he tries to soothe, telling her that he knew not what would be the consequences to her of his departure, and that he went away most unwillingly, because the gods ordered it.

Lugentes campi; sic illos nomine dicunt.
Hic, quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit,
Secreti celant calles et murtea circum
Silva tegit; curae non ipsa in morte relincunt.
His Phaedram Procrimque locis, maestamque Eriphylen,
Crudelis nati monstrantem volnera, cernit, 446
Euadnenque et Pasiphaen; his Laodamia
It comes, et iuvenis quondam, nunc femina, Caeneus,
Rursus et in veterem fato revoluta figuram.

She maintains sullen silence, and at last breaks away, leaving him in sorrow.'

440.] For 'hinc' Rom. and Med. have 'hic.' 'Fusi partem in omnem,' spreading far and wide. 'Fusus' is common in Virg. of persons lying on the ground, of flowing hair, &c., and hence he uses it here of extension generally. The only parallel quoted by Forc. is Lucan 4. 670, "non fusior ulli Terra fuit domino," perhaps an imitation of Virg. The reason why this district is represented as extensive is to indicate not so much the number of its inhabitants as the scope given for solitude, as Heyne remarks. 'Monstrantur' seems to be used generally, not necessarily implying that the place is pointed out by the Sibyl to Aeneas, but merely that the spectator who does not know them has an opportunity of seeing them. So. 7. 568, "Hic specus horrendum et saevi spiracula Ditis Monstrantur." Comp. the use of "dicitur" v. 107 note. Possibly it may be no more than a middle, i. q. 'se monstrant,' meet the view.

441.] The fields are said to mourn, as being the abode of mourners. It does not appear that Virg. borrowed the name from any other source. The nearest approach to it is perhaps a passage in the Axiochus, attributed to Plato, § 19, where the judgment of the dead is said to take place in the Plain of Truth. 'Nomine dicunt' v. 242 above.

442.] For 'quos' one MS. has 'quas:' but the presence of Sychaeus v. 474 shows that the place is not confined to women, though they are doubtless the greater number, as appears from the list ensuing, vv. 445 foll., which, as we shall see, is suggested by Hom. For 'peredit' the first reading of Med. and other MSS. give 'peremit,' which would be less good, as failing to express the gradual nature of the decay. Comp. Tibull. 1. 4. 18, "Longa dies molli saxa peredit aqua," Lucr. 1. 326, "vesco sale saxa peresa."

443.] 'Murtea silva:' "quae est Veneri consecrata," Serv. See E. 7. 62. ['Myrtea' Rom.. and Med. corrected.—H. N.]

444.] 'Cura' of love 4. 1., &c. ['Relinquont' Pal., 'relinquunt' Rom.—H. N.]

445.] The heroines form a large part of Ulysses' experience in the shades, Od. 11. 225—329: Virg. introduces them much more briefly, probably on Dido's account, and so he gives them a place in the 'lugentes campi,' though only a portion of them can be said to have died for love. The present line is made up of two in Hom. Φαίδρην τε Πρόκριν τε ἴδον καλήν τ' Ἀριάδνην, v. 321, and Μαῖράν τε Κλυμένην τε ἴδον, στυγερήν τ' Ἐριφύλην, v. 326. 'Procrim' is restored by Wagn. for 'Procrin' from Med. [Pal. and Rom. have the form in—*in*.—H. N.]

446.] 'Nati volnera' like "volnere Ulixi" 2. 436. ['Vulnera' Med.—H. N.]

448.] 'Caeneus' is restored by Wagn. from all the MSS. for 'Caenis,' a conjecture of Heins., supported by a correction in the Dresd. Serv. The feminine appellative would introduce a somewhat more regular construction, though, as Wagn. points out, Caeneus transformed back to a woman would naturally be expressed "Caeneus in veterem revolutus figuram:" but Virg. has chosen to express the confusion of the sexes by a certain confusion in the position, not perhaps in the construction, of the words. The construction seems to be, as Wagn. has seen, 'Caeneus iuvenis quondam, nunc femina revoluta.' The licence assumed by Latin writers in making a verb or adj. agree not with the proper subject of the sentence, but with something placed in apposition to it, is well known. Wagn. comp. Sil. 11. 25, "Iam vero Eridani tumidissimus accola, Celtae, Incubuere." See also Madv. § 217.

449.] Wakef. puts a comma at 'rursus,' so as to connect it with 'nunc femina:' but the ordinary punctuation seems

Inter quas Phoenissa recens a volnere Dido
Errabat silva in magna; quam Troius heros
Ut primum iuxta stetit adgnovitque per umbras
Obscuram, qualem primo qui surgere mense
Aut videt, aut vidisse putat per nubila Lunam,
Demisit lacrimas, dulcique adfatus amore est:
Infelix Dido, verus mihi nuntius ergo
Venerat exstinctam, ferroque extrema secutam?

better. As to the pleonasm 'rursus revoluta' see on v. 751 below. 'Revoluta' may be intended to suggest the notion of a cyclical period (comp. the use of "volvere" of fate 1. 22., 3. 376); but instances are quoted by Forc. from Livy and Tacitus, where it seems to mean returning to a thing or being thrown back on it. Comp. Livy 4. 12, "Revolutus ad dispensationem inopiae." Rom. has 'revocata.'

450.] 'Recens a volnere' as we say, fresh from her wound. Hand Turs. 1. 46 comp. Varro R. R. 2. 8, "pullum asininum a partu recentem." ['Recens,' which is undoubtedly a participle, may originally have meant wet, and be connected with βρέχ-ω and "rig-are:" "prata recentia rivis" v. 674 below, and "tepida recentem Caede locum," 9. 455, point in this direction. Here then it would mean that the blood was still flowing. So perhaps Livy 21. 16 "recentem ab excidio opulentissimae urbis." Digest 1. 2. 2. 24 (Verginius) "protinus recens a caede ad commilitones confugit."—H. N.] The following description is modelled on Ulysses' attempt to accost Ajax Od. 11. 543 foll.

451.] 'Troius heros' 8. 530. Forb. is right in removing the comma after 'heros' so as to connect 'quam' with 'iuxta stetit' and 'adgnovit,' as there can be no need with Wagn. in his larger ed., to assume a gratuitous anacoluthon.

452.] With Ribbeck I have recalled 'umbras,' the reading of Heyne, supported by Rom., Pal., &c., for 'umbram' (Med. &c.), so as to show clearly that 'obscuram' belongs to Dido. Henry rightly contends against referring it to 'umbram,' remarking that Virg. does not place the subst. at the end of one line and the epithet at the beginning of another, unless where the epithet is intended to be forcible, as in vv. 492, 493 below, and that to imagine any particular force in 'obscuram' as an epithet of 'umbram' would spoil the sense, leading us to suppose the darkness to be greater than it was really intended to be. Comp. v. 268, "Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram," and also v. 340, where "multa umbra" does not really support 'umbram obscuram' here. ['Agnovit' Rom. and Pal.—H. N.]

453.] From Apoll. R. 4. 1479, τὼς ἰδέειν, ὡς τίς τε νέῳ ἐνὶ ἤματι μήνην Ἢ ἴδεν, ἢ ἐδόκησεν ἐπαχλύουσαν ἰδέσθαι, where it is Lynceus that sees Heracles. Ἐπαχλύουσαν may be said slightly to confirm the reference of 'obscuram' to Dido. Jahn in his 2nd ed., reading 'umbram,' connects 'qualem' with it. 'Primo mense,' ἱσταμένου μηνός. Comp. "primi solis" v. 255 above.

454.] 'Per nubila' with 'videt' and 'vidisse' rather than with 'surgere,' as 'adgnovit per umbras' seems to show, though ἐπαχλύουσαν ἰδέσθαι might be urged for the other view.

455.] 'Demisit lacrimas' seems to be translated from Od. 16. 191, δάκρυον ἧκε χαμᾶζε. Comp. "demitte cruorem" G. 4. 542, though there it is letting the blood of another that is spoken of. Here Med. has 'dimisit.'

456.] 'Verus nuntius' seems best understood of the blaze of the funeral pyre, from which Aeneas conjectured Dido's fate, 5. 3 foll. Comp. Aesch. Supp. 180. ὁρῶ κόνιν, ἄναυδον ἄγγελον στρατοῦ. The other alternatives offered by Serv. are both less likely, that some message had been sent to Aeneas, though Virg., as in many other cases, has suppressed the fact, and that the reference is to Mercury's intimation 4. 564: indeed the first would be inconsistent with 5. 5. 'Verus nuntius' 3. 310. With 'ergo' Forb. comp. Hor. 1. Od. 24. 5, "Ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor Urguet?" Id. 3 S. 5. 101, "Ergo nunc Dama sodalis Nusquam est?"

457.] Aeneas' knowledge is here perhaps too definite, though he might conjecture that the sword had been the means

Funeris heu tibi causa fui? Per sidera iuro,
Per superos et si qua fides tellure sub ima est,
Invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi.
Sed me iussa deum, quae nunc has ire per umbras,
Per loca senta situ cogunt noctemque profundam,
Imperiis egere suis; nec credere quivi
Hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem.
Siste gradum, teque aspectu ne subtrahe nostro.
Quem fugis? extremum fato, quod te adloquor, hoc est.

of her death. This is Serv.'s reason for preferring to suppose that a messenger actually arrived. 'Extrema secutam' may be an imitation of the Homeric πότμον ἐπισπεῖν (Il. 6. 412., 15. 495), as Forb. thinks, though 'secutam' here seems to indicate a voluntary end, seeking for what is absent, not yielding to compulsion, which appears to be the Homeric notion. 'Extrema' of death 1. 219.

458.] The position seems to indicate that 'funeris' is the emphatic word; not "was I the cause of thy death?' but 'was it death that I was the means of bringing on thee?' "Per sidera testor, Per superos" 3. 599.

459.] "Per, si qua est, quae restet adhuc mortalibus usquam Intemerata fides" 2. 142, where, as here, 'fides' = "id quod fidem facit." Aeneas does not mean to question the existence of faith or honour in the shades, as Serv. thinks, but speaks vaguely, either as not knowing what their most sacred objects of adjuration are (Ti. Donatus), and so appealing to Dido's consciousness, or in a spirit of reverential mystery.

460.] Imitated from Catull. 66. 39, "Invita, O regina tuo de vertice cessi, Invita: adiuro teque tuumque caput," which is said by the hair of Berenice to its mistress. Aeneas here admits more than he admitted when speaking to Dido in life (4. 333 foll.), where all that he said was that he was going to Italy because the gods ordered him, his real will being to settle at Troy: it accords however with what we are told of his feelings 4. 281, 332, 395, 448.

462.] 'Loca senta situ' is a translation of 'Αΐδεω δόμον εὐρώεντα Od. 10. 512 &c. (comp. Il. 20. 65.) 'Sentus' occurs Ter. Eun. 2. 2. 5, "Video sentum, squalidum, aegrum, pannis annisque obsitum" of a poor man. From this, which seems the only authority anterior to Virg.'s, we may assume that here it must = 'horrida' or 'inculta.' Ov. M. 4. 435 copies Virg.: Prudentius (see Forc.) uses it in a way which shows that he connected it with 'sentis.' This may or may not be the case: at any rate there seems no reason for supposing the reference here to be to briars or other obstacles, or to anything but that roughness which a locality would acquire when left to itself, and which is in fact expressed by 'situs,' G. 1. 72. Serv. remarks that mould forms on things not exposed to the sun. Comp. Aesch. Eum. 387, ἀνηλίῳ λάπᾳ δυσοδοπαίπαλα δερκομένοισι καὶ δυσομμάτοις ὁμῶς. 'Noctemque profundam' 4. 26.

463.] 'Imperiis suis' seems awkwardly added after 'iussa deum,' 'imperia' being the same as 'iussa.' In 7. 240, where the words are repeated, the subject of the sentence is 'fata deum.'

464.] 'Tibi ferre dolorem' like "matri tulerunt fastidia" E. 4. 61. 'Discessu' 8. 215.

465.] From vv. 468, 469 we should have inferred that Dido remained motionless while Aeneas was speaking: we must suppose however that she was already moving away, as she does v. 472, and so that the speech more or less represents all that he said to her, even the tears with which he pursued her as she fled, v. 476. This is confirmed by 'incepto' v. 470. "Teque amplexu ne subtrahe nostro' v. 698 below.

466.] 'Quem fugis?' E. 2. 60 note. Taken in the ordinary way, the words will mean "Whom do you suppose yourself to be flying from in flying from me?" and may be illustrated by Horace's playful words (1 Od. 23. 9) "Atqui non ego te tigris ut aspera Gaetulusve leo frangere persequor." 'Extremum est hoc quod te adloquor,' a cogn. acc., as frequently in Greek. Heyne comp. Soph. Aj. 871, προσεννέπω Πανύστατον δή, κοὔποτ' αὖθις ὕστερον. So Pers. 5. 153, "fugit hora: hoc quod loquor inde est." He is address-

Talibus Aeneas ardentem et torva tuentem
Lenibat dictis animum, lacrimasque ciebat.
Illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat,
Nec magis incepto vultum sermone movetur,
Quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes.
Tandem corripuit sese, atque inimica refugit
In nemus umbriferum, coniunx ubi pristinus illi
Respondet curis aequatque Sychaeus amorem.
Nec minus Aeneas, casu concussus iniquo,

ing her for the last time, as his place after death will not be the same as hers, as Serv. rightly remarks.

467.] 'Torva tuentem,' the Homeric ὑπόδρα ἰδών. "Acerba tuens" Lucr. 5. 33.

468.] 'Torva tuentem animum' is strange in Latin poetry, though it would not be thought too bold in Greek: there is no reason however to suppose a corruption in the text (Jortin conj. 'animam,' Peerlkamp 'ardenti—tuenti,' Heyne suspects 'animum—ciebat' to be interpolated), or to resort to forced constructions, such as Heyne's, who proposes to separate 'animum' from 'tuentem' (= κατὰ θυμόν). 'Animus' is sometimes used in apposition with a person, as in 5. 751, and the mind may naturally be said to look out through the eyes—considerations which would encourage the poet to risk an expression like this. We have already had a similar one in 5. 292 note. 'Lacrimas ciebat,' his own, not Dido's, as Serv. observes rightly. Comp. 3. 344, "Talia fundebat lacrimans longosque ciebat Incassum fletus." 'Lenibat' Madv. § 115 b.

469.] 1. 482.

470.] See on v. 465. ['Voltum' Pal. —H. N.]

471.] 'Stet,' a poetical substitute for the verb. subst. as perhaps in Hor. 1. Od. 9. 1, "Vides ut alta stet nive candidum," though there the addition of "alta nive" makes a difference. 'Than if she had the fixedness of stubborn flint or a crag of Marpessa.' Comp. the use of 'stare' of a statue E. 7. 32 note. Marpessa was a mountain of Paros, so that Virg. compares Dido to marble. The epithet is one of the class adverted to vol. i. pp. 7, 8. The whole picture may be taken, as Valckenaer thinks, from Eur. Med. 27 foll., where the attitude of Medea is similarly described and similarly compared: but the thought is common.

472.] "Corripuit sese" 11. 462, of Turnus hurrying away. 'Proripuit' was the reading before Heins.

473.] 'Nemus umbriferum:' doubtless the "murtea silva" of v. 443. 'Coniunx pristinus,' as Sychaeus is called "coniunx antiquus" 4. 458. 'Pristinus' occurs again 10. 143., 12. 424 in the same sense of 'former,' 'original:' the early grammarians however made a difficulty about it, as appears from Serv., "prior: quod difficile invenitur: nam de hoc sermone quaerit et Probus et alii." Heyne remarks that the old grammarians questioned many things about which no one now has any doubt, and that they are to be used rather as authorities for information otherwise gained independently of them than as actual sources of fresh knowledge. It matters little whether we suppose any reference to Dido's so-called second marriage to Aeneas: the relation is so designated, directly or indirectly, more than once in Book 4, and so may be intended here: but the passage does not require it. ['Coniux' Med.—H. N.]

474.] 'Where she enjoys the full sympathy of Sychaeus,' not necessarily on the subject of this new aggression of Aeneas, though we need not exclude it. He 'answers all her cares and equals all her love,' as Dryden renders it more closely than usual: 'respondet' being not necessarily confined to language, though including it, 'curis' the dat., not, as Gossrau thinks, the abl., so that 'respondet curis' virtually = 'aequat amorem' (Wagn.). For the position of 'Sychaeus' in the second clause see on 3. 162.

475.] 'Nec minus,' notwithstanding her sullen flight. 'Casu iniquo,' Dido's misfortunes, the thought of which was revived and intensified in Aeneas' mind by what had just passed, not, as Wagn. thinks, his own repulse. I have restored 'concussus,' the reading of Med., Pal., and Gud., for 'percussus' (Rom.), which,

Prosequitur lacrimis longe, et miseratur euntem.
Inde datum molitur iter. Iamque arva tenebant
Ultima, quae bello clari secreta frequentant.
Hic illi occurrit Tydeus, hic inclutus armis
Parthenopaeus et Adrasti pallentis imago;
Hic multum fleti ad superos belloque caduci

as the commoner word, is more likely to be due to a copyist. We have already had "casu concussus acerbo" 5. 700, "casu concussus amici" ib. 869. Wagn.'s defence of 'percussus' as giving a more appropriate sense is founded on his interpretation of 'casu iniquo,' and may fall with it. There is a further variety 'perculsus' found in some MSS.

476.] 'Lacrimis' Rom., Pal., Gud. [with Serv. and Ti. Donatus.—H. N.]. 'Lacrimans' Med. With Ribbeck, I prefer the former, which is supported by 12. 72, "ne me lacrimis neve omine tanto Prosequere . . . euntem," "Prosequitur dictis" 6. 898, "euntis . . . Prosequitur votis" 9. 310, "Prosequitur venia" 11. 107. 'Lacrimans' may have come from a recollection of 2. 107, "Prosequitur pavitans." 'Euntem' belongs to 'prosequitur' as well as to 'miseratur,' though we might say that 'miseratur euntem' is another way of expressing 'prosequitur lacrimis,' 'euntem' showing that 'miseratur' = "miserans sequitur." Heins. restored 'miseratur' from Med., Rom., &c., for 'miseratus,' which in some editions was followed by 'est' after 'euntem.' Ulysses says Od. 11. 565 that he would have made Ajax speak to him or would have spoken to him himself, if he had not been curious to see the other shades.

477—493.] 'They next come to the place of dead heroes. The Trojans who fell at Troy crowd round Aeneas; the Greeks are scared.'

477.] Serv. says "'Datum' autem dixit aut ratione fati concessum, aut oblatum fortuito, quod τυχόν dicunt; an iniunctum?" The first is maintained by Henry, the second by Heyne, but the third seems nearest to the truth, 'datum a Sibylla' = "dictum," "monstratum." Not unlike is "cursusque dabit venerata secundos" 3. 460, also said of the Sibyl. Comp. also note on 3. 85, and the use of "da" E. 1. 19. 'Molitur' expressing difficulty G. 1. 329, note. "Viam molita" 10. 477. 'Iamque arva tenebant' 2. 209. Pal. and some others have 'tenebat,' but there is an obvious reason for the pl., which shows that Aeneas has rejoined the Sibyl.

478.] 'Ultima,' the last part of the region occupied by those who are neither in Tartarus nor in Elysium, as is explained by vv. 540 foll. Virg. has not expressed himself as clearly as he might have done about this whole region, but there seems no doubt of his meaning. 'Secreta,' set apart for them, virtually = "secreti frequentant." So "secretosque pios" 8. 670.

479.] He sees the heroes of the Theban war, the great event of the heroic ages before the war at Troy.

480.] There seems no special point in this description of Adrastus, which would apply to any spectre. The distinguishing feature in his history was that he was the only survivor of the Seven against Thebes. ['Parthenopeus' Pal.—H. N.]

481.] 'Multum fleti' seems a translation of πολύκλαυτοι, as Germ. remarks. ['Hi' Med., and Serv. on Aen. 2. 4. 'Ad superos' = "apud superos:" so Serv. and Ti. Donatus: comp. an inscription in the Berlin Corpus Inscriptionum 6. 2968 "ad superos esse" = "vivere:" Sil. 13. 607, quoted by Ladewig, "non digna nec aequa Ad superos passi Manes:" Cic. Phil. 14. 12, quoted by Schaper, "etiam ad inferos poenas luent." Conington took 'fleti ad superos' to mean 'bewailed by mourners raising their voices to the skies:' quoting Il. 8. 364 ἤτοι ὁ μὲν κλαίεσκε πρὸς οὐρανόν. 'Caduci,' fallen: the metaphor is probably from leaves or fruit fallen to the ground. "Caducae oleae," "caduca folia" are common in Cato and elsewhere: Mart. 8. 64. 7 has "moro caduco." Ti. Donatus on 10. 624 says "fructus quorum pars appellatur caduca, quae in usus hominum non cadit. Inde translatum est ut caduci dicantur homines qui in pueritia aut iuventa moriuntur." Comp. the legal phrase "caduca hereditas."—H. N.]

Dardanidae, quos ille omnis longo ordine cernens
Ingemuit, Glaucumque Medontaque Thersilochumque,
Tris Antenoridas, Cererique sacrum Polyboeten,
Idaeumque, etiam currus, etiam arma tenentem.
Circumstant animae dextra laevaque frequentes.
Nec vidisse semel satis est; iuvat usque morari,
Et conferre gradum, et veniendi discere causas.
At Danaum proceres Agamemnoniaeque phalanges
Ut videre virum fulgentiaque arma per umbras,
Ingenti trepidare metu; pars vertere terga,
Ceu quondam petiere rates; pars tollere vocem
Exiguam: inceptus clamor frustratur hiantis.

482.] 'Longo ordine' means little more than "ingenti multitudine," as Serv. remarks, comparing 2. 766.

483.] Γλαῦκόν τε Μέδοντά τε Θερσίλοχόν τε, Il. 17. 216.

484.] From Il. 11. 59, where the names of Antenor's three sons are given, Τρεῖς δ' Ἀντηνορίδας, Πόλυβον καὶ Ἀγήνορα δῖον, Ἠΐθεόν τ' Ἀκάμαντ', ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισιν. [The uncials, with Serv. on Aen. 2. 714, write 'Polyboeten,' and so virtually Nonius p. 397: Ti. Donatus (if we may trust Fabricius) 'Polybeten:' there can therefore be no doubt about the right spelling. Ribbeck writes 'Polyboten,' from indications in the later manuscripts. In Il. 13. 791 we have ἀντίθεον Πολυφήτην: but there is no reason to suppose that this is the same name.—H. N.] In this as in the two last passages quoted, the persons named appear as the most distinguished of the Trojans. 'Cereri sacrum,' consecrated to the service of Ceres, perhaps her priest, though the two things are distinguished, 11. 768, "sacer Cybelae Chloreus olimque sacerdos." Nothing is said of this in Hom., with whom indeed, as Mr. Gladstone remarks (vol. iii. p. 185), priests do not take part in battle, though their sons do.

485.] Idaeus is mentioned repeatedly in Hom. as Priam's herald and charioteer, Il. 3. 248., 24. 325. 'Arma tenentem' shows that Virg. intended him to act as armour-bearer also, like Automedon 2. 476. 'Etiam' like "etiamque tremens" G. 3. 189.

486.] Emm. wished to remove the stop after 'tenentem,' so as to construct this line with the last, thinking perhaps of such passages as Od. 11. 388: but he is clearly wrong. Pal. has 'frementes,' [which Ribbeck half approves, thinking that it may stand for the τρίζουσαι of Od. 24. 5.—H. N.]

488.] 'Conferre gradum,' to walk by his side. Forc. cites Plaut. Merc. 5. 2. 41, "Contra pariter fer gradum et confer pedem." "Veniendi poscere causas" 1. 414, where some MSS. have "discere," as Rom. and others have "poscere" here. So Deiphobus questions Aeneas vv. 531 foll., as Ulysses is questioned by his mother and by Achilles, Od. 11. 155 foll., 475 foll.

490.] It matters little whether 'per umbras' is taken with 'fulgentia' or with 'videre.' Heyne justly remarks on the beauty of this whole passage, which he thinks may have been suggested by Heracles terrifying the shades with his bow Od. 11. 605 foll. On its propriety, viewed in relation to the appearance of Aeneas in the Iliad, I have remarked in the Introduction to the Aeneid, p. xxv, above.

492.] Heyne refers to Il. 8. 75 foll., 15. 320 foll., where the Greeks fly, driven back however in the one case by Zeus, in the other by Apollo. Virg. may have thought of his own description 2. 399 foll.

493.] 'Exiguam' is the shrill piping voice which Hom. attributes to the dead, Il. 23. 101, Od. 24. 5 foll. Peerlkamp rightly remarks that this portion of the shades is not terrified but menacing, and endeavours to raise the war-cry, βοή, 'clamour.' "The war-cry they essay mocks their straining throats:" they open their mouths wide, but in vain, for they produce no volume of sound. [Ti. Donatus remarks "ubique firmat Ver-

Atque hic Priamiden laniatum corpore toto
Deiphobum vidit, lacerum crudeliter ora,
Ora manusque ambas, populataque tempora raptis
Auribus, et truncas inhonesto vulnere naris.
Vix adeo adgnovit pavitantem et dira tegentem

gilius dis adversantibus, non virtute Graecorum superatum esse imperium Troiae." —H. N.]

494—508.] 'Among the dead heroes is seen Deiphobus, cruelly mangled. Aeneas inquires the cause of his suffering, adding that as his body had not been found after the sack of Troy, a cenotaph had been erected for him.'

494.] In Hom. Deiphobus is Hector's favourite brother (Il. 22. 233 foll.), ranking apparently next to him. As such, he naturally receives Helen after the death of Paris. To his house accordingly Ulysses and Menelaus go on emerging from the horse (Od. 8. 517 foll.); but nothing is said of their doings there. Later legends gave particulars of his death, Dictys 5. 12, agreeing with Virg., Quinctus Smyrnaeus 13. 354 foll., simply mentioning the death, with a speech of Menelaus thereupon, Tryphiodorus, vv. 626 foll., going rather more into detail, but not to the extent of Virg. The house of Deiphobus was mentioned as blazing conspicuously 2. 310. "Atque hic" v. 860 below.

495.] The editors are divided between 'vidit' (Heyne, Ribbeck) and 'videt et' (Wagn., following Heins.). The MSS. may be said at once to favour neither and both, 'videt' without 'et' being the reading of fragm. Vat., Pal., Rom., Gud., &c., while Med. has 'vidit et,' 'et' being subsequently struck out. 'Vidit' alone is however found in one of Ribbeck's cursives and another a m. s., so that it seems safest to adopt it, though the insertion of 'et' after 'videt' would be a sufficiently easy conjecture, even without the quasi-sanction of Med. The description of Deiphobus' mutilation seems to show that Virg. was thinking of the vengeance sometimes inflicted by murderers on their victim, as by Clytaemnestra on Agamemnon (Aesch. Cho. 439, Soph. El. 445), either as a barbarous insult, or to prevent him from avenging himself in the lower world. The notion that the dead bear the disfigurements they received in life is further illustrated by Plato, Gorgias, p. 524 c. Similar mutilations are described Od. 18. 86., 22. 475.

496.] The last word of the preceding line repeated, as in 10. 821, 822, E. 6. 20, 21. The hands or arms are cut off, and perhaps fastened under the armpits (see Stephanus' Lex. μασχάλη). 'Populata tempora' and 'truncas naris' after 'lacerum' in apposition with 'ora manusque ambas,' though it is just conceivable that they may be intended to be in apposition with 'Deiphobum,' as if 'lacera ora' had preceded. Comp. 2. 557, "iacet ingens litore truncus, Avolsumque umeris caput, et sine nomine corpus." Anyhow we may say that Virg. has intentionally deviated from the ordinary mode of expression, which would be "lacerum ora, populatum tempora, truncum naris." A similar question may be raised about the construction of G. 4. 99, "Ardentes auro et paribus lita corpora guttis," where Virg., in his love of poetical surplusage, has left it doubtful whether he means 'lita corpora' to be acc. in construction with 'ardentes' or nom. in apposition to it. He seems to have avoided saying "litae corpora" partly for the sake of variety, partly that he might not separate "paribus guttis" pointedly from "auro" (comp. "Formosum paribus nodis atque aere" E. 5. 90). 'Populata' is a strong expression, the word being generally applied to ravaging a country.

497.] The nostrils were of course carried away with the nose: but Virg. wishes us to conceive of the place where the nose should be as the 'nares,' from which the nose had been lopped. 'Inhonestus,' ἀεικής. ['Volnere' Pal. originally.—H. N.]

498.] 'Adeo' seems to emphasize 'vix:' see on E. 4. 11. 'Pavitantem' expresses the utter confusion and shame of a hero so maltreated. 'Tegentem,' seeking to cover the tokens of his suffering as he best might, doubtless by cowering and putting forth the stumps of his arms; unlike Eriphyle, who points to her wounds, above v. 446. ['Agnovit' Rom. and fragm. Vat.—H. N.] 'Et dira'

Supplicia, et notis compellat vocibus ultro:
Deiphobe armipotens, genus alto a sanguine Teucri,
Quis tam crudelis optavit sumere poenas?
Cui tantum de te licuit? Mihi fama suprema
Nocte tulit fessum vasta te caede Pelasgum
Procubuisse super confusae stragis acervum.
Tunc egomet tumulum Rhoeteo litore inanem
Constitui, et magna Manis ter voce vocavi.
Nomen et arma locum servant; te, amice, nequivi

fragm. Vat., Rom., Gud., 'ac dira' Med., Pal.

499.] 'Compellat vocibus ultro' 4. 304.

500.] Comp. 4. 230., 5. 45. 'Genus' here, as in 5. 45, is probably in apposition with the vocative, 'genus' being applied to a single person below vv. 793, 839, &c. It would be possible however to construct it as an acc., like "qui genus?" 8. 114, "Nec genus indecores" 12. 25. The dialogue between Aeneas and Deiphobus resembles, though not closely, that between Ulysses and Agamemnon in the shades Od. 11. 397 foll.

501.] 'Optavit sumere:' see on G. 2. 42. In the absence of other instances, it is difficult to fix the precise force of the word, which might be plausibly explained as a translation of either προαιρεῖσθαι or εὔχεσθαι, the latter in the Homeric sense of boasting.

502.] 'Cui tantum de te licuit' has not been illustrated, though Forb. quotes an imitation of it from Lucan 9. 1024, "cui tantum fata licere In generum voluere tuum," a passage which confirms the remarks of Serv. and Ti Donatus that 'de te' here virtually = "in te." The meaning evidently is, as we should say in colloquial English, 'who has been able to get so much out of you?' "sumere" or some equivalent word being supplied from the context. 'Who has had his will of you so far?' 'Suprema nocte,' as in v. 513, the last night of Troy's existence.

503.] 'Tulit' of report, with an object clause, like 'ferunt.' 'Fessum caede,' weary with killing. Ti. Donatus says "Magna laude afficit: non enim dixit occisum sed procubuisse lassatum." We are doubtless however meant to suppose that Deiphobus was spent by wounds received as well as by the mere labour of slaying. 'De caede' was the reading before Pierius.

504.] "Confusae caedis acervum" 11. 207. 'Confusae' here may refer, as Forb. thinks, to the mixture of Greeks and Trojans; but it is not necessary. The point of the epithet is to show how the body came not to be identified. ['Acervom.' Pal. originally.—H. N.]

505.] "'Egomet,' quasi dicat, non aliis commisi," Serv. 'Rhoeteo in litore' Med., Pal. a m. s., Gud. a m. s., Rhoeteo litore' fragm. Vat. Rom., Pal. a m. p., Gud. a m. p. On the whole I have restored the latter with Ribbeck, though I am not satisfied that Lachmann is right on Lucr. 3. 374 in condemning the former as a faulty elision. It certainly seems arbitrary to allow that Virg. elides a final long vowel or diphthong preceded by a diphthong (which, as Lachm. admits, takes place in nine instances), and yet to insist that he cannot have elided a long vowel or diphthong preceded by a long vowel, as in the present instance and 10. 179, where Lachm. omits "ab" with no authority whatever. 'Rhoeteo' here used strictly of the Rhoeteian promontory, not, as in 3. 108, generally for Trojan. "Tumulum inanem" 3. 304 note.

506.] The triple invocation at a funeral is as old as Hom. Od. 9. 65, who makes Ulysses after his defeat by the Cicones not put to sea πρίν τινα τῶν δειλῶν ἑτάρων τρὶς ἕκαστον ἀῦσαι. Comp. also v. 231 above, 3. 68.

507.] 'Locum servant,' preserve the memory of the place, like "et nunc servat honos sedem tuus" 7. 3. Aeneas means to say that the name of Deiphobus adhered to the spot, like those of Misenus (v. 235) and Palinurus (v. 381). It has not however survived, like theirs, if indeed it ever existed except in Virg.'s imagination. 'Arma,' hardly those of Deiphobus himself, as his body was not

Conspicere et patria decedens ponere terra.
Ad quae Priamides: Nihil o tibi amice relictum;
Omnia Deiphobo solvisti et funeris umbris.
Set me fata mea et scelus exitiale Lacaenae
His mersere malis; illa haec monumenta reliquit.
Namque ut supremam falsa inter gaudia noctem

ınd, but others appropriated to him by meas. Comp. v. 233 above. 'Locus' the reading of one MS., the Longobar- : but the common text is better. 'Te' t elided but shortened before 'amice,' er the Greek fashion, like "qui" fore "amant" E. 8. 108. 'Te' of the dy: comp. v. 362 note.

508.] 'Patria terra' with 'ponere,' not th 'decedens,' though the juxtaposi- n of the words shows what kind of parture is meant and so forestalls such jections as Peerlkamp's, if otherwise ill founded, that 'decedere' alone uld naturally imply death. 'Ponere' uld not stand for burial by itself, and sarau's proposal to take 'patria' with ecedens,' 'terra' with 'ponere' is not nple enough, and would besides rob e passage of its force, the point being t merely that Aeneas wished to bury iphobus, but that he wished to bury m at home.

509—534.] 'Deiphobus acknowledges neas' care, and goes on to tell how he s attacked while sleeping securely on e night of the sack of Troy, Helen, his fe, having disarmed him and intro- iced Menelaus and Ulysses into the amber. He then asks Aeneas of his rn adventures.'

509.] There is great diversity of read- g at the beginning of this line. 'Ad ae' is found in fragm. Vat., and obably supported by Rom. 'adque,' d Med. a m. pr. and Pal. 'atquae.' The o last and similar varieties seem to ve led transcribers to suppose that the al word was 'atque,' often spelt 'adque:' cordingly a later hand in Med. sup- ies 'hic,' which several MSS. follow, hers reading 'atque haec.' 'Ad quae ec' is the reading of several copies, and s adopted by Heins., and two or three ve 'ad quem.' Wagn. removes the ints, so as to show that 'o' goes with mice.' 'Relictum' left undone, i. q. ihil reliquisti infectum." Comp. the e of 'relinqui' in such expressions as elinquitur ut" for "restat ut" (see Forc.). 'Tibi' = "a te." The old edi- tions added 'est:' but the best MSS. seem to omit it.

510.] 'Deiphobo' is emphatic. 'In raising the cenotaph you have not gone through a mere empty form, but have propitiated the ghost of the real Deipho- bus.' The mangled body may have been buried by those who did not know whose it was: otherwise we might infer that Deiphobus' appearance on the right side of the Styx was owing to Aeneas' pious care. 'Funeris' seems i. q. "cadaveris," as in 9. 491. The commentators suppose that 'umbris' is used in contradistinction to the actual body, which was not found: but the sense seems to be quite the con- trary, as I have just remarked on 'Dei- phobo'—the honour has been paid to the very man Deiphobus and his very shade. For the plural see 5. 81, &c. ['Umbras' Rom.—H. N.]

511.] 'Set' may merely imply, as Wagn. thinks, that Deiphobus is passing to the main thing which he has to speak of: but there seems to be a contrast, though not one which can be logically pressed, between Aeneas, who has done all he could for Deiphobus, and destiny and Helen, the authors of the evil. 'Exi- tiale' 2. 31. 'Lacaenae' 2. 601, where it is joined with "Tyndaridis." Helen is called ἡ Λάκαινα Eur. Tro. 861 with a similar feeling of contempt. ['Sed' Rom. and fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

512.] 'Mergere' of involving in suffer- ing vv. 429, 615. 'Illa' Helen, 'haec' with 'monumenta,' as 'his malis' shows. He speaks of the mangling he underwent as an enduring memorial of Helen. It is possible that Virg. may have been think- ing of Od. 15. 125, which he has already imitated seriously 3. 486, δῶρόν τοι καὶ ἐγώ, τέκνον φίλε, τοῦτο δίδωμι, Μνῆμ' Ἑλένης χειρῶν. At any rate a sneer is evidently intended by the choice of a word generally connected with honour- able associations. ['Monimenta' Pal. and Rom.—H.N.]

513.] With the fact comp. 2. 248, and

Egerimus, nosti; et nimium meminisse necesse est.
Cum fatalis equus saltu super ardua venit
Pergama et armatum peditem gravis attulit alvo,
Illa, chorum simulans, euantis orgia circum
Ducebat Phrygias; flammam media ipsa tenebat
Ingentem, et summa Danaos ex arce vocabat.
Tum me, confectum curis somnoque gravatum,
Infelix habuit thalamus, pressitque iacentem
Dulcis et alta quies placidaeque simillima morti.
Egregia interea coniunx arma omnia tectis
Emovet, et fidum capiti subduxerat ensem;
Intra tecta vocat Menelaum, et limina pandit,

the celebrated chorus in Eur. Hec. 905 foll. ['Suppremam' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

514.] 'You must needs remember it only too well.'

515, 516.] See on 2. 237, 283. ['Equs' Rom.—H. N.]

517.] So Amata pretends to lead an orgie, 7. 385 foll., "simulato numine Bacchi." 'Orgia' with 'euantis,' a Greek construction, εὐαζούσας τὰ ὄργια, 'orgia' being virtually a cogn. acc., equivalent to the cry 'euoe.' The word 'euantis' occurs Catull. 64. 391. 'Circum' round the city. ['Alveo' Med. and Rom.—H. N.]

518.] The torch is a characteristic of Bacchus, Eur. Bacch. 145, Soph. O. T. 313.

519.] We may reconcile this story with the narrative in 2. 254 foll. by supposing that Helen gave a signal for the fleet to start, and that Agamemnon when well on his way gave a second signal to Sinon, who then opened the horse: but it is simpler to suppose that the present account is an independent one, Virg. having forgotten that he had already given another, as we must certainly presume that when he wrote the lines about Helen introducing Menelaus, lower down, he did not remember the account of Helen hiding from Greeks and Trojans alike, 2. 567 foll., if the latter is genuine.

520.] ['Tunc' Pal.—H. N.] 'Confectum curis' has been questioned, Ribbeck reading 'choreis' from Schrader's conj.: but though the night had been passed in revelry, Deiphobus might well be spent with the labours of the siege. See on 2. 268. 'Confectum curis somnoque gravatum' seems to be a translation of Il. 10. 98, καμάτῳ ἀδηκότες ἠδὲ καὶ ὕπνῳ, or Od. 6. 2, ὕπνῳ καὶ καμάτῳ ἀρημένος.

521.] 'Habuit' as in vv. 362, 670.

522.] Καὶ τῷ νήδυμος ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἔπιπτεν, Νήγρετος, ἥδιστος, θανάτῳ ἄγχιστα ἐοικώς Od. 13. 79 foll.

523.] For the ironical use of 'egregius' Germ. comp. 4. 93. He also refers to Od. 16. 281 foll., where Ulysses speaks of removing all the weapons from the hall to the upper chamber, that the suitors may be unprotected. ["Tum vero illa egregia et praeclara mater palam exultare laetitia." Cic. Cluent. 5. 'Coniux' Med. and Rom.—H. N.]

524.] 'Emovet' fragm. Vat. a m. p., Rom., Gud., 'amovet' fragm. Vat. a m. s., Med. I have preferred the former, as the rarer word, and so more likely to have been altered. Pal. has 'et movet.' ['eemovet'] corrected into 'amovet.' It matters little whether we explain the change from 'emovet' to 'subduxerat' by saying that it is at the same time regarded from two different points of view, or by making the removal of the sword, as the first weapon Deiphobus would look for, prior to that of the other arms. Heyne prefers the former view, Forb. the latter. 'Capiti' is probably to be taken strictly, not as Burm. thinks, of the pillow or place where the head was to lie, though 'ad caput' is undoubtedly so used in Suet. Dom. 17, to which he refers. The removal went on while Deiphobus was asleep, Helen not having retired to rest with him, but being apparently engaged in her orgie. So when Judith kills Holofernes (Judith 13. 6) "she came to the pillar of the bed, which was at Holofernes' head, and took down his falchion from thence." Med. had 'capitis' originally. 'Fidus' of a sword 7. 640.

525.] 'Limina,' not the house but the

Scilicet id magnum sperans fore munus amanti,
Et famam extingui veterum sic posse malorum.
Quid moror? inrumpunt thalamo; comes additur una
Hortator scelerum Aeolides. Di, talia Grais
Instaurate, pio si poenas ore reposco.
Set te qui vivum casus, age, fare vicissim,
Attulerint. Pelagine venis erroribus actus,
An monitu divum? an quae te Fortuna fatigat,

chamber, unless we are to suppose a *ὕστερον πρότερον*.

526.] Menelaus is contemptuously called 'amans,' as if he were a new lover whose heart Helen was anxious to win. Possibly however 'amanti' may be used proleptically, like "nec dextrae erranti deus afuit" 7. 498.

527.] 'Famam:' Helen is represented as thinking of her public character as well as her interest in Menelaus' affections, supposing that by a signal act of vengeance on Troy and of service to Greece she will recover her good name as a true wife and as a lover of her country. 'Famam extinguere' 4. 323. The feeling is not unlike that of the Homeric Helen, Il. 6. 358.

528.] Deiphobus hurries over the circumstances of his butchery, which Virg. doubtless felt had been sufficiently described by its effects. Rom. and some others give 'thalamos,' which Heyne prefers: but the dat., besides being better supported, is the rarer construction. It is not found elsewhere in Virg., but it occurs repeatedly in Virg.'s imitator, Silius: see Forc. 'Inrumpunt,' Menelaus and his companions. 'Additur' is recalled by Wagn. from Med., fragm. Vat., and others, 'comes additur' being equivalent to "addit se comitem." 'Additus' is the other reading, found in Pal., Rom., &c. Retaining it, we might possibly correct it with 'inrumpunt,' as if Virg. had said "inrumpunt thalamo et Menelaus et Aeolides." For the presence of Ulysses see above on v. 494.

529.] 'Hortator scelerum' of Ulysses, as "scelerum inventor" 2. 164 note. "Cum eius studii tibi et hortator et magister esset domi," Cic. De Orat. 1. 55, cited by Forc. 'Aeolides,' referring to the post-Homeric slander which made Ulysses really the son of Sisyphus, who was son of Aeolus. [Servius, as his text is emended by Masvic, says "alii *Oeliden* legunt, de quo nusquam legimus."—H. N.] See Soph. Aj. 190, Phil. 417 &c. 'Di, talia Grais' &c., comp. Soph. Phil. 315, *οἷς Ὀλύμπιοι θεοὶ δοῖέν ποτ' αὐτοῖς ἀντίποιν' ἐμοῦ παθεῖν*.

530.] 'Instaurate' i. q. "rependite," a sense easily deduced from that of renewing. 'Pio ore:' if the prayer is one which it is right to make. So Hyllus in Soph. Trach. 809, *εἰ θέμις δ' ἐπεύχομαι, θέμις δ'* κ.τ.λ., where however the doubt is more natural, as it is a son invoking vengeance on a mother. Perhaps then Virg. means Deiphobus to ask the gods for vengeance, if he has been their true worshipper, like Chryses Il. 1. 39 foll. Rom. reads 'pios,' which might be explained as in 2. 536, 4. 382, but is far more likely to have been corrupted from the initial letter of the following word.

531.] Imitated from Od. 11. 155 foll., where Ulysses is similarly questioned by his mother. ['Sed' Rom. fragm. Vat. —H. N.]

532.] A few MSS. give 'attulerunt,' which might be worth considering. See E. 4. 61. Virg. however has blended the direct and indirect question, taking the mood from the latter, the order from the former. 'Pelagine venis erroribus actus' is a question more suited to Anticleia (Od. 11, l. c.) than to Deiphobus, as the Homeric Hades was beyond the Ocean river, and approached by ship. The question however is evidently intended to mean, 'Have you come to Cumae by stress of weather, or on a special errand?' Deiphobus, we may remember, would be ignorant that Aeneas had any object in coming to Italy. 'Pelagi erroribus' expresses generally what is put more distinctly in 7. 199, "Sive errore viae, seu tempestatibus acti, Qualia multa mari nautae patiuntur in alto."

533.] 'Quae Fortuna' is rightly explained by Wagn as "quae alia fortuna." Forb. comp Aesch. Prom. 198, *πόνων ἐμῶν θεωρὸς, ἢ τί δὴ θέλων*; So Milton. Comus, "By falsehood, or discourtesy, or

Ut tristis sine sole domos, loca turbida, adires?
Hac vice sermonum roseis Aurora quadrigis
Iam medium aetherio cursu traiecerat axem;
Et fors omne datum traherent per talia tempus;

why?" For 'quae' after 'an' comp. Ter. Adelph. 3. 4, 22, "an quid est etiam amplius?" Plaut. Asin. 3. 3. 127, "an quid olim hominist Saluto melius?" instances which seem to show that it is indefinite here (comp. "num quae" &c.), not, as Wagn. thinks, pleonastically interrogative. One or two MSS. have 'aut' (comp. 3. 311, 338), which is sometimes confused with 'an.' Burm. and Heyne had made 'quae' the relative, supplying 'fortuna (abl.) venis' from 'fortuna,' which would be intolerably harsh. The question is like 3. 609, "quae deinde agitet fortuna, fateri."

534.] 'Adires' follows 'fatigat,' as if it had been 'fatigavit.' See Madv. § 382, obs. 3. [In Catullus 102. 1 "advenio . . . ut adloquerer," the past tense seems to express the past intention which was the cause of the present arrival. Perhaps here 'ut adires' might be paraphrased 'that you thought of approaching,' or 'wished to approach.'—H. N.] Or we may say that Deiphobus regards the stress of fortune first as a continuing agency, afterwards as having had a past effect in making Aeneas undertake the journey to the shades. 'Sine sole:' Eur. has *ἀνηλίους δόμους* of the shades Alc. 852, *ἀνηλίων μυχῶν* Herc. F. 607. See also on v. 462 above. 'Turbida' gives the notion of obscurity, and perhaps also that of formless confusion. "A land of the shadow of death, without any order." Job 10. 22. Perhaps Virg. meant to translate Od. 11. 94, *ὄφρα ἴδῃ νέκυας καὶ ἀτερπέα χῶρον.*

535—547.] 'The Sibyl interrupts them, reminding Aeneas that he has the rest of the lower world to see. Deiphobus retires.'

535.] From this and the following lines we may infer that Aeneas answers Deiphobus' question, and that the conversation proceeds. The lines are imitated, though with additional elaboration, from Od. 11. 81, 465 foll.: Virg. also thought of Apoll. R. 2. 448 foll. 'Vice sermonum' translates *ἐπέεσσιν ἀμειβομένω.* "Vice sermonis" occurs Ov. 4 Trist. 4. 79, "vicibus loquendi" Id. 2 Ex Pont. 10. 35, cited by Forc. The abl. here is one of circumstance. 'Roseis Aurora quadrigis:' comp. 7. 26, where the Dawn goddess appears "in roseis bigis," a number agreeing with the Homeric account Od. 23. 246. It matters little whether we suppose the car or the horses to be designated by the epithet 'rosy,' nor yet whether the abl. be taken as instrumental with 'traiecerat' or as descriptive with 'Aurora.' Considerable difficulty has been made about the time intended by the poet: but Wagn. rightly follows Cerda, who supposes that Aeneas spends a night, a day, and perhaps a second night in or about the infernal regions, the first night being devoted to the preliminary sacrifices, the whole of the succeeding time to the journey through the shades. They started at daybreak, vv. 255 foll.: they have been exploring till past noon, and now the Sibyl warns Aeneas, in language sufficiently natural, that night is hastening on, 'nox ruit.' The amplification is perhaps a little unseasonable, as we scarcely need to be reminded pointedly of what is going on in the upper world, though of course all notation of time must be made by a reference to daylight.

536.] 'Axis' of the heaven G. 2. 271. 'Medium axem' like "medium sol igneus orbem Hauserat" G. 4. 426. 'Cursu' instrumental, if 'quadrigis' be descriptive: otherwise we must take it 'in' or 'during her course,' as in v. 338 above. [Cursus' Rom.—H. N.]

537.] Perhaps from Od. 16. 220 (repeated 21. 226), *καί νύ κ' ὀδυρομένοισιν ἔδυ φάος ἠελίοιο.* This mode of saying that something would have happened if it had not been prevented by something else, is common in Hom. to a degree which would appear grotesque in a less simple writer. 'Datum,' by the gods or by the Sibyl: see on v. 477. What the time assigned was we can only infer: but we may reasonably suppose that a visit to the shades would have its limits. 'Per talia:' Virg. has chosen to say 'they would have drawn out their time through such conversation as this' instead of 'they would have drawn out such conversation as this through their time.' So "nos flendo ducimus horas" v. 539. For 'traherent' see on l. 748. Here and in v. 539 the notion

Sed comes admonuit breviterque adfata Sibylla est:
Nox ruit, Aenea; nos flendo ducimus horas.
Hic locus est, partis ubi se via findit in ambas:
Dextera quae Ditis magni sub moenia tendit,
Hac iter Elysium nobis; at laeva malorum
Exercet poenas, et ad impia Tartara mittit.
Deiphobus contra: Ne saevi, magna sacerdos;
Discedam, explebo numerum, reddarque tenebris.

seems to be that they were spending a long time in talking or weeping; though from another point of view it might have been said that they were making the time go fast. Comp. 5. 766, "Complexi inter se noctemque diemque morantur."

538.] "Comes admoneat" v. 292 above. For 'Sibylla' after 'comes' see on 3. 162. Perhaps however it is better to say here that 'comes' qualifies 'admonuit' on the principle illustrated on E. 8. 1, 18, 'admonished him *as a companion*,' so that it really = "comitem admonuit." Virg. is fond of adverting to the brevity of the Sibyl's speeches: see vv. 321, 398.

539.] 'Nox ruit:' see on v. 535. 'Ducimus:' see on v. 537.

540.] Hitherto they had passed along a single road, the district being inhabited by those who were neither in happiness nor in pain; now the ways diverge to Elysium or to Tartarus. Plato, Gorgias, p. 524 A, makes the judgment take place ἐν τῇ τριόδῳ, ἐξ ἧς φέρετον τὼ ὁδώ, ἡ μὲν εἰς μακάρων νήσους, ἡ δ' εἰς Τάρταρον. 'Ambas' for "duas," a use noted by Serv. and Ti. Donatus, and also by Forc., but not illustrated by other instances. We might say 'where the way divides into its two parts;' but we should still not give the force of the word, as 'both' not merely supposes the parts as already known, but expressly negatives the notion, which here no one would dream of entertaining, that one part only is in question.

541.] It is slightly neater to remove the comma usually put after 'dextera' with Jahn, as we must otherwise suppose an anacoluthon. 'Ditis magni sub moenia:' see vv. 630 foll. We may comp. the lines on the Pythagorean Y, Pers. 3. 56, "et tibi quae Samios diduxit littera ramos Surgentem dextro monstravit limite callem."

542.] Rom has. 'hic iter.' 'Iter Elysium' like "iter Italiam" 3. 507. 'Nobis' implies what appears further from v. 563, that they were not to visit Tartarus. ['Ad' Med. Pal. Rom. fragm. Vat. originally.—H. N.]

543.] The road is said to punish the bad and send them to Tartarus, a kind of hendiadys, expressing what would be expressed in less artificial language by saying that it conducts them to Tartarus where they are punished. We have already had an instance of Virg.'s variety in the use of 'exercere' on G. 3. 152; here and in v. 739 there is a somewhat analogous variety, 'exercet poenas' and 'exercentur poenis.' Tac. A. 1. 44, comp. by Forb., has "iudicium et poenas de singulis exercuit." The way is said 'mittere,' as elsewhere "ducere" or "ferre." 'Impia Tartara,' the epithet properly belonging to the occupants of the place transferred to the place itself, not unlike "lugentes campi" v. 441. [Henry takes 'impia' as = 'merciless,' which is simpler, but hardly probable.—H. N.]

544.] 'Ne saevi,' a poetical intensification for "ne irascere."

545.] [Nonius p. 298 explains 'explebo' as = "minuam," a notion which Servius mentions with approval, quoting in support of it a line of Ennius, "navibus explebant sese, terrasque replebant." No doubt 'explere' sometimes = "to empty:" Donatus on Ter. Hec. 5. 1. 28 says "'explere' pro 'exinanire' Terentianum est," and Ov. has it in this sense 5 Trist. 3. 28 "expletur lacrimis egeriturque dolor." But here such an explanation is obviously wrong, and that of Ti. Donatus (mentioned also by Serv.) probably right, "recedam expleturus numerum (quem abeundo minuerat")."—H. N.] Macrob. Som. Scip. 1. 13 has a mystical explanation of the words from Plotinus' doctrine of numbers, which the curious in such things may consult. Forb. comp. Sen. Hipp. 1153, "Constat inferno

I decus, i, nostrum; melioribus utere fatis.
Tantum effatus, et in verbo vestigia torsit.
Respicit Aeneas subito, et sub rupe sinistra
Moenia lata videt, triplici circumdata muro,
Quae rapidus flammis ambit torrentibus amnis,
Tartareus Phlegethon, torquetque sonantia saxa.
Porta adversa, ingens, solidoque adamante columnae,

numerus tyranno," supposing Virg. to intimate that Pluto would naturally be jealous of the prolonged absence of one of his subjects. Comp. the use of 'numerus' E. 6. 85. There are two other passages in Seneca's Tragedies which may illustrate this use of 'explere,' Herc. Oet. 949, "Vacat una Danais: has ego explebo vices," and Herc. F. 502, "Deest una numero Danais: explebo nefas." But the interpretation can hardly be said to have been as yet placed beyond doubt. Mr. Long suggests that 'numerum' may mean 'my place,' a sense illustrated on G. 4. 227. [Comp. Sen. ad Marciam 12. 3 "degenerem aliquem et *numerum* tantum nomenque filii *expleturum*."—H. N.]

546.] 'Utor' here simply = "habeo," like χρῶμαι in Greek.

547.] "Tantum effatus, et infesta subit obvius hasta" 10. 877. 'In verbo vestigia torsit' is like "media in voce resistit" 4. 76, 'in verbo' meaning 'even while he was speaking,' to show Deiphobus' ready compliance. For 'torsit' Med., Rom., and one or two others give 'pressit,' which, if genuine, must be understood to mean that Deiphobus, having followed Aeneas and the Sibyl previously, at length stopped, and left them to pursue their journey. But 'vestigia pressit' has already occurred twice in this book, vv. 197, 331, and so would naturally suggest itself to a transcriber, while it is more likely that Deiphobus should be represented as moving away, which he would have to do (comp. v. 545), than as simply stopping. "Ad sonitum vocis vestigia torsit" 3. 669.

548—561.] 'Aeneas sees a huge fortress on the left, surrounded by a fiery river, and echoing with sounds of torture, and inquires the meaning of it.'

548.] 'Respicit' seems to imply that they had proceeded some way towards Elysium, as at the point of divergence Tartarus would be before them. 'Sub rupe' is apparently from the Homeric description of the junction of Styx and Cocytus, Od. 10. 515, πέτρη τε, ξύνεσίς τε δύω ποταμῶν ἐριδούπων.

549.] See on 2. 234, a passage which, like this, enables us to discriminate between 'murus' and 'moenia.' It signifies little whether we suppose that here we are intended to conceive of one large building or of several. In any case we are meant to imagine a tower or Bastille. The wall that surrounds it is from Hesiod, Theog. 726, τὸν (Τάρταρον) περὶ χάλκεον ἕρκος ἐλήλαται.

550.] Phlegethon acts as a moat, apparently outside the walls. 'Torrentibus' is probably meant to suggest the notion of a torrent as well as that of scorching flame. So "pice torrentis ripas" 9. 105, 10. 114. 'Flammis' probably with 'ambit' rather than with 'rapidus.'

551.] The full name of the river is Pyriphlegethon, Od. 10. 513, Plato, Phaedo p. 113 B. It is called 'Tartareus' like Acheron v. 295, but with more propriety, as it is specially the river of the place of torture. For 'torquetque saxa' after 'quae ambit' see on G. 2. 208. The 'sonantia saxa' may come from a misunderstanding of Plato l. c. Πυριφλεγέθοντα, οὗ καὶ οἱ ῥύακες ἀποσπάσματα ἀναφυσῶσιν, ὅπῃ ἂν τύχωσι τῆς γῆς, where ἀποσπάσματα are not fragments of rocks, but parts of Pyriphlegethon, which are said to be disgorged by lava-streams in different parts of the earth. We may comp. the description of an earthly torrent Lucr. 1. 288, "volvitque sub undis Grandia saxa," and G. 3. 254, "Flumina correptosque unda torquentia montis." Rom. has 'tonantia.'

552.] 'Columnae' i. q. "postes," being apparently chosen as better adapted to the gigantesque style of description. Heyne comp. Il. 8. 15, ἔνθα σιδήρειαί τε πύλαι καὶ χάλκεος οὐδός, said of Tartarus. 'Adamas' is the common poetical word for the hardest substance, e.g. Aesch. Prom. 6, ἀδαμαντίνων δεσμῶν ἐν ἀρρήκτοις πέδαις, which will also illustrate v. 558.

Vis ut nulla virum, non ipsi exscindere bello
Caelicolae valeant; stat ferrea turris ad auras,
Tisiphoneque sedens, palla succincta cruenta,
Vestibulum exsomnis servat noctesque diesque.
Hinc exaudiri gemitus, et saeva sonare
Verbera; tum stridor ferri, tractaeque catenae.
Constitit Aeneas, strepituque exterritus haesit.
Quae scelerum facies? o virgo, effare; quibusve

553.] The meaning is that neither men ır gods can make the gates of Tartarus en when once closed. 'Bello' is the ading of Rom., fragm. Vat., and Pal., erro' of Med. With Ladewig I prefer e former, which is more picturesque, d avoids the awkwardness of 'ferrea' llowing. Ladewig thinks there is an tentional ascent from the violence of n to the battle of the gods. But ere is much to be said for 'ferro,' iich is supported by 9. 137, "ferro leratum exscindere gentem," and by 463. 'Bello' has been erroneously roduced for 'ferro' by Med. in 12. 4, as Wagn. remarks.

554.] The stronghold has a tower, like iam's palace 2. 460. 'Stat,' as Forb. narks, combines the notions of height d fixity. 'Ad auras,' as if 'surgit' or tollit' had preceded. Here and in 561 'aurae' of course stands for the nosphere of the lower world. Serv. rs sensibly "auras inferis congruas in-legamus," telling us at the same time at Pollio supposed that Aeneas and the yl brought some of the upper air with m.

555.] 'Tisiphone' G. 3. 552. Her ody robe is from Il. 18. 538, where it said of ὀλοὴ Κήρ in the middle of a y εἷμα δ' ἔχ' ἀμφ' ὤμοισι δαφοινεὸν ατι φωτῶν, "accommodatius sane in gna," as Heyne remarks. She is re-sented in battle 10. 761, evidently m the same passage in Hom. 'Palla' e on 1. 648.

556.] Tisiphone is meant to act as ter or sentinel, v. 575. 'Servat' G. 459. 'Exsomnis' i. q. "insomnis." is used by Hor. 3. Od. 25. 9 in the se of 'starting from sleep,' but it ald be too much to assume with Forb. t such is its original meaning. All can say is that while words com-nded with 'in' may be called nega-, like those with ἀ in Greek, those npounded with 'ex,' like those with ἀπό, may be called privative: but in poetical language at any rate the two are virtually equivalent. Rom. has 'insomnis." "Noctes atque dies" v. 127 above.

557.] 'Hinc exaudiri gemitus,' 7. 15; "hinc exaudiri voces' 4. 460, where "visa" follows. For 'sonare' some of Pierus' MSS. gave 'sonore,' a reading confirmed by 9. 651, "saeva sonoribus arma."

558.] "Tractae catenae' probably nom. pl., though it might be gen. sing. Wagn. remarks that 'stridor' practically supplies the place of a verb; we are probably however meant to borrow one grammatically from the former sentence, though of course it would be possible to understand a verb substantive. 'Ferri' is explained by 'catenae.'

559.] 'Strepitu—haesit' is restored by Wagn. from Med., Pal. a. m. s. for 'strepitum—hausit,' Gud., Pal. a. m. p., fragm. Vat. a. m. s. Rom. has 'strepitum—haesit.' There is but little to choose between the two: 'haesit' however seems slightly preferable, as 'hausit' would apparently make his listening to the shrieks subsequent to his stopping. Wagn. comp. "paulum aspectu conterritus haesit, Continuitque gradum" 3. 597, "subitoque aspectu territus haesit,' 11. 699—passages however which might possibly have suggested the variety to a transcriber here. Henry prefers 'hausit' as more picturesque. I have sometimes fancied that an opposite corruption may have taken place in 11. 864, "Audiit una Arruns, haesitque in corpore ferrum," where 'hausit,' though found in no MS., would be somewhat more vivid.

560.] 'Scelerum facies' G. 1. 506. See on v. 104 above. The word 'effari' is in poetry confined, on the whole, to the style of epic and tragedy. It occurs several times in the fragments of Ennius, once in those of Pacuvius, once in Lucretius, and frequently in Virgil.— H. N.]

Urgentur poenis? quis tantus plangor ad auras?
Tum vates sic orsa loqui: Dux inclute Teucrum,
Nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen;
Set me cum lucis Hecate praefecit Avernis,
Ipsa deum poenas docuit, perque omnia duxit.
Gnosius haec Rhadamanthus habet, durissima regna,

561.] 'Urgentur,' the 'scelerum facies,' which includes 'scelerati.' ['Urguentur' Med. Velius Longus p. 2223 P. says "animadvertimus tamen quibusdam partibus orationis V. litteram vitiose insertam, ut in eo quod est *urguere* et *unguere*. Itaque testis in utroque Vergilius, qui ait 'quibusve Urgentur poenis?'"—H. N.] 'Quis" is recalled by Wagn. from Med., Gud., Pal. a m. s. &c. for 'qui,' which Heins. had introduced from Rom., Pal. a m. p. &c. See note on E. 1. 19. Ribbeck reads 'clangor' from Pal. and Gud., but 'plangor' is obviously preferable. 'Ad auras' v. 554 note. Here it suggests a verb, and in effect supplies its place. Ribbeck reads 'ad auris' from Pal.

562—627.] 'The Sibyl explains that this is Tartarus, which is never entered by the good, she herself having only seen it when introduced to her office by Hecate. Criminals are given over to Rhadamanthus, who compels them to confess, and delivers them to the Furies: then the gate is opened, and they are thrown into a tremendous abyss. All the great criminals, demigods and heroes, are suffering there, and all the guilty of later times. The forms of crime are innumerable, and so are the punishments.'

562.] "Tum sic orsa loqui vates" v. 125 above. Pal. and Rom. have 'hinc orsa,' [Pal. reading 'tunc.'—H. N.] Ti. Donatus remarks that the Sibyl has always some new address for Aeneas, which shows the poet's copiousness of expression.

563.] 'Insistere' with acc. G. 3. 164 The 'limen' is called 'sceleratum' as "Tartara" are called "impia" v. 543; but there is also a reference, as Germ. points out, to the threshold as the special seat of the Furies. He comp. Ov. M. 4. 453 foll., where Juno goes down to Orcus to seek the Furies:

"Carceris ante fores clausas adamante sedebant,
Deque suis atros pectebant crinibus angues.
Quam simul agnorunt inter caliginis umbras,
Surrexere deae: sedes Scelerata vocatur."

'Scelerata sedes' occurs in a similar connexion Tibull. 1. 3. 67. Germ. says that this was pointed out to him by Passerat. See on 4. 473, where it seems as if the threshold generally, and not merely in Tartarus, were the natural seat of the Furies. A reader of Sir E. B. Lytton's "Zanoni" will remember the 'Dweller on the Threshold.'

564.] v. 118. ['Sed' Rom.—H. N.]

565.] 'Deum' may either be used generally, the punishments being supposed to have the sanction of the whole body of gods (comp. "fata deum" v. 376 &c.), or specially, indicating that the punishments were frequently inflicted at the instance of one or other of the gods, e.g. on Tityos, v. 595, who offered violence to Latona. A few MSS. have 'loci poenas,' and Heins. ingeniously conjectured 'reum,' i. e. 'reorum.' 'Per omnia duxit' is to be understood literally, as Forb. remarks, referring to vv. 582, 585.

566.] ['Cnosius' Pal. 'Gnosius' Med. and Rom.—H. N.] Rhadamanthus, the brother of Minos (Il. 14. 321), in Hom. is placed in the Elysian fields, apparently as a kind of president (Od. 4. 564). In Plato, as we have seen on v. 430, he is the judge of the Asiatic dead. Heyne remarks that his office here answers rather to that of the 'Tresviri Capitales' at Rome, or to that of the Eleven at Athens, than to that of a judge, as the spirits are presumed guilty before being committed to him, and he tortures them into confession and inflicts or superintends their punishment. It is difficult to say whether or no Wagn. is right in placing a comma after 'habet:' but on the whole the apposition, 'durissima regna,' seems more in the manner of Virg. (comp. 3. 106, 272., 11. 252), and it has perhaps some additional force as a separate clause. 'This is the empire of Rhadamanthus, and a stern and savage

Castigatque auditque dolos, subigitque fateri,
Quae quis aput superos, furto laetatus inani,
Distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem.
Continuo sontis ultrix accincta flagello
Tisiphone quatit insultans, torvosque sinistra
Intentans anguis vocat agmina saeva sororum.
Tum demum horrisono stridentes cardine sacrae

one it is.' 'Haec' then, as Wagn. says, will be used generally, like τάδε in Greek. In any case 'durissima regna' will refer at least as much to that of the character of Rhadamanthus' rule as to that of the regions subjected to it. So far as the reference is local, it extends to the whole of Tartarus the 'moenia' of v. 549.

567.] 'Castigatque auditque,' a ὕστερον πρότερον, perhaps intended to express the summary character of Rhadamanthus' justice, punishment following at once on examination. 'Dolos' seems to be put generally for crime, which is conceived of as skulking from justice and pleading not guilty. A more special instance of the same thing follows in the next clause. Forb. notes the general use of 'fraus' for injury.

568.] The concealment is called 'furtum,' as a fraud on justice. So in Greek κλέπτειν is used of doing a thing secretly. Comp. v. 24., 4. 337. It is 'inane,' because vengeance is not really cheated.

569.] 'Has put off to the late hour of death,' not a strictly accurate expression, as Virg. means not a death-bed confession, but a suppression of guilt till it is revealed in the other world. 'Piaculum' of a crime is as old as Ennius and Plautus, see Forc. Its use here may be meant to suggest that the confession has been delayed till earthly expiation is too late, at the same time that it suits 'distulit,' as what is really put off is not the crime but the confession and atonement. Expiation must now be made in the lower world.

570.] Tisiphone, as we saw on v. 556, is the 'dweller on the threshold;' the meaning here accordingly seems to be that Rhadamanthus consigns the guilty to her, and she opens the door through which they pass to their doom. 'Accincta' seems merely to mean armed, as we cannot suppose that Tisiphone carried a scourge at her girdle. See on v. 184. So "omnis facibus pubes accingitur atris" 9. 74. Serv. explains it grotesquely of the long lash coiling round her as she wields it. There is a similar passage in 2. 612 foll., "Iuno . . . sociumque furens a navibus agmen Ferro accincta vocat," but it does not seem to help us to explain that before us. We might explain 'accincta flagello,' 'girt up for wielding the lash,' like "se praedae accingunt" 1. 210, "accingunt omnes operi" 2. 235, but the parallel 9. 74 is against this.

571.] ['Quatit' probably = "percutit," "ferit," the idea being of shaking through violent blows: at least this, according to Verrius Flaccus, was one meaning of the word (Festus p. 261 Müller): comp. Nonius p. 378 "*quatere* significat percutere:" Comm. Cruq. on Hor. 4 Od. 6. 7. ("Dardanas turres quateret tremenda Cuspide pugnax":) "*quateret*, agitaret, concuteret:" Serv. on Aen. 2. 611 "*quatit*, concutit, commovet." Comp. 12. 337 "equos. . . fumantis sudore quatit": 8. 3. "utque acres concussit equos."—H. N.] Cerda comp. Val. F. 7. 149, "Ipsum angues, ipsum horrisoni quatit ira flagelli," an obvious imitation of Virg. For 'torvos' some of Pierius' MSS. gave 'tortos,' a very plausible reading, supported by an intermediate correction in Pal. Tisiphone apparently has a scourge in one hand and serpents in the other, as in the imitation in Val. Fl. Heyne refers to a similar picture of Tisiphone, Stat. Theb. 1. 112, "Tum geminas quatit ira minas, haec igne rogali Fulgurat, haec vivo manus aëra verberat hydro." If we suppose the serpents themselves to be the scourge, we may say that in her right hand she grasps the culprits. This would agree with "verberat" in the line just quoted, and with the reading 'tortos,' with which Ribbeck comp. "torto verbere" 7. 378, G. 3. 106.

572.] It would seem as if the other Furies were called to carry away the culprit; but it may be to assist in the torture. The former view however is supported by the author of the Axiochus, who says of the guilty, ἄγονται πρὸς Ἐρινύων ἐπ' Ἔρεβος καὶ χάος διὰ Ταρτάρου. 'Agmina,' see note on 4. 469, 470.

573.] The description is continued:

Panduntur portae. Cernis, custodia qualis
Vestibulo sedeat? facies quae limina servet?
Quinquaginta atris inmanis hiatibus Hydra
Saevior intus habet sedem. Tum Tartarus ipse
Bis patet in praeceps tantum tenditque sub umbras,

when the culprit is handed over to the Furies, then, and not till then, is the adamantine door of the prison opened. Serv. says, "Mittuntur, inquit, post verbera ad aeternum supplicium. Et est secutus ordinem iuris antiquum. Nam post habitam quaestionem in Tullianum ad ultimum supplicium mittebantur." Another interpretation, also mentioned by Serv. and accepted by the earlier commentators, and now by Ribbeck, supposed these words to be the poet's, as if, just as the Sibyl was speaking, the gates flew open, and afforded a glimpse of the scene within; but this would be inconsistent with what follows, where the Sibyl calls attention to the sentry at the gate, whom Aeneas can see, and then proceeds to speak of the horrors within, which he cannot see. "Foribus cardo stridebat aënis" 1. 449. Milton's well-known imitation (P. L. Book 2. 879 foll.) will bear quoting again:

"On a sudden open fly
With impetuous recoil and jarring sound
The infernal doors, and on their hinges grate
Harsh thunder, that the lowest bottom shook
Of Erebus."

'Sacrae,' not, set apart, and thence accursed (note on 3. 57), but belonging to the infernal gods. "Portae religione sacrae" 7. 608.

574.] 'Custodia,' i. q. "custos," as in 9. 166, for "custodes." So we say 'watch' and 'sentry' for 'watchmen' and 'sentinels.' The "custos" is Tisiphone, not, as Süpfl thinks, a Hydra who is compared to another and fiercer one within.

575.] 'Vestibulo' and 'limina' are important, being contrasted with 'intus.' Henry remarks that the three degrees of horror are Tisiphone on the threshold, the Hydra within, and the terrific depth of Tartarus, 'Tartarus *ipse*.' 'Limina servet' v. 402., 2. 567. 'Facies' of a monster 8. 194.

576.] 'Atris,' a common epithet of serpents G. 1. 129. Here it seems to refer not so much to the skin or to the poisonous powers of the Hydra, as to the black gulf of its throats. "Inmanis hiatu" above v. 237. The Hydra need not be the same as that mentioned v. 287. Virg. however may have some object in placing a Hydra near the gate of Tartarus as well as at the gate of Orcus, as in the case of the Furies. The number of heads assigned to the Hydra varied in different legends. Serv. cites Simonides for fifty.

577.] 'Saevior,' fiercer than Tisiphone. 'Habet sedem' i. q. "sedet." In what follows Virg. has copied Hom., doubling his measurement, *τόσσον ἔνερθ' Ἀΐδεω, ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης* Il. 8. 16; a mode of 'excelling by ill imitating' which he has more than once resorted to. Milton, we may remember, has similarly attempted to improve on Virg. and Hom. both, placing the rebel angels in a region "as far removed from God and light of heaven As from the centre thrice to the utmost pole" (P. L. Book 1. 73 foll.).

578.] Comp. the description of the tree 4. 445 foll. Virg., as Cerda points out, has been indebted for some of his language to Lucr. 4. 416 foll., where the deceptive appearance of reflections in water is spoken of, "Despectum praebet sub terras impete tanto, A terris quantum caeli patet altus hiatus." Here, as in some other places (see note on G. 2. 249), we are admitted to see something of what passed in Virg.'s mind in the process of composition. The occurrence of 'hiatibus' in v. 576 cannot be unconnected with the presence of "hiatus" in Lucr. l. c., so that we may imagine either that having talked of 'hiatibus' Virg. was reminded of "hiatus" in Lucr. and so of the whole passage, or that having imitated the passage he was led to recast v. 576 so as to introduce 'hiatibus.' There is of course much scope for fancy in this kind of criticism; but a subtle imitator like Virg. may be said specially to invite it, and those who are themselves accustomed to composition will be interested in pursuing it, even though indisposed to build much on its apparent results.

Quantus ad aetherium caeli suspectus Olympum.
Hic genus anticum Terrae, Titania pubes,
Fulmine deiecti fundo volvuntur in imo.
Hic et Aloidas geminos immania vidi
Corpora, qui manibus magnum rescindere caelum
Adgressi, superisque Iovem detrudere regnis.
Vidi et crudelis dantem Salmonea poenas,
Dum flammas Iovis et sonitus imitatur Olympi.

579.] 'Suspectus' occurs again 9. 530, where we hear of a tower "vasto suspectu." ['Caeli suspectus,' the view upwards in the region of the sky, or the world in which we live; 'caelum' meaning not the heaven proper, but the earth as opposed to the infernal regions. So below vv. 719, 897. This is now Henry's view, and is probably right. Conington took 'caeli' as = "ad caelum," and 'Olympum' as developing the idea.—H.N.] Petit ingeniously proposed to substitute 'terra' for 'caeli' here, introducing 'caeli' for 'Terrae' in the next verse. Ladewig, following some of the older commentators, connects 'caeli Olympus,' supposing it to be so called to distinguish it from the mountain in Thessaly.

580.] 'Genus Terrae,' comp. G. 1. 278. The best comment on 'anticum' is furnished by the passages about the elder gods in the Prometheus of Aeschylus. For 'pubes' Rom. and some others give 'proles,' which is more likely to have been introduced by a copyist. ['Anticum' Med., 'antiqum' Rom., 'antiquom' Pal. originally, 'antiquum' Pal. corrected.—H. N.]

581.] 'Fundo in imo' is perhaps from Hom., who speaks of τοὺς Ὑποταρταρίους, οἳ Τιτῆνες καλέονται Il. 14. 279. With 'deiecti' after 'genus' and 'pubes' Forb. comp. "manus . . . passi" v. 660 below. "Telo deicit" of lightning G. 1. 333: "quo centimanum deiecerat igne Typhoea" Ov. M. 3. 303. ['Volvontur' Pal. originally.—H. N.]

582.] The sons of Aloeus, Otus and Ephialtes, are mentioned Il. 5. 385 foll., as having put Ares in chains, and in Od. 11. 307 foll. the story of their attempt on heaven and their punishment is told at length, on the occasion of Ulysses seeing their mother Iphimedeia, who is there said to have borne them, not to her husband Aloeus, but to Poseidon. Nothing is said there of their having been thrust down to Tartarus; their mother is in the shades, but we hear of them merely as slain by Apollo. With the apposition of 'corpora' comp. 10. 430, and see note on 2. 18.

583.] See note on G. 1. 280.

584.] ὡς τὴν Διὸς τυραννίδ' ἐκπέρσων βίᾳ Aesch. Prom. 357, of Typhoeus. In the account in Od. 11 the attempt is made somewhat less definite than here; it is added however that it would have succeeded had the giant twins been allowed to grow to manhood. "Detrude caput sub Tartara" 9. 496.

585.] Salmoneus again is mentioned in Od. 11 (v. 236), but only as the father of Tyro, being himself designated as ἀμύμων. Heyne attempts to trace the gradual growth of the myths about his impiety in an Excursus specially devoted to him. He is called ἄδικος in a fragment of Hesiod quoted by Schol. on Pind. p. 4. 252 (fragm. 32 Göttling). Joseph Warton thought that Virg. meant here to censure the Roman custom of deification, a supposition most unlikely in itself, and directly refuted by the whole tenor of the Aeneid, as well as by the Fourth and Fifth Eclogues and the end of the First Georgic. "Crudelis poenas" above v. 501.

586.] 'Dum imitatur' has been variously explained, but there can be little doubt that Forb. is right in preferring Jacob's view, cited by Hand, Turs. vol. 2, p. 310, that Salmoneus is described as struck with vengeance in the very midst of his impious triumph. We may say if we please that the sight of his punishment recalls the thought of his impiety, and so that the Sibyl may be said to have witnessed the latter as still continuing. The construction generally resembles that in the well-known lines "Dic, hospes, Spartae nos te hic vidisse iacentis Dum sanctis patriae legibus obsequimur," Cic. Tusc. 1. 42. Gossrau's view that he is condemned to imitate Jupiter for ever in

Quattuor hic invectus equis et lampada quassans
Per Graium populos mediaeque per Elidis urbem
Ibat ovans, divumque sibi poscebat honorem,
Demens! qui nimbos et non imitabile fulmen
Aere et cornipedum pulsu simularet equorum.
At pater omnipotens densa inter nubila telum
Contorsit, non ille faces nec fumea taedis

Tartarus is ingenious, but to the last degree unlikely, not being confirmed by any other instance of punishment, though others, not punished, are represented as following in the shades the employments they loved on earth, a distinction expressly made by Ov. M. 4. 445 foll. Pal., Gud. a m. p., and the Mentelian MS. have 'flammam.' Some MSS. give 'tonitrus' for 'sonitus,' as might be expected. There can be no doubt that Virg. deliberately preferred the less conventional word, as in 2. 113, where Wakef. wished to read 'tonuerunt.'

587.] 'Quassans,' brandishing his torches before hurling them, so as to give force to the blow and make the blaze brighter. Comp. 5. 642. "Quassabat Etruscam Pinum et fumiferos infert Mezentius ignis" 9. 521, which will also illustrate 'fumea taedis Lumina.' 'Lampas' of a torch 9. 535.

588.] 'Graium populos' is limited of course by 'Elidis urbem.' 'Elidis urbem' most naturally means the city of Elis, which was not built till long after, but may well have been mentioned by Virg., by a voluntary or involuntary anachronism. Serv. well remarks, "Hinc est indignatio, quod in ea civitate Iovem imitabatur in qua specialiter Iuppiter colitur." Apollod. 1. 9. 7 speaks of a city built by Salmoneus, and afterwards destroyed by lightning. If Virg. alludes to this, 'mediae per Elidis urbem' will probably be a variety for "mediam per Elidis urbem."

589.] Many MSS. give 'honores.' ['Divom' Pal. originally.—H. N.]

590.] 'Demens, qui,' the Homeric νήπιος ὅς (Od. 1. 8). 'Nimbos et fulmen' is meant to include thunder and lightning; the next verse however mentions only the mock-thunder, the mock-lightning having been already mentioned v. 587, a curious exemplification of Virg.'s indirect and fragmentary way of telling a story.

591.] 'Aere' is most simply taken as the brazen car, though Apollod. l. c. speaks of brazen vessels dragged along the ground by Salmoneus, and Manilius 5. 91 foll. of a brazen bridge. See Heyne, Excursus 12. If we were to suppose a brazen bridge we should perhaps make the line neater, as there would then be a hendiadys, 'aere et pulsu' i. q. "aere pulso." 'Pulsu' Pal., first readings of Med., fragm. Vat., and Gud., 'cursu' Rom., second readings of Med., fragm. Vat. and Gud. 'Pulsu' is obviously preferable, as much the more forcible word. Comp. 12. 533, "crebro super ungula pulsu Incita." 'Simularet' is the reading of Med., Rom., Pal., Gud., &c., and the first reading of fragm. Vat., 'simularat' being the other, found also in many other copies. The subj. is certainly preferable, as the narrative has already been given, so that a narrative mood is not required. We have already had a similar variety 2. 346. Wagn. remarks that Virg. says 'simularet,' not "simularit," because this impious mockery was Salmoneus' habit. So 'ibat,' 'poscebat.'

592.] Virg. doubtless thought of Lucr. 5. 399 foll. "At pater omnipotens ira tum percitus acri Magnanimum Phaethonta repenti fulminis ictu Deturbavit equis in terram." 'Densa inter nubila' may be meant merely to give the picture, "media nimborum in nocte corusca Fulmina molitur dextra" G. 1. 328, or it may mean that Jupiter raised a storm and then hurled the lightning. The words have already occurred G. 1. 445.

593.] 'Contorsit' 2. 52 note. 'Ille' is semipleonastic, as in 1. 3., 5. 457 notes (comp. Hor. 4 Od. 9. 51, "Non ille pro caris amicis Aut patria timidus perire"): here however, as perhaps in the passage just quoted from Hor., it has the force of contrast, distinguishing Jove from Salmoneus. 'Fumea taedis lumina,' a variety for "fumeum lumen taedarum." In 7. 456 we have "atro Lumine fumantis taedas." The smokiness of pinewood torches is doubtless mentioned contemptuously, as contrasted with the lightning, which, though it causes smoke when it falls, and so may be called ψολόεις κεραυ-

Lumina, praecipitemque immani turbine adegit.
Nec non et Tityon, Terrae omniparentis alumnum,
Cernere erat, per tota novem cui iugera corpus
Porrigitur, rostroque inmanis voltur obunco

νός. is itself clear. Comp. Aesch. Ag. 496, where Clytaemnestra contrasts the human messenger with the beacon in similar words, *ὡς οὔτ' ἄναυδος οὔτε σοι δαίων φλόγα Ὕλης ὀρείας σημανεῖ καπνῷ πυρός.* "Irai fax fumida" Lucr. 3. 304.

594.] 'Turbine' the wind of the thunderbolt, 1. 45 note. [Rather, the whirl of the thunderbolt, as Henry says, comparing 12. 531 "praecipitem scopulo atque immanis turbine saxi Excutit," and Val. Fl. 3. 78 "hasta volans immani turbine transtris Insonuit."—H. N.] 'Adegit,' "ad umbras," which is expressed 4. 25. It may be worth while to quote the lines of Manilius referred to on v. 591, as they are expressed with considerable ingenuity. He is speaking of the constellation Auriga.

"Hinc mihi Salmoneus (qui caelum imitatus in urbe
Pontibus impositis missisque per aera quadrigis
Expressisse sonum mundi sibi visus et ipsum
Admovisse Iovem terris, dum fulmina fingit,
Sensit, et inmensos ignis super ipse secutus
Morte Iovem didicit) generatus possit haberi."

595.] Tityos actually appears in the shades in Od. 11. 576 foll., a passage of part of which this is an expanded translation. Virg. is also indebted to the celebrated lines of Lucr. 3. 984 foll., where the sufferings of Tityos are described and pronounced to be a symbolic representation of the effects of passion. Hom. (who mentions two vultures) says nothing about the growing again of the liver, and Lucr. makes it an objection to the literal truth of the story that the liver must come to an end, in spite of its gigantic size as inferred from the size of the body. Virg. may be said to have met this objection by introducing the circumstance of the imperishability of the liver, apparently from the story of Prometheus, as we shall see on v. 598: he has not however been quite consistent with himself, as v. 599 will show. 'Omniparentis:' 'omnipotentis' is the reading a m. p. of Med. and fragm. Vat., quoted too by Arusianus p. 229 Lind., and Nonius p. 243. 'Omnipatentis' is found in one MS. 'Omnipotens' would not be a natural epithet of the earth, "omnipotentis Olympi" 10. 1, as Wagn. remarks, not being in point; and the error is one into which a transcriber would most naturally fall. 'Omniparens' on the other hand is found twice in Lucr. as an epithet of the earth (2. 706., 5. 259), and is a translation, as Heyne remarks, of *παμμήτειρα.* Hom. affords no help, as his words are *Γαίης ἐρικυδέος υἱόν*, unless it should be contended that 'omnipotentis' is a translation, an awkward one at best, of *ἐρικυδέος.* Still though 'omniparentis' appears to be Virg.'s word, it may be doubted whether he would not have done more wisely in following Hom. more closely, as it detracts from the grandeur of Tityos' descent as one of the earthborn to intimate in the same breath that the earth is the mother of all. 'Alumnus' expresses the relation of a child to the nurse rather than to the mother; but the two lie so near together that they are often identified. Comp. vv. 876 foll. below, "nec Romula quondam Ullo se tantum tellus iactabit alumno." So *γαῖα μαῖα* Aesch. Cho. 45, *χθονὸς τροφοῦ* ib. 66. There is however a legend, which Virg. may have followed, that Tityos was the son of Elara, but was afterwards reared in the womb of the earth, *Τιτυὸν μέγαν, ὅν ῥ' ἔτεκέν γε Διὶ Ἐλάρη, θρέψεν δὲ καὶ ἂψ ἐλοχεύσατο Γαῖα*, Apoll. R. 1. 761. But the epithet 'omniparentis' would still be open to exception, striking as it does a chord which is philosophical rather than mythological.

596.] 'Cernere erat,' *ἦν ἰδεῖν.* The construction is less elastic in Latin than in Greek, as in Greek the thing seen may be made the nom. to the verb substantive, while in Latin it must be the object of the infinitive. 'Per novem iugera,' *ὁ δ' ἐπ' ἐννέα κεῖτο πέλεθρα* Hom. l. c. "Novem dispessis iugera membris Optineat" Lucr. l. c.

597.] 'Porrigitur,' as if the extension were a continuing act. 'Rostro obunco' 11. 755. Rom., fragm. Vat., and others, have 'abunco,' seemingly a vox nihili, and Pal., Gud., &c., 'adunco,' which was

Inmortale iecur tondens fecundaque poenis
Viscera rimaturque epulis habitatque sub alto
Pectore, nec fibris requies datur ulla renatis.
Quid memorem Lapithas, Ixiona Pirithoumque?

* * * * * * *

Quo super atra silex iam iam lapsura cadentique

the reading of the old editions. ['Vultur' Pal. corrected, and Rom.—H. N.]

598.] 'Inmortale iecur' is a translation of ἧπαρ ἀθάνατον (of Prometheus) Hesiod, Theog. 523, from which Virg. may have borrowed the circumstance as well as the word. 'Tondens' is the reading of Med. and others, and is supported by Hom., who has ἔκειρον: 'tundens,' which was preferred by some of the early editors, has the authority of Pierius' Medicean and one of Ribbeck's cursives, and is perhaps supported by an erasure in fragm. Vat.; but though it might be used of pecking, it would be far too weak for a context like this. 'Fecunda poenis' might be i. q. "fecunda ad poenas" (so Serv.); but it is better to make 'poenis' abl. (comp. "Viminibus salices fecundae" G. 2. 446), the punishment being conceived of as growing along with the materials of punishment. Cerda reminds us appropriately that the liver was regarded by the ancients as the seat of passion, so that Tityos, the ravisher, is suitably punished: Lucr. however has not taken advantage of this in moralizing the legend, not mentioning the liver even in his description of Tityos' sufferings.

599.] The vulture digs for its food in the inwards of the giant, as the birds in G. 1. 384, "Dulcibus in stagnis rimantur prata Caystri." The image is from Hom. l. c. δέρτρον ἔσω δύνοντες, which is again rendered by 'habitatque sub alto pectore,' the word 'rimatur' being doubtless suggested by Lucr. l. c. "Nec quod sub magno scrutentur pectore, quicquam Perpetuam aetatem poterunt reperire profecto." We may observe however that Hom. indirectly and Lucr. directly deny the inexhaustibility of the liver, so that it is natural for them to represent the vultures as digging deep for their food, like miners in a well-worked mine; not so in Virg., whose bird might be always eating in the same place. 'Epulis' dat., 'ad epulas.' 'Epulas' was at one time the reading of the inferior editions, seemingly without authority. Nonius p. 382 quotes "rimaturque oculis," a fact which may abate his authority in such passages as v. 595 above.

600.] 'Fibris:' see on G. 1. 484. They are not suffered to rest, being always eaten as fast as they grow. Comp. 1. 723. "postquam prima quies epulis." We might argue from G. 2. 516, if that passage has been rightly interpreted, that the meaning is 'there is no pause in growing;' but this is less likely. "At nunc nimirum requies data principiorum Corporibus nulla est" is in Lucr. 1. 992.

601.] "Quid memorem" v. 123 above. Comp. G. 2. 118 foll. Ixion and Pirithous were Lapithae.

602.] ['Quos' Med. and Pal., with Ti. Donatus, 'quod' fragm. Vat., corrected into 'quos:' 'quo' Rom.. followed rightly by Ribbeck, as vv. 602—607 clearly refer to Tantalus, and were so taken by Servius. Pausanias 10. 31 (quoted by Porson on Euripides Orestes 5) tells us distinctly that in the picture of Polygnotus at Delphi Tantalus was painted as suffering not only the tortures of perpetual hunger and thirst described in Odyssey 11. 582 foll., but also as being placed under an overhanging rock: Τάνταλος καὶ ἄλλα ἔχων 'εστὶν ἀλγεινά, ὅποσα Ὅμηρος ἐπ' αὐτῷ πεποίηκεν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς πρόσεστίν οἱ καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπηρτημένου λίθου δεῖμα. He goes on to say that the story of the rock comes from Archilochus. It was, in any case, adopted by Pindar (Olymp. 1. 55 foll.) and many later writers. The combination of punishments is perhaps explained by Euripides l. c. Τάνταλος, Διὸς πεφυκώς, κοὐκ ὀνειδίζω τύχας, κορυφῆς ὑπερτέλλοντα δειμαίνων πέτρον, Ἀέρι ποτᾶται, καὶ τίνει ταύτην δίκην, Ὡς μὲν λέγουσιν, ὅτι θεοῖς, ἄνθρωπος ὤν, Κοινῆς τραπέζης ἀξίωμ' ἔχων ἴσον, Ἀκόλαστον εἶχε γλῶσσαν. Tantalus has before him the constant image of the "epulae paternae" (see on v. 604) which he formerly enjoyed. Very probably Virgil had seen the picture of Polygnotus: for there is some reason for supposing that he had

Imminet adsimilis; lucent genialibus altis
Aurea fulcra toris, epulaeque ante ora paternae
Regifico luxu; Furiarum maxima iuxta
Accubat, et manibus prohibet contingere mensas,
Exsurgitque facem attollens, atque intonat ore.

ıvelled to Greece before 19 B.C. See l. i. (fourth edition) p. xxiv. The ıdition commonly adopted by the ›mans about Tantalus only included e stone: see Ribbeck, Prolegomena p. . Madvig would correct vv. 601 and 2 by writing 'Pirithoumque *et:*' but is perhaps safer to assume that a line s dropped out. Conington read 'quos,' guing that "the tortures which follow e chosen not as those which the per-ıs specified individually suffered, but belonging to some of the number." bbeck brackets v. 601, which is hardly cessary.—H. N.] 'Atra:' the colour creases the horror. "Iam iamque ıet, similisque tenenti Increpuit malis" . 754. The hypermeter has a rhetor-ıl effect, the overlapping syllable ex-essing the just falling stone. Some SS., including Rom., omit 'que.'

603.] [Conington took 'lucent' &c. to 'er to a second punishment, two being med "only as specimens of an infinite mber." But see on v. 602.—H. N.] Val. Fl. 2. 192 foll. Theseus and ılegyas are represented as doomed to at a similar banquet, the poet having rhaps followed another legend. 'Geni-ıs tori' are entirely different from the ectus genialis" or bridal bed, though th receive their name from the genius, e deification of the happier and more pulsive part of man (see on G. 1. 302). enialis dies" is a feast-day, and so 'geni-s torus' is a banqueting couch, whether e expression is Virg.'s own or borrowed ›m common language. 'Altis:' so oro ab alto" 2. 2. The second epithet rather awkward, but it is doubtless to explained with Wagn. on 5. 24 by ying that 'genialis torus' forms one tion, and that 'altis' is added as a ›ce of ornamental description.

604.] 'Fulcra' the pillars or supports of e couches; [often richly ornamented: op. 3 (2) 13. 21 "fulcro eburno," quoted Mayor on Juv. 11. 94.—H. N.] 'Toris' ıy be either a dat. or an attribu-e abl., the couch being made, for etical variety, the appendage to its lar; or again the abl. may be local, ı' or 'upon.' On any view, the case must be regarded as substituted for the gen., the natural one in prose. [Rom. has 'paternae,' which is most probably right, meaning 'the banquets of his father, Zeus.' His pride at sharing these was, according to one legend, the cause of his fall: see Preller, Griech. Myth. vol. ii., pp. 380, 381 foll. The other MSS. have 'paratae,' which looks like a gloss to explain 'regifico luxu.'—H. N.]

605.] 'Regificus' is said to occur only in an imitation of this passage and of that just referred to from A. 1 in Val. Fl. 2. 652 foll.; but Enn. Andromacha fr. 9 Vahlen has "auro, ebore instructam regifice," so that the adj. was probably one of the many compound epithets invented by the old poets, who, like their Greek predecessors, frequently cared only for one part of the compound, 'regificus' being regarded as = "regalis" or "regius," as "magnificus" was found to be virtually convertible with "magnus." "Regali luxu" 1. 637. 'Furiarum maxima' is explained as a personification of Hunger by Serv., who refers to 3. 252, where the same words occur; but though Celaeno with her Prophecy of Famine illustrates and is illustrated by the office of the fiend here, there is no reason to suppose that the expression has any other but its ordinary sense, one of the Furies, conceived of as the eldest of the sisterhood, being charged with the execution of this mode of punishment. Πρέσβειρα Ἐρινύων occurs Eur. Iph. T. 963. If we suppose Virg. to have thought of three Furies, we may suppose this to be either Allecto or Megaera, Tisiphone, as we have seen v. 555, being otherwise employed. Elsewhere however, 12. 845 foll., Virg. makes the three produced at a birth. 'Iuxta accubat' is perhaps suggested by the Erinnys and Orestes sitting opposite to each other in Eur. l. c.

606.] 'Manibus' with 'contingere,' as in 2. 167. Comp. the Homeric *οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὀνείαθ' ἑτοῖμα προκείμενα χεῖρας ἴαλλον* Il. 9. 221.

607.] 'Exsurgitque,' as if they were persisting in their attempt to eat, in spite of her prohibition. ['Exurgit'

Hic, quibus invisi fratres, dum vita manebat,
Pulsatusve parens, et fraus innexa clienti,
Aut qui divitiis soli incubuere repertis,
Nec partem posuere suis, quae maxima turba est,
Quique ob adulterium caesi, quique arma secuti
Impia, nec veriti dominorum fallere dextras,

Pal.—H. N.] "Tonat ore" 4. 510. A few MSS., including Pal. and perhaps Gud. a m. p., have 'increpat,' a variety which occurs again 8. 527, though there the balance of MS. authority is reversed.

608.] There is a general resemblance to Aristoph. Frogs 147, where Heracles enumerates those who lie in the infernal quagmires,

> εἴ που ξένον τις ἠδίκησε πώποτε,
> ἢ μητέρ' ἠλόησεν, ἢ πατρὸς γνάθον
> ἐπάταξεν, ἢ 'πίορκον ὅρκον ὤμοσεν.

[But it is clear that in vv. 608—613 Virg. is glancing at Roman, or rather Italian, society.—H. N.] Serv. well remarks that 'quibus invisi fratres' is general, though Virg. may have thought of special instances like Atreus and Thyestes, Eteocles and Polynices. "Dum vita manebat" v. 661, merely meaning 'in life.'

609.] In mentioning the striking of a parent rather than the further crime of parricide, Virg., like Aristoph. l. c., has followed the true moral feeling of antiquity, which counted even the less heinous crime among the blackest offences. So πατραλοίας is strictly the *striker* of a father, and so perhaps "parricida." Comp. the story of Solon providing no punishment for parricide. Sen. Contr. 9. 4, quoted by Taubm., has "qui patrem pulsaverit, manus ei praecidatur." The fragment of the so-called law of Servius Tullius makes the crime capital, "Si parentem puer verberit, ast olle plorassit, puer divis parentum sacer esto." For 'et' one or two MSS., with Non. p. 372, have 'aut:' but 'et' is virtually disjunctive. 'Innexa' metaphorical, as in 4. 51, here of the web of trickery and wrong in which the patron is supposed to entangle his client. Urbanus, an old grammarian cited by Serv., thinks the meaning of the passage cannot be the true one, as clients are more likely to cheat their patrons than vice versa, a curious piece of aristocratic feeling, as Heyne remarks: he therefore supposes the criminals intended to be "praevaricatores." The laws of the Twelve Tables took a different view, specifying the crime here mentioned and making it capital, "Patronus si clienti fraudem fecerit, sacer esto."

610.] Comp. G. 2. 507, "Condit opes alius, defossoque incubat auro:" there however the man hides his money in the earth, here he has found a treasure. [Cic. Cluent. 26 "qui illi pecuniae spe iam atque animo incubaret:" Livy 6. 15 "incubantes publicis thesauris;" Ps. Ascon. Verr. 2. 1. p. 192 (Orelli) "nec adimere tibi licet possessionem incubanti."—H. N.] Heyne gives 'repertis' the sense of "partis," which would suit the general language in the next line better, 'quae maxima turba est:' but the other sense is more natural and more picturesque, and Virg. may mean the treasure-finder as a type of all who are greedy of gain. Comp. for the picturesque image expressed in 'soli' Hor. 1. S. 1. 66 foll.

611.] 'Posuere' = "dedere" as θεῖναι frequently = δοῦναι. Comp. the use of 'ponere' of setting a thing before a person at table: "Da Trebio: pone ad Trebium" Juv. 5. 135. 'Suis,' their kinsfolk and friends, which would be the extent of charity ordinarily practised.

612, 613.] 'Those who were slain for adultery' are particularized among other adulterers, either as having been surprised in the fact, or to show that punishment in life does not confer immunity from punishment after death. 'Arma secuti' 3. 54, 156., 11. 161, as we should say, to follow a standard. The followers are chosen instead of the leader for the sake of poetical variety. Doubtless Virg. had in his mind the civil wars of Rome, 'impia' having that special reference, as in G. 1. 511, though in E. 1. 70 it seems general. Augustus would of course not be likely to regard himself as glanced at, as some of the commentators have feared that he might, since he doubtless considered his own mission to be that of putting an end to such impious conflicts. Wagn. ingeniously supposes the servile wars to be meant, connecting 'nec—dextras' closely with the preceding

Inclusi poenam expectant. Ne quaere doceri,
Quam poenam, aut quae forma viros fortunave mersit.
Saxum ingens volvunt alii, radiisque rotarum 616
Districti pendent; sedet, aeternumque sedebit,
Infelix Theseus; Phlegyasque miserrimus omnis

clause; but the two images do not seem as if they were meant to harmonize, and there is a point gained in supposing two classes of violators of relative duties to be intended rather than one. We have then (1) those who have violated duty to their brothers, (2) to their parents, (3) to their clients, (4) to their kindred generally, (5) to their married fellow-citizens, (6) to their country, (7) to their masters. Ruhkopf remarks that slaves partook largely of the general social disorganization of the time, and refers to Appian B. Civ. 1. 72., 4. 22, 29, 39. 51. 'Dextras dominorum' i. q. "fidem dominis datam." Virg. seems to have expressed himself loosely, since a slave, as Mr. Long remarks, could not strictly be said to give "fides" to his master, like an equal.

614.] 'Poenam expectant' presents a difficulty, as though Virg. might for the sake of variety take the culprits at the time when they are not actually suffering punishment, but in the agony of looking forward to it, we should have inferred from the preceding narrative that they would not have to wait after having been once hurled into Tartarus, 'inclusi.' It would seem that we must suppose either that Virg. has been inconsistent with himself, expressing himself *now* as if Tartarus were a dungeon as well as a place of torture, or that he conceives of the guilty as not punished immediately upon reaching the prison-house, and chooses to regard them in the interval, a brief one, between incarceration and execution. There is a similar picture of the agony of expectation G. 3. 37 foll. Schrader wished to read 'expendunt,' and Med. a m. pr. has 'exsectant,' but the word seems a mere error, out of which nothing can be made. 'Ne quaere' v. 868 below, 8. 532. For 'quaero' with inf. see Forc. ['Exspectant' Rom. and fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

615.] 'Quam poenam,' sc. 'expectent,' or, if the construction is the same as in the next clause, 'expectant.' 'Mersit' shows that 'quae' must be relative, not interrogative, 'doceri formam fortunamve quae mersit,' though the awkwardness of such a construction may dispose us to see some plausibility in 'merset,' the reading of two MSS. 'Mergere' however is simpler than "mersare," and is supported by v. 429, 512 above. 'Forma' too is very strange, though it receives some illustration from v. 626, where it evidently means "species," a sense illustrated by Forc. from Cicero's Topics. Here the meaning seems not to be 'forma sceleris,' but 'forma poenae,' so that 'forma fortunave' form a kind of hendiadys. Virg. probably chose the word on account of the dramatic character of the various mythological punishments, which consist in some striking, significant, and pictorial act. The form itself is said 'mergere,' as it receives them when they are engulphed in the abyss. [Servius takes 'forma' to mean "regula," or regulation respecting punishments: "singulis enim," he continues, "sceleribus sunt statuta supplicia ex more Romano, quem sequitur." This may be right: at any rate it makes the relation between 'forma' and 'fortuna' clearer. 'What law of punishment, what evil fortune.'—H. N.]

616.] 'Saxum,' the traditional punishment of Sisyphus, as the wheel is that of Ixion. Virg., as was remarked on v. 601, is purposely general. Heyne reads 'radiisve,' but 'que' is supported by all the MSS., and is virtually disjunctive. 'Radii' of the spokes of a wheel G. 2. 444. ['Volvont' Pal. originally.—H. N.]

617.] As usual, many MSS. including Med., Rom., Pal. a m. s., Gud., and fragm. Vat., give 'destricti.' The meaning of course is that the legs and arms of the sufferers are stretched out, and that in this state they are bound on a wheel which whirls them round and round. The word is often used nearly in the sense of 'distraho:' see Forc. The ordinary legend of Theseus was that, having been fixed in a chair in the shades for his attempt to carry off Persephone, he was released by Heracles, leaving some of his flesh behind him: Virg. however has varied the story, or followed another.

618.] 'Phlegyas' was taken by some interpreters whom Serv. mentions as acc. pl., Theseus being supposed to admonish the Phlegyae, a nation which was de-

Admonet et magna testatur voce per umbras:
"Discite iustitiam moniti, et non temnere divos."
Vendidit hic auro patriam, dominumque potentem
Imposuit; fixit leges pretio atque refixit;
Hic thalamum invasit natae vetitosque hymenaeos;
Ausi omnes inmane nefas, ausoque potiti.
Non, mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum,

stroyed for its impiety by Poseidon, according to Euphorion: but it is evidently nom., being the name of the father of Ixion, who appears in the imitations of Statius and Val. Fl. mentioned on v. 603. The nature of his punishment is not specified by Virg., who leaves us to infer the horror of it from his melancholy warning.

619.] 'Testari' is used of solemn affirmations, which are supposed to be equivalent to calling witnesses to the truth of the statement made; here it is extended to a warning which contains no formal affirmation, though we may say if we please that Phlegyas makes himself and those who witness his torture evidences of the truth of the propositions involved in his precept.

620.] Virg. has evidently imitated Pind. Pyth. 2. 39 foll., where Ixion gives a similar warning from his wheel: *θεῶν δ' ἐφετμαῖσιν 'Ιξίονά φαντι ταῦτα βροτοῖς λέγειν ἐν πτερόεντι τροχῷ παντᾶ κυλινδόμενον· Τὸν εὐεργέταν ἀγαναῖς ἀμοιβαῖς ἐποιχομένους τίνεσθαι.* Henry makes 'non temnere divos' a repetition of the preceding clause 'Learn justice, and do not slight the command of the gods to be just:' but this would be rather flat, and the story of Phlegyas as told by Serv. says that his crime was burning the temple of Apollo at Delphi, so that it would be truer to say that the last part of the line interprets the first, 'iustitia' meaning the rendering of their dues to all, gods as well as men. Taubm. has a curious note, "Versus in sano sensu auro expendendus: qui quidem status et summa est omnium tragoediarum, et compendium universae ethices. Testatur G. Fabricius se ex Laz. Bonamico viro gravi et fidei pleno audivisse puellam in agro Patavino fuisse fanaticam, quae Graece et Latine, omnium litterarum ante insaniam expers, optime locuta sit: quae cum interrogata esset quaenam esset praestantissima apud Verg. sententia, hunc ipsum versum clara voce ter pronuntiasse."

621, 622.] Macrob. Sat. 4. 1 says that these lines are closely copied from two of Varius', "Vendidit hic Latium populis, agrosque Quiritum Eripuit, fixit leges pretio atque refixit." Virg. has been generally supposed to refer to Curio, who was bribed by Cæsar's paying his debts to quit the party of Pompey; but though Lucan 4. 819 foll. speaks of him in similar language, it is not credible that Virg. should refer in this way to a transaction which reflected on the buyer no less than on the seller. Virg. might safely speak of the impiety of civil contests to Augustus, as we have seen on vv. 612, 613, but he cannot be supposed to have glanced at any of those who brought about either the dictatorship of the first Cæsar or the imperial power of the second. 'Fixit' &c. seems to refer to the same person as 'vendidit,' 'imposuit,' so that the same reason would operate against our supposing a distinct reference to Antony, though we cannot say that his proceedings may not have been in Virg.'s mind. 'Vendidit auro' 1. 484. "Dominam potentem" 3. 438. Here the words are significant, as opposed to the liberty which has been taken away. "Dominum vehet improbus atque Serviet aeternum" Hor. 1 Ep. 10. 40. 'Fixit' and 'refixit,' the laws being engraven on brazen tablets and fastened in some public place whence they were removed when abrogated. The laws of the Twelve Tables were engraved on brass and fixed in the Forum: the Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus, now preserved at Vienna, is on brass. See Lewis, Credibility of Rom. Hist., vol. 1. p. 138.

623.] 'Thalamum invasit' like *οἴγοντι δ' οὔτε νυμφικῶν ἑδωλίων* "Ακος Aesch. Cho. 71. Virg. may have thought of the Homeric *εὐνῆς ἐπεβήσατο.*

624.] 'Auso potiri' a somewhat bold expression for succeeding in a design, borrowed by Ov. M. 11. 242, cited by Forb. Comp. "victor propositi" Hor. 1 Ep. 13. 11.

625.] Repeated from G. 2. 43. See Introduction to Aeneid, p. xliv.

Ferrea vox, omnis scelerum comprendere formas,
Omnia poenarum percurrere nomina possim.
Haec ubi dicta dedit Phoebi longaeva sacerdos:
Sed iam age, carpe viam et susceptum perfice munus;
Adceleremus, ait; Cyclopum educta caminis
Moenia conspicio atque adverso fornice portas,
Haec ubi nos praecepta iubent deponere dona.
Dixerat, et pariter gressi per opaca viarum
Corripiunt spatium medium, foribusque propinquant.
Occupat Aeneas aditum, corpusque recenti
Spargit aqua, ramumque adverso in limine figit.

626.] 'Scelerum formas:' see on v. 615, and comp. "scelerum facies" v. 560. ['Compraehendere' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

627.] Some MSS. give 'possem,' which was the old reading before Heins., but is certainly less grammatical. We have had the same variety G. 1. 351. See on v. 754.

628—636.] 'They then hasten to the palace of Pluto and deposit the golden bough.'

629.] Med. has 'et iam,' doubtless for 'set,' though Heins. conj. "eia age." In 'susceptum munus' the meaning seems to hover between the duty undertaken of carrying the offering to Proserpine and the offering itself, 'perfice' belonging to the former sense. Having used the expression, Virg. considers himself free in v. 637 to talk of "perfecto munere divae," employing 'munus' in the sense of gift. In the first line of the poem, written, or supposed to be written, by Virg., on the prospect of his Aeneid ("Ad Venerem," Catalepton 6), 'susceptum munus' is used in the ordinary sense of a duty undertaken.

630.] 'Adcelerare' intransitive 5. 675. Some MSS. give 'Hac celeremus.' 'Cyclopum educta caminis,' reared by the forges of the Cyclopes, i. e. by Vulcan and his Cyclopes. The Cyclopes were supposed to be the authors of those unhewn polygon structures still seen in Greece, like the walls of Mycenae and Tiryns, and called Cyclopian architecture; the mass of the commentators too may be right in supposing that Virg. means the palaces of Pluto to be built of iron, which would be the natural material used by Vulcan and his workmen. 'Ducta' is found in various MSS., including Rom., fragm. Vat., Pal., and Gud. a m. p.; but though "ducere murum" is a technical expression (1. 423 note), it would not go well with 'Cyclopum caminis,' even if 'moenia' and "murus" could be used indifferently. 'Educere' of rearing a fabric 2. 186, 461. 12. 676.

631.] 'Adverso fornice portas,' the arched gateway fronting us. 'In fornice' was the reading before Pier. and Heins. ['Adque' Pal. and fragm. Vat. —H. N.]

632.] 'Praecepta' not of course the precepts of the Sibyl, but the rules of the gods. It would be possible however to take 'praecepta' with 'dona,' like "praeceptum iter" Culex 289 (comp. "iussos sapores" G. 4. 62, "monstratas aras" ib. 549), making 'iubent nos' = "iubemur."

633.] "Angusta viarum" 2. 332, "opaca locorum" ib. 725, which is actually found here in Gud. as a various reading.

634.] 'Corripiunt:' see note on G. 3. 104. The meaning here is, as we should say in English, they annihilate the intervening distance. "Corripiunt spatia" 5. 316. [Henry explains the phrase as = "'to seize, take the road,' as we say in English, with the additional notion, contained in 'con,' of taking it vehemently, with force and power."—H. N.]

635.] "Occupat Aeneas aditum" v. 424 note. We must suppose that there were means of lustration, vessels of water and lustral branches, at the entrance of Pluto's palace, like the περιῤῥαντήρια at the entrance of Greek temples. 'Recenti aqua' is emphatic, like "flumine vivo" 2. 719, "fluviali lympha" 4. 635. [Serv. explains 'recenti' as = "semper fluenti:" see on v. 450 above. The word is often applied to water, and this may well be its proper meaning in such connection.—H. N.]

636.] 'Adverso in limine' v. 279 above.

His demum exactis, perfecto munere divae,
Devenere locos laetos et amoena virecta
Fortunatorum nemorum sedesque beatas.
Largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit
Purpureo, solemque suum, sua sidera norunt.

637—659.] 'At last they come to Elysium, a garden-like region wrapped in unearthly sunshine. There are games, and music, and chariot-driving, each one following the pursuit which was his delight in life. In another part feasting is going on near the source of the river known on earth as Eridanus.'

637.] "His actis" v. 236 above. 'Perfecto munere divae:' see on v. 629.

638.] "Devenere locos" 1. 365. Homer's Elysium is not part of the infernal regions, but a separate region (Od. 4. 563 foll.), which later legends (Hesiod, Works 170 foll., Pind. Ol. 2. 61 foll., fr. 95, Bergk,. ed. 1) developed into the 'Islands of the Blest.' Virg. has not copied Hom., whose description speaks of a place where there are no storms but always cooling zephyrs: from the second of Pindar's elaborate pictures he has taken the pursuits of the heroes. Perhaps the nearest parallel to his language is Aristoph. Frogs 154 foll., where Heracles says to Dionysus that after passing the place of punishment he will come to a region described as follows:

ἐντεῦθεν αὐλῶν τίς σε περίεισιν πνοή,
ὄψει τε φῶς κάλλιστον, ὥσπερ ἐνθάδε,
καὶ μυῤῥινῶνας, καὶ θιάσους εὐδαίμονας
ἀνδρῶν γυναικῶν, καὶ κρότον χειρῶν πολύν.

Comp. ib. 324—352. We may be reminded of Coleridge's "spots of sunny greenery" enfolded by "forests ancient as the hills."

639.] 'Fortunatae Insulae' is the Latin equivalent of *μακάρων νῆσοι*. Plaut.' however gives it "fortunatorum insulae:'- see Forc. 'fortunatus.' With the transference of the epithet we may comp. "lugentes campi" above v. 441 "Apparet divum numen sedesque quietae" Lucr. 3. 18, a passage which Virg. may have been thinking of, as the next verse seems to show.

640.] Virg. copies Hom.'s description of Olympus, Od. 6. 44, ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἴθρη Πέπταται ἀνέφελος, λευκὴ δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν αἴγλη, the preceding lines of which resemble those on Elysium referred to on v. 638, and so would naturally be associated with them by a reader of the Odyssey. It is this passage which Lucr. imitates 3. 18 foll.: and Virg. would seem here again to be somewhat indebted to his language, "semperque innubilus aether Integit, et large diffuso lumine ridet." [Comp. further Lucr. 5. 281 "largus item . . . fons luminis, aetherius Sol." Cic. N. D. 2. 19 "cum (Sol) terras larga luce compleverit."—H. N.] 'Vestit' is from another passage in Lucr. 2. 148, "Convestire sua perfundens omnia luce," of the sun, and perhaps from Cic. Arat. 60, "Quem cum perpetuo vestivit lumine Titan." [It may be observed that the metaphor occurs several times in Cicero's Aratea: did Lucr. borrow it from Cicero? —H. N.] 'Largior vestit' is meant to express *μάλα πέπταται*, the transparency of the ether being conceived of as a superabundant fluid which permeates every part of the region. 'Lumine purpureo' as plainly is meant to render λευκὴ αἴγλη, 'purpureus' having its Roman sense of dazzling. See on E. 5. 38, G. 4. 373. Wordsworth, imitating this passage, talks in his Laodamia of "fields invested with purpureal gleams," as Gray, imitating "lumen iuventae purpureum" 1. 591, talks of "purple light of love." The expression in each case would convey a false notion to a reader unacquainted with Latin, being only defensible if understood not as a translation of Virg.'s epithet, but as a quotation of it. 'Largior' is a predicate, and so is coupled with 'lumine purpureo,' both qualifying 'vestit:' see on 5. 498. For 'campos' fragm. Vat. a m. p., Rom., and Gud. a m. s. have 'campus,' Pal. a m. p. 'campis.'

641.] They have a sun and stars of their own, distinct from those in the upper world. Pind. fr. l. c. apparently says that the sun visits them when it leaves us: elsewhere however he gives them a sun which shines night and day alike (Ol. l. c.). Wakef. ingeniously but erroneously makes 'sidera' nom., 'sua' and 'suum' being used reciprocally: 'there is a new sun, with stars of its own, new stars, with a sun of their own.' 'Norunt' = "notos habent," like "novere"

Pars in gramineis exercent membra palaestris,
Contendunt ludo et fulva luctantur harena;
Pars pedibus plaudunt choreas et carmina dicunt.
Nec non Threicius longa cum veste sacerdos
Obloquitur numeris septem discrimina vocum,

G. 4. 155, though there perhaps rather more is intended: see note.

642.] From Pind. fr. 1. c. καὶ τοὶ μὲν ἱππείοις γυμνασίοις, τοὶ δὲ φορμίγγεσσι τέρπονται. 'Palaestra' may be either the place or the exercise: but the former seems more likely, both on account of 'in,' and because 'graminea palaestra' would be a little harsh, though not unexampled, for 'palaestra in gramine.' So perhaps "agresti palaestrae" G. 2. 642 may mean the place.

643.] 'Ludo' sportingly, 5. 593, 674. We may perhaps contrast "contendere bello" 4. 108. "Fulva harena" 5. 374.

644.] Translated from Od. 8. 264, πέπληγον δὲ χορὸν θεῖον ποσίν, where however it would seem from a preceding line, v. 260, that χορόν is the place of dancing, not the dance, though the other construction, χορόν as a cogn. acc., would be sufficiently idiomatic. The sense of clapping the hands, though the most usual sense of 'plaudo,' does not seem to be the primary one, at least if we may argue from its derivative "plaustrum" (comp. "claudo," "claustrum"), which may either be, as Scaliger ap. Forc. thinks, "a plaudendo terram," or perhaps "a thing hammered," as κροτεῖν is used of applause, of hammering, and of the rattle of a car (ὄχεα κροτέοντες Il. 15. 453), ὄχεα κροτητά Soph. El. 714 being taken by some "hammered," by others "made to rattle." Κρότος ποδῶν is used of dancing Eur. Heracl. 583, Tro. 746, like 'pedibus plaudunt' here, and the parallel may be completed by comparing κροτητὰ μέλη Soph. Thamyris fr. 221, music struck out by the πλῆκτρον, with the similar action expressed by 'plaudere' in the Ciris v. 179, "Non Libyco molles plauduntur pectine telae." 'Carmina dicunt' G. 1. 350, where it is mentioned in connexion with dancing.

645.] Orpheus was one of the mythical fathers of song, and his name was associated with revelations about the lower world, supposed to be preserved by secret societies (Dict. M. Orpheus), so that he is naturally made the harper who plays while the blessed spirits dance and sing. He is called 'sacerdos,' as in Hor. A. P. 391 he is called "sacer interpresque deorum." The long robe was characteristic of musicians, as Cerda shows, comp. Prop. 3. 23 16, "Pythius in longa carmina veste sonat" (of the statue of Apollo in the Palatine temple), and also Hor. A. P. 215, Ov. F. 6. 654, 688, where the long robes of the "tibicines" are mentioned and accounted for. 'Cum veste' above v. 359. Elsewhere we have 'in veste,' as 12. 169, "puraque in veste sacerdos."

646.] ['Obloquitur' &c. = "ad numeros septem loquitur voces," 'accompanies the beat of their dance and song with the seven different notes of the lyre.' There seems no doubt that by 'septem voces' Virg. means the seven notes of the scale. Mr. Monro has truly observed that Orpheus is like Phemius in Od. 256—265, and the singer represented on the shield of Achilles, Il. 18. 590—606, 569—572, who play the lyre in accompaniment to dancing or singing. Servius and Ti. Donatus both agree that the 'septem voces' here are the notes of the lyre, not of the voice: 'numeris,' as Serv. reminds us, is the equivalent of the Greek ῥυθμοί: comp. Quint. 9. 4. 54 "nam sunt numeri ῥυθμοί, ut et ipse constituit (Cicero), et secuti eum Vergilius cum dicit (E. 9. 45) 'numeros memini, si verba tenerem.'" 'Obloquitur' may, as Mr. Monro has suggested, be intended to recall the Greek use of ἀντίφωνος in the sense of accompanying an octave lower (Aristot. Probl. § 19 &c.). In any case the word, as Serv. says, is used poetically of making the strings speak. Perhaps Virg. thought of Lucr. 4. 981 "citharae liquidum carmen chordasque loquentes." The best Latin parallel to the whole passage which I know of is found in the lines of Varro Atacinus preserved by Marius Victorinus p. 60 (Keil). "Vidit et aetherio mundum torquerier axe, et *septem* aeternis sonitum dare *vocibus* orbes, Nitentes aliis alios, quae maxima divis Laetitia est; at tunc longe gratissima *Phoebi Dextera consimiles meditatur reddere voces*." Henry takes 'numeris' as abl., 'in tune or melody,' and 'voces' of singing.—H. N.]

Iamque eadem digitis, iam pectine pulsat eburno.
Hic genus anticum Teucri, pulcherrima proles,
Magnanimi heroes, nati melioribus annis,
Ilusque Assaracusque et Troiae Dardanus auctor.
Arma procul currusque virum miratur inanis.
Stant terra defixae hastae, passimque soluti
Per campum pascuntur equi. Quae gratia currum
Armorumque fuit vivis, quae cura nitentis

647.] Fragm. Vat. has a curious variant, 'dictis' for 'digitis.' Markland ingeniously conj. 'fidem:' but 'eadem' is supported by the context, the meaning apparently being that Orpheus accompanies himself and the dancers on the harp. 'Pectine:' "Though the Romans adopted into their own language the Greek word 'plectrum,' they used the Latin 'pecten' to denote the same thing, not because the instrument used in striking the lyre was at all like a comb in shape and appearance, but because it was held in the right hand and inserted between the stamina of the lyre as the comb was between the stamina of the loom." Dict. A. 'Tela.' [To strike the lyre with the *plectrum* in the right hand, was technically called "foris canere:" to use the fingers of the left hand, "intus canere." Ps. Asconius on Cic. Verr. 2. 1. 20.—H. N.]

648.] Comp. v. 580, "Hic genus antiquum Terrae, Titania pubes." Cerda remarks that Virg. seems intentionally to begin the enumeration of the respective inmates of Tartarus and Elysium in the same way. 'Pulcherrima proles' Heyne thinks may be borrowed from the mention of Ganymede in a similar passage, Il. 20. 231 foll. Ἶλός τ' Ἀσσάρακός τε καὶ ἀντίθεος Γανυμήδης, Ὃς δὴ κάλλιστος γένετο θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων. Heyne comp. Hesiod, Works 158 foll. δικαιότερον καὶ ἄρειον, Ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος, οἳ καλέονται Ἡμίθεοι προτέρῃ γενεῇ κατ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν. ['Antiqum' Rom. and fragm. Vat., 'antiquum' Pal.—H. N.]

649.] Imitated, as Cerda remarks, from Catull. 64. 22, "O nimis optato saeclorum tempore nati Heroes, salvete, deum genus." Forb. thinks 'melioribus annis' refers specially to the days of Troy's prosperity, but the general reference to a happier divine foretime is more probable.

650.] Comp. G. 3. 35, 36. Here Dardanus seems to be mentioned as a descendant of Teucer: but it is not easy to say which of the legends about them Virg. followed. See on 3. 107, 108, 168.

651.] 'Arma' coupled with 'currus' as in v. 485, 1. 16. 17. 'Virum' seems to go with both, as "arma virum" are combined 1. 119., 9. 777: but it might be constructed with 'inanis,' like "caelestium inanes" Pers. 2. 61. 'Inanis' however seems to mean ghostly, as it is a constant epithet of the dead: see Forc. [So Servius.—H. N.] 'Mirantur' is found in fragm. Vat., Med., &c., and is perhaps right, as there is not much force in Pierius' objection that the Sibyl was not likely to wonder at what she had seen before. Pierius however says that he found 'miratur' in all his oldest MSS. but one: it is the reading of Pal. and Rom.; and the sing. may have been altered by some one who supposed 'currus' to be the nom., a very common source of error: see Wagn. Q. V. 8. 2. a.

652.] παρὰ δ' ἔγχεα μακρὰ πέπηγεν Il. 3. 135, of the armies resting before the combat of Paris and Menelaus. For 'terra' fragm. Vat. and two of Ribbeck's cursives have 'terrae,' as in G. 2. 290: but it is not likely that Virg. should have preferred the jingle, while the clerical error is natural enough.

653.] 'Campum' is restored by Wagn. from Med., Pal., fragm. Vat., &c., for 'campos' (Rom.). The MSS. vary between 'currum' and 'curruum,' inclining however to the contracted form, which is also supported by Priscian p. 7798 P, and by Serv. Priscian says that 'curruum' might be scanned as a hypermeter. Wagn. prefers accounting for it by crasis: but it is difficult to see why that should be resorted to when the next verse begins with a vowel, though it is of course admissible in such cases as v. 33 above. Meanwhile it seems safest to recall 'currum.' 'Gratia' with gen. of the thing or person wherein pleasure is felt, like χάρις, 7. 402.

654.] 'Nitentis' perhaps with 'pascere:' comp. E. 6. 4. note. 'Nitidi' is

Pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos.
Conspicit, ecce, alios dextra laevaque per herbam
Vescentis laetumque choro Paeana canentis
Inter odoratum lauri nemus, unde superne
Plurimus Eridani per silvam volvitur amnis.
Hic manus ob patriam pugnando volnera passi,
Quique sacerdotes casti, dum vita manebat,
Quique pii vates et Phoebo digna locuti,
Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artis,

›d similarly of sleek horses 7. 275. r the care taken by the Homeric warrs of their horses comp. Il. 8. 185 foll. ura pascere :' see on G. 1. 213.

355.] 'Sequitur,' as we should say, lows them beyond the grave.

356.] 'Per herbam,' feasting on the ıss, like the Trojans 1. 214., 3. 221 l., 7. 109. The object is to give a ıture of natural golden-age simplicity, th which we may contrast the elaboran of art in the infernal banquet above, 603. Compare Milton's language ›ut Mammon, Par. Lost, Book 1.

357.] 'Vescentis' without a case, as in ry 37. 20, "pars vescentes sub umbra," np. by Forb. The word has been obted to as homely, but 'vescitur' is ›d of a sacrificial feast 8. 182. The ean at banquets is as old as Hom. Il. 473, the words of which seem copied re, καλὸν ἀείδοντες Παιήονα. 'Choro' a band or chorally. If the singers are › same as the banqueters, they can rdly be dancing.

358.] The scent of the bay has been ntioned E. 2. 54 foll. 'Lauri nemus,' ; unlike "picis lucos" G. 2. 438. uperne' is rightly understood by Henry l Ladewig to mean 'in the upper rld.' The river is supposed to take rise in the Elysian fields, just as in 4. 366 foll. we are told that Aristaeus r the subterranean sources of all the ers in the world, Eridanus included. e Eridanus was the subject of various ths, being placed in different parts of › globe, and turned into a constellation. e notion of its underground source ıbtless comes from the fact, noticed Heyne, that the Po, with which the mans identified it, not far from its ırce, flows underground for two miles. lurimus' &c. will then refer to its ırse through the upper world, not ough the shades. [This is the explanation finally adopted by Servius.—H. N.]

659.] 'Plurimus' with 'volvitur,' a patriotic tribute to the size and force of the river, like those in G. 1. 482., 4. 371 foll.

660—678.] 'Seeing a crowd of worthies with Musaeus among them, the Sibyl inquires where Anchises is to be found.' Musaeus replies that the blessed spirits have no certain habitation, but offers to guide them; and so they ascend a slope.'

660.] 'Manus—passi' like "genus . . . pubes . . . deiecti" above vv. 580 foll. The latter part of the line is repeated 7. 182. Those who have been wounded are named rather than the slain, as all patriotic warriors are meant to be included. ['Vulnera' Rom., fragm. Vat. —H. N.]

661.] "Dum vita manebat" above v. 608. Nonius p. 267 quotes the words with "maneret," and Serv. explains "dum in communione vitae versarentur." The strict use of 'dum' with the subj., for which see note on G. 4. 457, is not adhered to by post-Augustan writers, and so is not to be looked for among the old grammarians.

662.] 'Pii'="casti." A comment on the epithet as applied to poets is furnished by the well-known passage Hor. 2 Ep. 1. 126 foll. 'Phoebo digna locuti' is generally explained of their power of song, but it may also refer to their purity. Serv. thinks prophets are meant, and explains 'Phoebo' &c. of their truthfulness; but the presence of Musaeus shows that poets formed part of the fraternity, and Virg. would hardly have so little feeling for his order as to pass them over in silence.

663.] 'Vitam,' not their life, but life generally, a usage common in Lucr. e. g. 6. 3, "Et recreaverunt vitam (Athenae)." The whole of the latter part of Lucr.'s

Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo;
Omnibus his nivea cinguntur tempora vitta.
Quos circumfusos sic est adfata Sibylla,
Musaeum ante omnis; medium nam plurima turba
Hunc habet, atque umeris extantem suspicit altis:
Dicite, felices animae, tuque, optime vates,
Quae regio Anchisen, quis habet locus? illius ergo
Venimus et magnos Erebi tranavimus amnes.
Atque huic responsum paucis ita reddidit heros:
Nulli certa domus; lucis habitamus opacis,
Riparumque toros et prata recentia rivis
Incolimus. Sed vos, si fert ita corde voluntas,
Hoc superate iugum; et facili iam tramite sistam.

5th Book is in fact a commentary on this line. [Comp. also Lucr. 3. 1036 "addo repertores doctrinarum atque leporum, Adde Heliconiadum comites."—H. N.] See also G. 1. 133. 'Per artis' i. q. "artibus," as "per artem" G. 1. 122 i. q. "arte."

664.] A more general description of the benefactors of the human race. For 'alios' fragm. Vat. a m. pr., Pal., Rom., Med., Gud., and others give 'aliquos,' which is supported also by Serv. Ti. Donatus however read 'alios,' which is supported by corrections in fragm. Vat. and in two of Ribbeck's cursives, and is infinitely preferable. Wagn. accounts for the corruption by the proximity of 'quique.' 'Memores' of grateful recollection 4. 539. 'Merendo' by their services. Germ. comp. Prop. 5. 11. 101, "sim digna merendo."

665.] "Nivea vitta" G. 3. 487. The 'vitta' is the mark of consecration, being worn by the gods and by persons and things dedicated to them.

666.] 'Circumfusos,' spread all about the place which Aeneas and the Sibyl were entering.

667.] Musaeus is the mythical father of poets, as Orpheus of singers. The tallness of his stature is described, rather unreasonably, in words copied from Hom.'s description of Ajax Il. 3. 227. 'Medium turba hunc habet,' a poetical variety for "hic turbae medius est." Some of the early critics accused Virg. of jealousy in not rather naming Homer than Musaeus, as if a sense of obligation ought to have made him ready to encounter an anachronism. Silius has been able to repair the omission, introducing Homer into his Elysian fields, which by-the-bye he speaks of incongruously as "Stygia umbra," in lines (13. 778 foll.) which have been excellently, though not quite accurately, translated by Chapman in the introductory verses to his Iliad.

668.] 'Umeris extantem' like "summis vix cornibus extant" G. 3. 370. ['Exstantem' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

669.] 'Optime,' as Wagn. remarks, is simply a courteous address, like ὦ λῷστε, as in 11. 294., 12. 48.

670.] 'Habet locus' like "habuit thalamus" above v. 521, "saltus habuere" E. 10. 9. 'Ergo' with gen. as in Lucr. 3. 78, "Intereunt partem statuarum et nominis ergo," "formidinis ergo" Id. 5. 1246. [See Paulus p. 82, Nonius p. 107.—H. N.]

671.] 'Amnis' may be only a poetical plural: but Virg. apparently means Aeneas to have crossed three of the infernal rivers, though he only mentions the passage of one: see on v. 295. 'Tranavimus' of crossing in a boat, like "innare" v. 134. Ribbeck reads 'transnavimus' from Gud. a m. s., two other cursives, and the MSS. of Non. p. 107, and Paulus p. 83. The original reading of Med. was 'transnavibus.'

672.] 'Atque' seems to mean immediately.

673.] 'Certus' of a fixed habitation 8. 39, G. 4. 155.

674.] 'Riparum toros' like "viridante toro herbae" 5. 388. 'Recentia,' see on v. 450. For 'rivis' Rom. and another MS. give 'silvis.'

675.] "Si fert ita forte voluntas" Lucr. 3. 46.

676.] 'Sistam' implies, what we should

Dixit, et ante tulit gressum, camposque nitentis
Desuper ostentat; dehinc summa cacumina lincunt.
At pater Anchises penitus convalle virenti
Inclusas animas superumque ad lumen ituras
Lustrabat studio recolens, omnemque suorum
Forte recensebat numerum carosque nepotes,
Fataque fortunasque virum moresque manusque.
Isque ubi tendentem adversum per gramina vidit
Aenean, alacris palmas utrasque tetendit,
Effusaeque genis lacrimae, et vox excidit ore:
Venisti tandem, tuaque expectata parenti

o infer from the context, that Musaeus ves them when they have mounted slope and see the way on the other e.

577.] 'Gressum ferre' 11. 99, 'inferre' 4. 360. 'Nitentis' not simply of fertility, as in G. 1. 153., 2. 211, but expressing the luminous appearance of the ole region, v. 640 above.

578.] 'Lincunt,' Aeneas and the Si-: see on v. 676. ['Lincunt' Med., nquont' Pal., 'linqunt' Rom. and gm. Vat., 'linquunt' fragm. St. Gall. H. N.]

679—702.] 'Anchises is in the valley ond, surveying his future posterity, rits that are hereafter to take flesh. welcomes Aeneas with joy and surse. Aeneas attempts to embrace him, in vain.'

79.] Anchises and the spirits seem to in the same valley. The scene is debed more at large vv. 703 foll., which lains 'inclusas.'

80.] Comp. v. 758, where as here ras' expresses what is to happen in course of destiny. 'Superum lumen,' the light of the upper world, like peris oris" 2. 91. The words occur . A. 1. fr. 64. Lucr. 6. 856.

81.] 'Recolo' is used of musing and idering by Plaut. and Cic.: see Forc. orum,' his progeny, explained by 'canepotes.'

82.] Either we must take 'forte' with trabat' as well as with 'recensebat,' ve must suppose the words in v. 680 pply generally to the spirits of the re, from which 'omnem—numerum' ecially discriminated, Anchises happng to be reviewing that part of the le multitude when Aeneas appeared. night be suggested to give 'forte' the sense of εἰκῇ, which might perhaps be supported by v. 186 according to the reading of Med. &c.; but this would be very hazardous. "Numerum recenset" G. 4. 436.

683.] Anchises knows the future, and so may be said to review it as well as the present. 'Manus' of martial exploits, as in 1. 455 of the performances of artists.

684.] 'Adversum' of course qualifies 'tendentem:' it is probably however an adj., not an adverb. The line is rough, apparently from carelessness, as there is nothing in the sense to suggest any but a smooth cadence.

685.] 'Alacris' nom., as in 5. 380. Pal. a m. p. has 'lacrimans,' a curious corruption. "Palmas utrasque" 5. 233 note. 'Tetendit' after 'tendentem' is one of those carelessnesses which Virg. occasionally admits.

686.] ['Genae' properly either the eyelids, or the part immediately below the eye. Paulus p. 94 (Müller), "'Genas' Ennius palpebras putat, cum dicit hoc versu 'Pandite, sultis, genas, et corde relinquite somnum.'" Servius here says "'genis' palpebris: Ennius de dormiente 'Inprimitque genae genam.'"—H. N.] "Excidit ore" 2. 658 note. Here the intention seems to be to express eagerness. Serv. however has a curious comment: "'Excidit ore,' quasi seni: quod circa Anchisen reservat, ut 'Tantumque nefas patrio excidit ore.'" "Vox excidit" occurs again 9. 113 of a sudden cry.

687.] Germ. comp. Eumaeus' address to Telemachus Od. 16. 23, ἦλθες, Τηλέμαχε, γλυκερὸν φάος. For 'expectata' many editions, including Heyne's, give 'spectata,' which seems to have been the reading of Serv., though Wagn., wrongly

Vicit iter durum pietas? datur ora tueri,
Nate, tua, et notas audire et reddere voces?
Sic equidem ducebam animo rebarque futurum,
Tempora dinumerans, nec me mea cura fefellit.
Quas ego te terras et quanta per aequora vectum
Accipio! quantis iactatum, nate, periclis!
Quam metui, ne quid Libyae tibi regna nocerent!
Ille autem: Tua me, genitor, tua tristis imago,
Saepius occurrens, haec limina tendere adegit;
Stant sale Tyrrheno classes. Da iungere dextram,
Da, genitor, teque amplexu ne subtrahe nostro.
Sic memorans largo fletu simul ora rigabat.

I think, contends that he merely wishes to give that sense to 'expectata.' ["'Expectata,' aut probata, aut sperata" Ti. Donatus.—H. N.] But the reading of the MSS. (the only variety being that one gives 'exoptata') is perfectly satisfactory. Wagn. remarks that there is no parallel instance in Virg. to the lengthening of 'que' before 'spectata,' as in 9. 37 the best supported readings are 'ascendite' and 'et scandite.' ['Exspectata' Med. and Rom.—H. N.]

688.] 'Vincere' of overcoming difficulties v. 148 above, G. 1. 145., 3. 289.

689.] "Ac veras audire et reddere voces" 1. 409. "Notis vocibus" v. 499 above.

690.] 'Futurum' with 'ducebam' as well as with 'rebar.' 'Ducebam animo' is a fuller expression for the ordinary use of 'ducere' i. q. "putare." Anchises here appears to be speaking of ordinary human expectation, not of prevision. We may suppose his power of foresight not to have been unlimited: at any rate there is much more force here in the expression of the feeling of confidence which human love gives. See on v. 695. 'Rebar:' see on 10. 608.

691.] 'Tempora dinumerans,' counting the days till Aeneas might be expected to come. 'Mea cura' is understood by Serv. of Aeneas himself (comp. 1. 678, E. 10. 22): but it is doubtless to be understood of the thought given by Anchises to the object on which his mind was set. 'Fallere' of disappointment and wasted labour, like "numquam fallentis termes olivae" Hor. Epod. 16. 45.

692.] Comp. 5. 627 &c. Anchises' language is rather exaggerated, as since his death Aeneas' wanderings had been confined to Sicily, Carthage, and Italy: the storm however justifies 'quantis periclis.' Rom. and others give 'quas ego per terras,' and some read 'quas te ego per terras,' obvious corruptions of the reading in the text.

693.] "Accipio adgnoscoque libens" 8. 155. "Quibus ille iactatus fatis!" 4. 14.

694.] 'Nocerent' by hostility or by over-kindness. For the first comp. Venus' fears 1. 671 foll. Here again we have human feeling, not prevision, though Anchises' knowledge that Aeneas was at Carthage must have been preternatural. ['Quit' Med. and fragm. Vat. and St. Gall.—H. N.]

695.] See 4. 353 note. As has been remarked there, it would seem that Anchises is ignorant that his apparition had been seen by his son, either in the cases referred to there, or in that described 5. 729 foll., where also consult the note.

696.] 'Tendere' with acc. of place 1. 554. 'Adigo' with inf. 7. 113. Wagn. comp. *σκοπεῖν . . . προσήγετο* Soph. Oed. T. 130. Some MSS. give 'adire coegit.' In Od. 11. 164 Ulysses says Μῆτερ ἐμή, *χρειώ με κατήγαγεν εἰς 'Αΐδαο.*

697.] "Salis Ausonii" 3. 385. Aeneas means to say that he has come to Cumae in the course of his voyage. 'Classes' pl., as in 3. 403, "ubi transmissae steterint trans aequora classes." Here he speaks of them as standing in the water, not, as elsewhere, on shore. "Cur dextrae iungere dextram Non datur?" 1. 408. Virg. follows the words of Ulysses to his mother Od. 11. 210 foll., but without translating them.

698.] Partially repeated from v. 465 above.

699.] "Memorans" 2. 650 note. 'Si-

Ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum,
Ter frustra comprensa manus effugit imago,
Par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno.
  Interea videt Aeneas in valle reducta
Seclusum nemus et virgulta sonantia silvis,
Lethaeumque, domos placidas qui praenatat, amnem.
Hunc circum innumerae gentes populique volabant;
Ac velut in pratis ubi apes aestate serena
Floribus insidunt variis, et candida circum

l' with a verb after a participle: comp. 856, where it precedes the participle, l 12. 758, where it is used with verb l participle both. ['Rigabant' Pal.—N.]

00—702.] Repeated from 2. 792—794, ere see notes. Here Pal. reads 'comssa,' which there is not found in any ial MS. ['Conprensa' Med. —H. N.] . and one of Ribbeck's cursives omit he text v. 702, which may possibly be ›pyist's repetition.

03—723.] 'Aeneas, observing the spi-, inquires who they are, and is told t they are going to drink oblivion of past at Lethe before entering on a r life on earth. He wonders that they ald desire a new life, which leads Anes to explain.'

03.] [Servius says that the subject of sium and Lethe was very fully treated Varro in the first book of his "Res nae." Probably Virgil took a great l from this work.—H. N.] 'Reta,' retired, like "sinus reductos" 1.

04.] Rom. reads 'reclusum.' For vis' Pal., Rom., the first reading of l. and others have 'silvae.' Gud. has ı. 'Silvis,' which is found in fragm. ., and is the second reading of Med., nfirmed by 3. 442, "Averna sonantia s," and by 12. 522, "virgulta sonantia o," though Wagn., who wishes to .'silva,' thinks 'silvis' was introduced ı the former passage. In more ordin-Latin we should have had "virgulta ntia silvarum," or "silvas sonantibus ultis;" but Virg., for variety's sake, es the brakes rustle with the woods, hich they form a part. The rustling used by the wind, though we need quote Od. 4. 567 foll. to prove that e are gales even in Elysium.

05.] 'Praenato' may be compared "praefluo," which has the force of ıeterfluo," as in Hor. 4 Od. 3. 10, "quae Tibur aquae fertile praefluunt." "Natare" had been previously used of water by Ennius and Lucr., the former of whom is quoted by Serv. as talking of "fluctusque natantes" (A. fr. inc. 119), while the latter has "campi natantes" more than once, 5. 488., 6. 267, 1142, an expression borrowed, probably in the same sense, by Virg. himself G. 3. 198: see note there. Lethe is unknown to Hom. Plato, Rep. p. 621 A, makes the spirits pass through a sultry plain called Λήθης πεδίον, after which they drink of the river of Indifference, 'Αμέλητα ποταμόν: lower down however he speaks of τὸν τῆς Λήθης ποταμόν. ['Letheum' Med. Pal. fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

706.] Strictly speaking, 'gentes' is more extensive than 'populi:' comp. 10. 202, G. 4. 4, 5. Kritz on Sall. Cat. 10. § 1 makes 'populus' denote those under one government, 'gens,' those of the same language and origin: but he admits that they are frequently used loosely, "abundantiae caussa ut synonyma cumulari."

707.] In this simile Virg. has translated Apoll. R. 1. 879 foll.

ὡς δ' ὅτε λείρια καλὰ περιβρομέουσι μέλισσαι
πέτρης ἐκχύμεναι σιμβληΐδος, ἀμφὶ δὲ λειμὼν
ἑρσήεις γάνυται, ταὶ δὲ γλυκὺν ἄλλοτε ἄλλον
καρπὸν ἀμέργουσιν πεποτημέναι,

Apoll. himself having closely followed the well-known Homeric simile Il. 2. 87 foll., the first occurring in the Iliad. 'Ac velut' is 'even as,' as in 4. 402 &c. 'In pratis' follows, to give the general scene of the simile, as in 1. 148 (note), 12. 908. 'Strepit—campus,' v. 709, sums up the effect of the description. See on G. 3. 196, where some general remarks are made on the structure of

Lilia funduntur; strepit omnis murmure campus.
Horrescit visu subito, causasque requirit
Inscius Aeneas, quae sint ea flumina porro,
Quive viri tanto complerint agmine ripas.
Tum pater Anchises: Animae, quibus altera fato
Corpora debentur, Lethaei ad fluminis undam
Securos latices et longa oblivia potant.
Has equidem memorare tibi atque ostendere coram,
Iampridem hanc prolem cupio enumerare meorum,
Quo magis Italia mecum laetere reperta.
O pater, anne aliquas ad caelum hinc ire putandum est

Virg.'s similes. Here as in 4. 402 Wagn. restores 'velut' (Pal., Rom., Gud.) for 'veluti' (Med., fragm. Vat.). "Apes aestate nova" 1. 430 (comp. the passage generally). So the bees are said "nare per aestatem liquidam" G. 4. 59.

709.] There is a buzzing among the shades as among the bees ("turbamque sonantem" v. 753), probably the ordinary buzz of a crowd, not specially the ghostly τρισμός or "vox exigua" of v. 493.

710.] 'Subito' adj. with 'visu.' It explains 'horrescit,' Aeneas being startled by the suddenness.

711.] Wagn. thinks 'ea' is used rather than 'haec' because Aeneas is more anxious to know the general character of the river than its name (see on 3. 393). It seems simpler to say that 'ea' is used for 'illa,' which in the oratio obliqua would answer to 'haec' in the oratio recta. 'Porro' seems to have its local sense of 'procul,' like πόρρω, for which Forc. quotes Plaut. Rud. 4. 3. 95, "Ubi tu hic habitas? Porro illic longe usque in campis ultimis." It is more commonly found of motion onwards, which may be its meaning here, as Heyne explains it. "longo inde cursu praetexentia campum." Otherwise it might be taken in its most ordinary sense, Aeneas asking further about Lethe, after having asked generally the causes of what he saw.

712.] 'Complerint' is supported by fragm. Vat. and Med., as against 'complerunt' or 'complerent,' neither of which the language would admit.

713.] 'Fato debentur:' see on v. 67 above. Here 'fato' is of course abl.

714.] "Ad fluminis undam" 3. 381., 10. 833. Here as there 'ad' is local. They are said to drink oblivion at the wave, as a variety for drinking the wave of oblivion. Thus we have the ἓν διὰ δυοῖν, 'latices et oblivia,' as 'potare latices ad undam' would be awkward. ['Lethei' Med. and Rom.—H. N.]

715.] 'Securos latices' is a translation of τὸν 'Αμέλητα ποταμόν: see on v. 705 above, v. 748 below.

716.] 'Has:' Anchises expresses himself as if he were referring to the whole multitude of shades, whereas really he is only thinking of his own Italian posterity, as the context shows.

717.] 'Iampridem' goes with 'cupio,' so that there is no reason for pointing it with the preceding line, though in sense both 'iampridem' and 'cupio' belong to it as well as to the present line. The asyndeton, which at first seems awkward, is probably to be accounted for by the repetition of 'hanc' after 'has:' see on E. 4. 6. Ribbeck thinks Virg. intended to omit v. 716, which was a first draught. [May 'hanc' be a corruption for 'ac'?—H. N.]

718.] For 'laetere' Med. a m. pr., Rom., fragm. Vat. a m. s., and others give 'lactare,' which can only be regarded as an error. Rom. further reads 'Italiam repertam,' a plausible variant, which was perhaps the original reading of fragm. Vat. We have had the very same variety in 4. 692. 'Reperire' answers to "quaerere," which has been applied to Aeneas' search for Italy 1. 380. For 'mecum' the old reading was 'tandem,' for which no MS. authority is cited.

719.] 'Putandum est' may remind us of Lucr. 2. 39, "Quod superest, animo quoque nil prodesse putandum," and other passages. Aeneas has slipped as it were into the tone appropriate to the pupil of a philosopher. Fragm. Vat. omits 'est.'

Sublimes animas, iterumque ad tarda reverti
Corpora? quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido?
Dicam equidem, nec te suspensum, nate, tenebo;
Suscipit Anchises, atque ordine singula pandit.
  Principio caelum ac terras camposque liquentis
Lucentemque globum Lunae Titaniaque astra

'Ad caelum' to the upper air of life, as in v. 896 below. Serv. remarks on the omission of any formal indication of an address, "Nova brevitas. Nam dicendo 'pater' qui loquatur ostenditur." ['Putandumst' Pal.—H. N.]

720.] [Serv. says "'sublimes,' non omnes, sed sublimium." And so Henry. —H. N.] 'Sublimis' apparently with 'ire,' like "sublimis abit" 1. 415. It would seem to be more forcible if we could take it of the nature of the soul, that which ought to make it delight in an exalted life, as opposed to the life enjoyed in connexion with 'tarda corpora:' and this might perhaps be supported by v. 733, where it is said that so long as they are imprisoned in the body they do not look up to heaven. But the presence of 'ad caelum' in the context would make this awkward here. 'Ad' is restored by Wagn. from fragm. Vat., Med., and most MSS. for 'in,' which is the unquestioned reading in v. 751. To attempt to distinguish between them, as Wagn. does, seems mere refinement. 'Tarda corpora:' comp. v. 731.

721.] 'Tam dira cupido' v. 373 note. 'Lucis cupido' like "lucis contemptor" 9. 205. ['Cupido est' fragm. Vat. originally.—H. N.]

722.] Germ. comp. Lucr. 6. 245, "Expediam, neque te in promissis plura morabor." Comp. also G. 2. 46.

723.] 'Suscipit,' ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη. Forc. quotes from Varro R. R. 1. 2, "Suscipit Stolo: Tu, inquit, invides" &c. Med., Pal., the second reading of fragm. Vat., and others have 'suspicit:' but 'suscipit' (Rom., fragm. Vat. originally, &c.) is supported by Priscian 1212 P, who explains it "respondit ad interrogationem Aeneae," and cites Plato, Protag. p. 320 c, πολλοὶ οὖν αὐτῷ ὑπέλαβον τῶν παρακαθημένων, ὁποτέρως βούλοιτο οὕτω ἐπεξιέναι (διεξιέναι). 'Ordine pandit' 3. 179. ['Adque' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

724—751.] 'Anchises explains that everything in nature is pervaded by one great spirit, that this in men is clogged by the body, and consequently that after death there has to be a longer or shorter purification, after which the souls are sent back into the world to animate other bodies.'

724.] The doctrine of the 'anima mundi,' which Anchises proceeds to expound, has been already mentioned by Virg. G. 4. 219 (note), though there he does not commit himself to it. 'Principio' introducing an exposition 3. 381. It is common in Lucr., e. g. 5. 92, "Principio, maria ac terras caelumque tuere," which Virg. may have imitated. There is some resemblance also, as Heyne remarks, between the present passage and Cic. de Div. 1. 11, where a long extract is given from Cicero's poem on his consulship beginning "Principio aetherio flammatus Iuppiter igni." For 'terras' Pal., Rom., Gud., and the first reading of fragm Vat. have 'terram.' Wagn. Q. V. 9. 6 remarks that in expressions like this, where the earth is spoken of in its entirety, yet without any thought of personification, Virg. prefers the plural. 'Campos liquentis' of the sea, like "campi natantes" G. 3. 198 note.

725.] 'Ingentem' is the first reading of Med., possibly pointing to a variant 'fulgentem.' "Lunaique globum" Lucr. 5. 69. 'Titaniaque astra' seems best referred to the sun alone, already 4. 119 called 'Titan,' as one of the Titanic brotherhood, being the son of the Titan Hyperion. The stars had no connexion with the Titans: nor would it be natural either that they should be mentioned to the exclusion of the sun, or that the sun should be merged among them, they having been already distinguished from the moon. The pl. for the sing. is supported by Ov. M. 14. 172, "sidera solis" (where however another reading is "lumina"), and Val. F. 2. 364, "Saturnia sidera," which is said of Capricorn alone. If it is anything more than an arbitrary stretch of poetical licence, it is probably to be explained of the rising and setting

Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet.
Inde hominum pecudumque genus vitaeque volantum
Et quae marmoreo fert monstra sub aequore pontus.
Igneus est ollis vigor et caelestis origo
Seminibus, quantum non noxia corpora tardant

sun regarded as two, as Ov. M. 1. 338 talks of "litora sub utroque iacentia Phoebo," and Petronius of "sidus utrumque." So Weber (Corpus Poetarum) on Ov. M. 14. 172. Dryden conj. "Titanaque et astra," a plausible suggestion from an amateur critic. [The Epinal glossary has "Titania, sideralia:" a gloss probably intended for this line. 'Astra' might well include the sun and stars, as 'astrum' is a general word which may be used for any heavenly body. A corrupt gloss in the seventh vol. of Mai's *Auctores Classici* runs "Tintario" (no doubt for 'Titania') "soli iuxta splendida;" 'shining like the sun.' I confess to doubting whether 'astra' could stand for the sun alone, and prefer to take 'Titania astra' as = 'the stars shining like the sun,' i.e. with their own light.—H. N.]

727.] 'Corpore' like 'molem' of the entire mundane frame. Henry attempts to restrict it to the earth, comparing G. 2. 327; but the expression there, as here, is simply an obvious metaphor, not a new sense stamped on a word and adhering to it independently of the context: and his other parallel from Pervigilium Veneris v. 55 is only an imitation of the passage in the Georgics. 'Miscet se corpore' like "genus mixtum sanguine" 12. 838, the more ordinary construction being with the dat. or with the abl. with 'cum.' Possibly it is to be explained grammatically as the abl. of the agent, as in such expressions as "pulvere campus miscetur" 12. 445, the element of mixture being regarded as the cause which has brought the mixture about. Comp. 8. 510, "mixtus matre Sabella," where there seems a confusion between the mother as causing the son's blood to be mixed, not pure, and as mixing her own blood with the father's. At the same time, we must not forget the connexion between the dat. and abl., nor the probability that a case which is used in a particular sense with a preposition may be found bearing that sense without it. "Aura mixta vapore" occurs Lucr. 3. 233.

728.] Rom. has 'volucrum,' but 'ucr' is written over an erasure. With the line generally comp. G. 4. 223 foll. The expression resembles that of several passages in Lucr., e. g. 2. 1082, "Sic hominum genitam prolem, sic denique mutas Squamigerum pecudes et corpora cuncta volantum." The meaning here seems to be that this union of mind with matter is the cause of individual life in animals, which consist of soul and body. Heyne refers to the Stoic expressions of the 'anima mundi' doctrine, such as that of Posidonius, who made individual souls the sparks, *ἀποσπάσματα* or *σπέρματα*, of the *πνεῦμα νοερὸν καὶ πυρῶδες*.

729.] 'Marmoreo aequore,' the *ἅλα μαρμαρέην* of Il. 14. 273. The application of 'marmor' to the sea in Latin is as old as Ennius. ['Marmoreus' means, in all probability, of dazzling whiteness, white as marble: Lucr. 2. 767 "vertitur in canos candenti marmore fluctus;" 772, "quod si caeruleis constarent aequora ponti Seminibus, nullo possent albescere pacto: Nam quocumque modo perturbes caerula quae sint, Nunquam in marmoreum possunt migrare colorem."—H. N.] 'Monstra' of strange shapes, there being more room for the marvellous among the creatures of the deep than among the better known inhabitants of the land. ['Aequora' Gud. and originally Med.—H. N.]

730.] 'Igneus vigor' is virtually parallel to 'caelestis origo,' the pure aether with which the divine soul is identified being regarded as flame. Comp. v. 746 below and G. 4. 220 note. 'Ollis' might conceivably be separated in grammar from 'seminibus, but they are doubtless meant to be constructed together. See on 3. 162.

731.] It seems difficult to say whether 'seminibus' is used with reference to the sparks of flame, "semina flammae" v. 6 above (see on v. 728 ad finem), or simply of the soul regarded as the seminal principle of life. 'Quantum non' &c.

Terrenique hebetant artus moribundaque membra.
Hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque, neque auras
Dispiciunt clausae tenebris et carcere caeco.
Quin et supremo cum lumine vita reliquit,
Non tamen omne malum miseris nec funditus omnes
Corporeae excedunt pestes, penitusque necesse est
Multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris.

s not strictly cohere with what pre-es, as the influence of the body would affect the principle of the soul, only the extent of its operation, ich is evidently Virg.'s real meaning. ardant — hebetant' like "gelidus lante senecta Sanguis hebet" 5. 395. beck adopts from Pal. and Gud. iere however the order is corrected), l others mentioned by Burm., 'cor-a noxia:' but the order in the text is nd in Med., fragm. Vat., Rom. &c.

32.] 'Moribunda' is stronger than ortalia," implying that the body is dy to die, and would die but for the istance of the principle of life.

33.] 'Hinc,' from this influence of the ly. "Voluptas," "cupiditas," "aegri-lo," and "metus" form the fourfold ision of "perturbationes" in Cic. Tusc. 1, the two first expressing the impres-1 made by a great good, present or ure, the two last that made by a great l, present or future. The same divi-1 occurs Hor. 1 Ep. 6. 12, "Gaudeat doleat, cupiat metuatne, quid ad 1?" where, as here, it is used as philosophical commonplace. Cerda ces it in the Greek philosophers, luding Plato. 'Auras' = "caelum," Henry observes, though he is hyper-ical in condemning Heyne's explan-on 'lucem,' which was doubtless ant, not as a lexicographical explan-on, but merely as a substantial iivalent in the present context.

'34.] ['Respiciunt' Henry, with Serv., l probably Macrobius Somn. Scip. 1. }, who says, "Homini autem una est iitio sui, si originis . . . exordia prima *pexerit* . . . nec deseruisse unquam ılum videtur, quod *respectu* et cogi-ionibus possidebat." 'Despiciunt' the uncials: 'suspiciunt' Augustine Civ. Dei twice: 14. 3 and 21. 13. ispiciunt' is the first reading of Gud. l 'despiciunt' may, as Conington ught, be a mere corruption for it, as it ındoubtedly in Lucr. 2. 741, Cic. Fin. 4. 23, Sueton. Nero 19. 'Non respiciunt' Serv. explains as = "obliviscuntur naturae suae." Augustine's 'suspiciunt' is very tempting, recalling as it does Plato Rep. 7. p. 515 πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἀναβλέπον.—H.N.] 'Dispicere' is specially used of looking through darkness or seeing after blindness, as in Lucr. 2. 741 (which Virg. may have had in his mind), Cic. Fin. 4. 23, Suet. Ner. 19. 'Their gaze cannot pierce the sky, imprisoned as they are in darkness and a blind fleshly dungeon.' Cerda illustrates the comparison of the body to a dungeon, the origin of which is referred by Plato, Cratylus p. 400 c, to the Orphic school: δοκοῦσι μέντοι μοι μάλιστα θέσθαι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ὀρφέα τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα (sc. σῶμα), ὡς δίκην διδούσης τῆς ψυχῆς ὧν δὴ ἕνεκα δίδωσι. τοῦτον δὲ περίβολον ἔχειν, ἵνα σώζηται, δεσμωτηρίου εἰκόνα. See Stallbaum l. c. and on Phaedo, p. 62 B. ['Clusae' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

735.] "Vita reliquit" Lucr. 5. 63. 'Supremo lumine' seems to mean 'with its last ray,' 'supremo' being used by a kind of prolepsis: the words however might possibly mean 'on their last day,' their day of death, nearly as Lucr. 1. 546 uses "supremo tempore." ['Suppremo' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

737.] 'Pestes,' νόσοι. 'Penitusque,' &c.: Heyne remarks that the natural sequence would have been "nec excedunt, sed penitus inoluerunt." Virg. has chosen not only to couple a negative sentence to an affirmative by an ordinary copulative (for which Forb. comp. inter alia Ov. M. 13. 521 foll. "Felix morte sua nec te, mea nata, peremptam Adspicit et vitam pariter regnumque reliquit"), but to use the present 'inolescere' where we should have expected the past 'inoluisse,' in other words to express himself as if he were speaking of the soul when still in life, not of the soul after death.

738.] ["'Concreta,' coniuncta et conglutinata," says Serv., and so below v.

Ergo exercentur poenis, veterumque malorum
Supplicia expendunt: aliae panduntur inanis
Suspensae ad ventos; aliis sub gurgite vasto
Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni;
Quisque suos patimur Manes; exinde per amplum
Mittimur Elysium, et pauci laeta arva tenemus;

746 "'concretam' adfixam et inhaerentem:" i. e. "quae cum animis eorum concreverunt." And so Conington. If Virg. means this, he is making 'concreta' take the sense of *προσπεφυκότα* (Plato Rep. 10. p. 611), grown into, or attached to, the soul. But such a sense is quite unusual if not unparalleled, for 'concretus,' if the lexicons may be trusted, always means *what has grown together in itself*, dense, whose particles are close together. Comp. e. g. Lucr. 5. 466 "concreto corpore." So as a philosophical term it is used with "corporeus" by Cicero in his translation of the Timaeus (8) as = *σωματοειδής*: "omne quod erat concretum atque corporeum." Ti. Donatus says "concretum dicitur quod ex minutis multis in unam redditur massam." I am therefore inclined to think that Virgil, who is here obviously Platonizing, means by 'concreta' elements of matter, and by 'concretam labem' the taint of matter. 'Diu' then should be taken with 'inolescere.'—H. N.] 'Modis miris' 1. 354 note. 'Inolescere' G. 2. 77. Fea's conj. 'abolescere' is ingenious, but, as Henry remarks, quite unnecessary.

739.] 'Exercentur' *γυμνάζονται*. See on v. 543 above. 'Veterum malorum' v. 527, where as here it is used of crime.

740.] 'Supplicia expendunt' 11. 258, where there is a similar use of 'poenae' with a gen. of the offence. 'Panduntur' is explained of crucifixion by Cerda, whom Henry follows, perhaps rightly. He shows that *κρέμασθαι* and 'suspendi' were specially used in that sense (comp. St. Paul's application of *κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου* Gal. 3. 13 to crucifixion, the primary reference of the words being different, as is remarked by Ellicott in loco), and argues that 'panduntur' points the same way. But it signifies little what was the precise image Virg. had before his mind, the real point being that the spirit is hung up in such a way as to secure its purification by air. Serv. refers to the "oscilla" in the festival of Bacchus (G. 2. 389 note, where the parallel is mentioned by anticipation): but Gossrau remarks that no one but Serv. seems to have connected these with purification, and that other traditional notices of them explain them differently. "Ventos inanis" 10. 82. ["Nihil interest," says Ti. Donatus, "ventos inanes an animas dixerit."—H. N.] Notices of this threefold purification are cited by Cerda from Martianus Capella and St. Augustine: but it is not clear that they, any more than Serv., had any further authority for the custom than the present passage of Virg.

741.] 'Gurgite vasto' 1. 118. The epithet shows the thoroughness of the purification. Gossrau comp. the words of Glaucus, Ov. M. 13. 952 foll.

742.] 'Infectum' may either be an adj. or a participle. Gossrau understands it in the former sense, making 'infectum eluitur' = "eluitur ita ut infectum sit." But this is hardly Virgilian, and is not sufficiently supported by 12. 242, "foedusque precantur infectum." On the other hand it is certainly harsh to understand 'infectum scelus' as 'scelus quo quis inficitur;' but it seems not unlike Virg., and is perhaps justified by such inversions as 4. 477 note. For passive participles in Greek which may be explained on the principle of the cognate acc. see my note on Aesch. Choeph. 806. The force of 'infici' is well illustrated by Forb. from Sen. Ep. 59, "Diu in istis vitiis iacuimus: elui difficile est: non enim inquinati sumus, sed infecti." No other instance is quoted of 'exuri' in the sense of being removed by burning. [except Prop. 3. 12 (4. 3.) 26 "exustaeque tuae, mox, Polypheme, genae:" and Sil. 13. 871, an imitation of this passage. I strongly suspect that Virg. is translating *ἐμποιεῖν* by 'inficere,' and *ἐκκαίειν* by 'exurere.' 'Adque' for 'aut' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

743, 744.] ['Quisque suos patimur Manes': we each suffer our own death, i. e. state of death. I am inclined to explain these words by reference to the philosophical idea which was part of the

Donec longa dies, perfecto temporis orbe,
Concretam exemit labem, purumque relinquit

ctrine here expounded by the poet, at the true life only begins after the ints of the body are purged away, d that the life in the body is, to the irit or immortal element, a state of ath. The corporeal element therefore, e passions, the lower part of human ture, is the 'Manes' or death of the ul, which it suffers or endures ('pati-r') until the purification is complete. he crimes or faults for the commission which this element has been responble vary with each individual; hence uisque suos.' Macrob. Somn .Scipionis 6. 9 foll. applies Virg.'s words to illusate the doctrine in question, and it was is passage, referred to by Henry, which ggested to me the above explanation. ut why, it will perhaps be asked, does irg. use the word 'Manes' and not mortem," which would equally have ited the metre? I reply, because Manes' was in common language so ten identified with the material part of hat remains after death (see on 4. 34). enry, who quotes, as I have said above, e passage from Macrobius, does not, I ink, see its full bearing upon the resent passage, as he takes 'Manes' mean simply 'state of death' or ondition in the world below' in the dinary sense of those expressions. To ake the whole matter clear I will quote e text of Cicero's Somnium Scipionis De Rep. 6. 14) and then Macrobius' mment upon it. "Immo vero, inquit, vivunt, qui e corporum vinculis tamnam e carcere evolaverunt, vestra vero uae dicitur vita mors est." Macrobius ys "Secundum haec igitur, quae a eologis adseruntur, si vero *quisque suos timur manes* et inferos in his corporis esse credimus, quid aliud intellegdum est quam mori animam cum ad rporis inferna demergitur, vivere autem m ad supera post corpus evadit?" Manes' was quoted by Conington as ed in the sense of spiritual punishment Statius (Theb. 8. 84 "at tibi quos, quit, Manes"). But the context of at passage shows that what is meant 'what a life below awaits thee!' haper cites Ausonius Ephemeris Or. as showing that 'Manes' means no ore than the torments of the lower orld: but the whole context of the ssage seems to me to prove that Ausonius connected 'Manes' with the frailty of the body; "si *membra caduca* Exsecror, et tacitum si paenitet, altaque sensus Formido excruciat tormentaque sera Gehennae Anticipat, *patiturque suos mens conscia Manes*." Serv.'s explanation, which Conington adopted, that 'Manes' are the 'genii' or attendant deities, "quos cum vita sortimur," is not natural. —H. N.] Professor Munro, Journal of Philology, vol. 2, pp. 145, 146 says, "'Quisque suos patimur Manes' I am convinced means simply, 'we put on, bear the burden, each one of us good or bad, of his own manes or garb of death,' i. e. the shadowy semblance of one's living self which the dead spirit was supposed to assume at the funeral pile or elsewhere. This is illustrated by the old picture in the Vatican Virgil, and, as I think, by Sen. Hipp. 1226, 'Donator atrae lucis, Alcide, tuum Diti remitto munus, ereptos mihi Restitue manis; inpius frustra invoco Mortem relictam.'" The difficulty of what follows is greater. The words are easy, but it is not easy to see the appropriateness of the sentence to the context. As they stand, they appear to speak of a second purgation as going on in Elysium, which is in itself not a very likely thing, while the change of person from 'mittimur' and 'tenemus' to 'revisant' v. 750 has still to be accounted for. Jahn, whose explanation is approved by Forb., supposes that all the shades are sent into Elysium after their purgation, but that while the greater part only pass through on their way to Lethe, a few, of whom Anchises is one, are allowed to remain there and complete a still higher purification, as a prelude to a new and glorious life on earth. This is probably as plausible an explanation as is likely to be suggested of the passage as it stands, but the inconsistencies of it lie on the surface. Elysium, as has been said above, is not a natural place for purgation; it is evidently the everlasting reward of a good life, not a place of temporary sojourn previous to a return to earth: there is nothing in vv. 741, 742, as compared with vv. 745—747, to show that the degree of purification contemplated in the latter is intended to be higher than that in the former: the 'mille anni' of v. 738 are plainly parallel to the 'longa

Aetherium sensum atque aurai simplicis ignem.
Has omnis, ubi mille rotam volvere per annos,

dies' of v. 745; and it can hardly be meant that the more highly purified spirits return to earth without a draught of Lethe. A general view of the context seems to require, as Heyne and some of the early editors, and more lately Henry, have seen, that the souls which are purified and sent back to earth should be distinguished from the select few who are purified and established in Elysium, and this the change of person decidedly favours. The words 'pauci—tenemus' then, if not the previous clause, will refer to the latter, the whole of the following lines to the former, who, as being far the larger number, are spoken of as if they were the whole body. But this sense, though required by the context and favoured by the language, does not suit the order of the passage. Heyne and his contemporaries wished to get rid of the difficulty by transposing the two lines before us, which is Ribbeck's remedy; Henry thinks they are no more than an ordinary Virgilian parenthesis. The first suggestion appears to me as much too violent as the second is too lenient. The supposition of a confusion of the order introduced by the transcribers is at all times hazardous (see on G. 4. 203—205), and is exposed to unusual suspicion here, as the lines would still look awkward if placed, where alone they could be placed, after v. 747, so that Heyne inclines to treat them as altogether spurious; while on the other hand, if Virg. intended no more than an ordinary parenthesis, it must be admitted that his sentence is exceedingly ill constructed. I think then that everything points to the supposition, which at one time occurred to Heyne himself, that we have here one of the passages in the Aeneid (the case of the Georgics is different: see on G. 4. 203—205) which Virg. left unfinished. His whole conception of a metempsychosis seems, as I have said in the prefatory remarks to this book, to be really inconsistent with the general picture which he gives of the world of spirits, and so he naturally found a difficulty in harmonizing the two in Anchises' narrative. Had the Aeneid been a finished poem, the obstacle would doubtless have been surmounted so far as the mechanical structure of the present passage is concerned, but we should have felt it nevertheless in reading the Sixth Book. A doubt still remains whether 'mittimur' refers to the whole body of the departed, as 'patimur' evidently does, or to the few spoken of in the next clause. In the one case the meaning will be that the whole multitude is sent through Elysium, the greater part to drink the Lethe water and then return to life, the few to remain in Elysium: in the other, that the few are distributed among the spacious plains, a use of 'per' for which see on 1. 680. On the whole the former view seems to agree best with the language of these two lines, while any objection which may be raised to it from the language of vv. 748 foll., where Lethe seems to be introduced for the first time, is obviated by the consideration mentioned above, that the present passage as left by Virg. is not meant to cohere with the context. 'Pauci—tenemus' like "pauci—adnavimus" 1. 538.

745.] "Longa dies" 5. 783. The expression seems to be Virg.'s own, but Lucr. 1. 557 has "longa diei infinita aetas." 'Perfecto temporis orbe' is explained by v. 748.

746.] Rom. has 'tabem,' "nec hoc male," says Heyne: but 'labem' is clearly better. 'Relinquit' (fragm., Vat., Med.) is restored by Wagn. after Jahn for 'reliquit' (Pal., Rom., Gud.).

747.] 'Aetherium—ignem,' the "partem divinae mentis et haustus aetherios" of G. 4. 220. ['Sensus' is here the equivalent of the Greek νοῦς, as is shewn by Servius' use of the adj. "sensualis" here and on v. 727 as the equivalent of νοερός in connection with πῦρ: "πῦρ νοερόν, id est ignem sensualem."—H. N.] An English reader may however remember the disembodied Arvalan in Southey's Curse of Kehama, "all naked feeling and raw life." 'Aurai simplicis ignem:' comp. vv. 204, 733 above and v. 762 below, and see on 1. 546, G. 4. 220. Med., Rom., and Pal. have 'aurae:' 'aurai' is found however in one of Ribbeck's cursives and (from a correction) in Gud. and another, possibly also in fragm. Vat. as corrected, and is acknowledged by Serv. on 7. 464 as one of the four instances in which Virg. has used this form of the genitive, the others being 7 l. c., 3. 354, and 9. 26, in the first and third of

Lethaeum ad fluvium deus evocat agmine magno,
Scilicet immemores supera ut convexa revisant
Rursus et incipiant in corpora velle reverti.
Dixerat Anchises, natumque unaque Sibyllam
Conventus trahit in medios turbamque sonantem,
Et tumulum capit, unde omnis longo ordine posset
Adversos legere, et venientum discere vultus.
Nunc age, Dardaniam prolem quae deinde sequatur

which there is also variety in the MSS. 'Purum' is doubtless meant to go with both 'sensum' and 'ignem,' but 'simplicis' is thrown in that we may not feel the want of it in the latter clause. [By both words Virg. is perhaps rendering the Greek εἰλικρινής.—H. N.]

748.] 'Rotam volvere' seems merely to express the completion of a period, as Serv. explains it, remarking, "est autem sermo Ennianus." Comp. the use of "volvens" G. 2. 295, and see on 1. 9. Whether the revolution is one of the whole period, or, as 'per' might seem to show, of each successive year, it would perhaps be a refinement to inquire. The mention of a thousand years is probably suggested by the myth in Plato Rep. 10 p. 615 A, where those who have done wrong in life are punished through ten periods of a hundred years each, a hundred years being the estimated length of a lifetime on earth, so that each criminal receives tenfold punishment, after which they are allowed to choose new lives, and each is made to drink of the river of Indifference (see on v. 715), as a preliminary to his new existence. Comp. also Plato Phaedr. p. 249, where the period is similarly given. In Pind. fr. 98 (Bergk. ed. 1), quoted by Plato Meno p. 81, the return to earth takes place in the ninth year. [Sil. 6. 120 "Talis lege deum clivoso tramite vitae Per varios praeceps casus rota volvitur aevi." —H. N.]

749.] Comp. vv. 714, 715. 'Deus' generally, like ὁ θεός or ὁ δαίμων, not, as Serv. says some take it, specially of Mercury. 'Evocat' from their place of discipline. 'Agmine magno' G. 1. 381. Here it expresses the manner in which the spirits flock to the call, so that it qualifies not so much 'evocat' or 'has omnis' as a verbal notion supplied in thought. Serv. has a curious fancy that 'agmine' = "impetu" (see on 5. 211), which might be supported, were it worth while, by some points in the description of Plato Rep. l. c.

750.] 'Supera convexa' v. 241 above. Med. originally had 'super,' which Ribbeck adopts as in vv. 241, 787., 7. 562. ['Superant' Pal. for 'supera ut.' —H. N.]

751.] Anchises answers Aeneas' question vv. 719 foll., how those who had been set free from the body could wish to return to it. Perhaps it is best with the later editors to place no stop after 'rursus,' leaving it to be taken with both verbs, 'revisant' and 'reverti.' Gossrau has collected many instances where it is used with compounds of 're,' such as "rursum redire" Ter. Adelph. 1. 1. 46., 4. 2. 40. Comp. v. 449 above. So πάλιν αὖθις, αὖθις αὖ.

752—755.] 'They mount an eminence, which commands a view of those spirits destined to future life.'

753.] "Turbamque sonantem" 12. 248. See on v. 709 above.

754.] "Tumulum capit" 12. 562. 'Posset' is restored by Wagn. from Med., Pal., Rom., and others for 'possit,' which has the support of fragm. Vat., and Gud. Either might stand in point of grammar (Madv. § 382, obs. 3), nor can much be made of the external evidence, as the words are constantly confounded in MSS. (Madv. Emendationes Livianae, p. 369 2nd ed.) Munro on Lucretius, 1. 207 notes on the text.) The MSS. of Nonius p. 333 s. v. 'legere' have 'possent.'

755.] Neither Forc. nor Freund quotes any other instance of this use of 'legere,' which however differs from that of reading only as the object of the latter is more restricted. Our word 'to scan' appears to express it exactly. [Nonius l.c. glosses it as = "videre," Serv. as = "considerare, relegere": Nonius quotes "perlegere" from v. 33. 'Adversus' Pal. 'Voltus' Pal. originally.—H. N.

756—787.] 'Anchises shows Aeneas the long train of Alban kings, his future

Gloria, qui maneant Itala de gente nepotes,
Inlustris animas nostrumque in nomen ituras,
Expediam dictis, et te tua fata docebo.
Ille, vides, pura iuvenis qui nititur hasta,
Proxima sorte tenet lucis loca, primus ad auras
Aetherias Italo commixtus sanguine surget,
Silvius, Albanum nomen, tua postuma proles,
Quem tibi longaevo serum Lavinia coniunx

descendants, ending in Romulus, the founder of Rome.'

756.] 'Deinde,' proceeding from the present point of time, as in v. 890 below. 'Sequatur' means little more than 'attends on;' but the word is doubtless chosen to suggest a notion of futurity.

757.] 'Manere' of destiny, as in v. 84 above, 3. 505 &c. 'Itala de gente,' of the Italian family to be born from Lavinia.

758.] We might have expected 'animae—iturae,' but Virg. has preferred to give a new object to 'expediam,' doubtless for the sake of variety. 'Nostrum in nomen ituras,' apparently a metaphor from taking physical possession of a territory or inheritance. Forb. comp. the phrases "in nomen adsciscere," "adsumere," of adoption into a family. 'Nomen' seemingly not of the royal family of Troy, but of the Trojan nation generally (comp. "nomen Latinum"), as the Roman worthies are mentioned afterwards indiscriminately, without reference to descent from Aeneas: but it is not easy to say in a context like this, where Anchises speaks of himself and his son as the founders of a nation. With the line comp. generally v. 680 above.

759.] 'Expediam dictis' 3. 379.

760.] 'Vides' parenthetical, like ὁρᾷς. 'Pura hasta:' "id est, sine ferro: nam hoc fuit praemium apud maiores eius qui tunc primum vicisset in proelio: sicut ait Varro in libris de gente populi Romani." Serv., who apparently means that it was given to young men on their first military success,—a sense sufficiently appropriate here. From Prop. 5. 3. 68, Suet. Claud. 28, it seems to have been bestowed on the occasion of the celebration of a triumph. [It is frequently mentioned in inscriptions: for instance C. I. L. 2. 1086 "donatus . . . vexillo et hastis puris quinque" 2637 "donatus . . . hasta pura" (ab imp. Vespasiano).—H. N.] Ti. Donatus makes it the emblem of peace.

761.] Comp. v. 434 above. 'Tenet' of virtual rather than actual possession, 'lucis loca' being a place in the upper world. Heins. wished to read 'luci.' 'Sorte:' the custom of drawing lots for places (comp. 5. 132) is transferred to the shades as in such passages as Hor. 2 Od. 3. 25 foll.

762.] 'Aetherias:' see on 1. 546. 'Italo commixtus sanguine,' Italian blood mingling in his veins with our own. So Evander speaks of Pallas as "mixtus matre Sabella" 8. 510, his own race being regarded as the normal element. Some of Pierius' MSS. have "mixtus de sanguine." ['Surgit' Med.—H. N.]

763.] 'Albanum nomen' seems to indicate that the name afterwards became a common one at Alba, as Livy 1. 3, quoted by Forb., says "mansit Silvius postea omnibus cognomen qui Albae regnaverunt." 'Postumus' means no more than latest: it came however to be applied to children born after the father's death (Plaut. Aul. 2. 1. 40, Varro L. L. 9. 38),—or born after the father's last will (Gaius Inst. 1. 147, Ulpian Dig. 26. 2, 5. referred to by Freund s. v.: see Dict. A. "Heres," Roman). Here it evidently has its original meaning, as Caesellius Vindex ap. Gell. 2. 16 long ago remarked, though Serv. and in later times even Henry and Sir G. Lewis give it the sense of 'posthumous,' contrary to the plain meaning of the next line. Virg. seems to have intended to translate the Homeric τηλύγετος, as the commentators remark. The word appears to be restricted to children, till we come to writers like Apuleius and Tertullian, who use it as convertible with "postremus." In the legendary accounts Silvius seems actually to have been called Silvius Postumus: see Lewis, Credibility, vol. 1, pp. 357 foll.

764.] The story, as told by Serv. here and on 1. 270 and others (Lewis, p. 356),

Educet silvis regem regumque parentem,
Unde genus Longa nostrum dominabitur Alba.
Proximus ille Procas, Troianae gloria gentis,

that Lavinia was left pregnant at neas' death, when, fearing Ascanius, took refuge in the woods, and there ought forth Silvius; after which an angement, variously related, was de, by which Lavinium was left to vinia, and Ascanius founded Alba. the latter kingdom Silvius eventually ceeded Ascanius, either in default of rs, or because the actual heir, named lus, was too young. Some made vius the son of Ascanius, and so Livy , who speaks of him as "casu quodam silvis natus." Virg. apparently adopts tradition generally, without thinking necessary to specify the circumstances Silvius' birth in the woods, while he inectly contradicts the story of Lavinia's r of Ascanius, which would have red on all readers of the Aeneid, by resenting Silvius as born in his father's time. The legends of the sequel of neas' life after his settlement in tium are not altogether reconcilable h the treatment adopted by Virg. in Aeneid. Virg. doubtless could have rmonized them with his purpose, had pleased, as skilfully as he has harmoed discordant materials in the story the Aeneid itself: but he has chosen tead to regard them from a disce, without distinctly committing himf to any one version of them. Even is however he has not been able to ape some inconsistencies, as the present ssage shows, compared with that in First Book. There (1. 265 foll.) we told by implication that Aeneas' th and deification takes place three rs after his landing in Latium: here is spoken of as living to old age, a e which must have been conceived of Virg. as long subsequent to that in ich he captivated Dido: there the ne of Ascanius is associated with ba, here that of Silvius. These statents, it is true, may be brought into eement by supposing that Aeneas gns at Lavinium after the expiration three years in camp, Ascanius reving to Alba after his death, and that vius is mentioned here simply as the cessor of Ascanius at Alba; but it ms hardly likely that Virg. should re formed a definite and, in one respect at least, independent conception of events which he alludes to so cursorily. With 'serum' Germ. comp. Evander's words to Pallas, 8. 581, "mea sola et sera voluptas." This is the first mention of the name of Aeneas' destined wife, who has been already alluded to 2. 783., 6. 93. Serv. curiously reconciles 'longaevo' with the posthumous birth of Silvius by understanding it of the immortal life of the deified Aeneas, as the Greeks call the gods μακραίωνες. Henry supposes 'tibi longaevo' merely to mean that the child was conceived in Aeneas' old age. [Rom. has 'servam' for 'serum.'—H. N.]

765.] 'Educet' here and v. 779 seems = "pariet," not, as Forb. and others give it, "educabit." 'Educare' and 'educere' are etymologically connected, like "dicare" and "dicere," and "educere" often has the sense of "educare," as in 7. 763., 8. 413., 9. 584: but it is also used of bringing forth, as in Plaut. Poen. 1. 2. 143, Pliny 10. 152, 201, &c., quoted by Freund: and the dat. here naturally points to that meaning, which is indeed one peculiarly consonant to the etymology of the word. Perhaps on a comparison of 7. 763 we may say that Virg. meant to glance at both meanings (comp. also the association of τίκτειν and τρέφειν in Greek tragedy), though in v. 779 it can hardly be meant that Ilia reared as well as bore Romulus. With 'educet regem regumque parentem' comp. 9. 642, "Dis genite et geniture deos." Virg. doubtless intended a contrast between the place of Silvius' birth and his high destiny, whatever his view of the story may have been. ['Educit' Med.—H. N.]

766.] 'Unde,' from Silvius, as 'regum parens.' Comp. 1. 6., 5. 123. 'Dominabitur' with an abl. as 1. 285., 3. 97. 'Longa Alba' 1. 271 note.

767.] 'Proximus' seems to be used loosely, as Serv. remarks that Procas was the twelfth king of Alba. Other accounts put him fourteenth in a list of sixteen: see Lewis, pp. 360 foll., where it appears further that some omitted him altogether. What Procas did to entitle him to the name of 'Troianae gloria gentis' does not seem to appear from any extant legend. Ov. M. 14. 622 places the story

Et Capys, et Numitor, et qui te nomine reddet
Silvius Aeneas, pariter pietate vel armis
Egregius, si umquam regnandam acceperit Albam.
Qui iuvenes! quantas ostentant, aspice, vires,
Atque umbrata gerunt civili tempora quercu!
Hi tibi Nomentum et Gabios urbemque Fidenam,

of Vertumnus and Pomona under his reign.

768.] Capys comes before Procas in other lists; according to Serv. he is sixth, according to others eighth or ninth. Anchises naturally mentions him as bearing the name of his own father. Numitor follows Procas immediately in other lists. For his story see Lewis l. c. and Dict. M. Virg. is the first author cited for this use of 'reddere' like "referre" (comp. 4. 329., 12. 348), which is common in post-Augustan poetry and prose: see Freund. Rom. has 'reddat,' which might be supported from 1. 20., 287, in which passages, as in Enn. Alex. fr. 11 Vahlen, "Nam maxumo saltu superabit gravidus armatis equos, Qui suo partu perdat Pergama ardua," the subj. has perhaps something of its future sense.

769.] Aeneas Silvius, whom Ov. l. c. and F. 4. 31 foll. omits in his list of the Alban kings, appears in other lists next or next but one to the first Silvius. The words 'si umquam regnandam acceperit Albam' might seem merely to refer to the general contingency to which all the potential personages are subject: comp. v. 828. and see on v. 780: Serv. however explains it by saying that Aeneas Silvius was kept out of his kingdom for fifty-three years by an usurping guardian. Sir. G. Lewis rightly remarks that Serv.'s story is inconsistent with Dionysius and others, who assign to this king a reign of thirty-one years: but it is not clear why he should assume that Virg's expression cannot be reconciled with the supposition of a long reign, as the uncertainty affects his coming to the throne at all, and apparently ceases after his accession, and the words 'pariter pietate vel armis egregius' in effect imply that his reign was a glorious one. 'Pariter' is generally found with "et:" here it is naturally enough used with 'vel,' which, as Madv. § 436 remarks, "denotes a distinction which is of no importance,"—'Whether you look at his piety or his valour, it does not signify: he is equally distinguished.' "Pietate insignis et armis" above v. 403. 'Regnandam' 3. 14.

771.] It matters little whether a note of exclamation be put after 'iuvenes' or not, as long as it is understood that 'qui' is not a relative but an exclamatory interrogative. 'Ostentant vires' seems merely to refer to the martial bearing of the young heroes, not, as might be supposed from the next line, to any marks of distinction in war which they wear.

772.] Heyne, following many of the old editions and one MS., read 'at qui,' connecting the line with what follows and supposing a difference to be made between those who are famed in war and those who are famed in peace. But this interpretation ignores the nature of the "corona civilis" which was given for preserving the life of a citizen in war and slaying an enemy, so that this line contains no contrast to the preceding, but only a specification and a climax (see Dict. A. 'Corona'). 'Gerunt:' see on 1. 567. The expression was doubtless originally a piece of mere simplicity, a person being supposed to carry his limbs or at least the upper parts of his body as he might carry anything separate from him: but in using it here Virg. may have thought of carrying the umbrageous wreath on the forehead, as conceivably Lucr. 6. 1145 may have intended to indicate the feeling of weight and oppression in the head and eyes. 'Umbrata' like "populus umbra velavit comas" 8. 276. The civic wreath was originally given only to those who distinguished themselves in hand-to-hand combat: like other ancient honours however it was voted by the senate to Augustus, who had oaken wreaths hung before his doors as being the perpetual preserver of the citizens. Gossrau, from whom this is taken, refers to Ov. F. 1. 614., 4. 953. This doubtless suggested the image to Virg., who is glad to show that Augustus is only the heir to the honours of his ancestors.

773.] For the various lists of the Latin

Hi Collatinas imponent montibus arces,
Pometios Castrumque Inui Bolamque Coramque.
Haec tum nomina erunt, nunc sunt sine nomine terrae.
Quin et avo comitem sese Mavortius addet
Romulus, Assaraci quem sanguinis Ilia mater
Educet. Viden ut geminae stant vertice cristae,
Et pater ipse suo superum iam signat honore?
En, huius, nate, auspiciis illa incluta Roma

›nies, which were called the towns of Prisci Latini, see Lewis, p. 362 foll. : the names here see Dict. Geogr.

74.] "Tot congesta manu praeruptis ›ida saxis" G. 2. 156 of the cities of ly. "Arces montibus impositas" r. 2 Ep. 1. 252, of the fortifications of gustus. After this line many editions, n in modern times, give another, aude pudicitiae celebres, addentque ›erbos;" but it has no MS. authority atever, and is said to be the work of Italian lawyer, Fabricio Lampugnani.

76.] 'These will then be names'—i. e. ›es bearing names. For 'terrae' the t reading of Med. is 'gentes,' which ins. prefers.

77.] 'Avo comitem sese addet' seems nean merely, shall appear on earth to ı his grandfather, Romulus being naally associated with Numitor, whom ording to the story he restored to his hts. Heyne prefers 'addit' in this se, after one MS.; but though the ›nge would be easy enough (Med. has ırgit" v. 762, "educit" v. 765), it is not essary, as Anchises may speak of his cendants indifferently as they will eafter appear on earth and as he now s them in the shades. [Serv. says, ıt avito" (i. e. Numitoris) "se iunget ›erio, aut certe, secundum Ennium, ›retur inter deos cum Aenea: dicit m Iliam fuisse filiam Aeneae. Quod est, Aeneas avus est Romuli. Unde ım addidit 'Assaraci quem sanguinis': n hoc epitheton non sine causa est roductum, quod est proprium Aeneae: n Assaracus pater est Capyos, Capys chisae, Anchises Aeneae." "Addet ıvo comitem, id est Iovi." Ti. Donatus. t the notion of apotheosis is foreign to passage.—H.N.] 'Mavortius' 1. 276.

78.] Comp. 1. 274. 'Sanguinis,' an ributive gen. There seems no reason taking 'Assaraci' as an adj. with gn. and Forb., though the form might haps be justified by the analogy, not of "Pompilius sanguis" Hor. A. P. 292, which they compare, but of "Romulus" and "Dardanus." See on 4. 552.

779.] 'Educet' v. 765 note. Some inferior MSS. give 'stent—signet:' see on E. 4. 52.

780.] ["'Et pater ipse suo superum iam signet honore': merito virtutis Mars Romulum deum esse significat; 'superum' enim accusativus est singularis ab es quod est 'superus, superi.'" Serv. Ti. Donatus however takes 'superum' as gen. pl., joining it with 'pater ipse,' which in that case, of course, would mean Jupiter. Probably Serv. is right, and 'superum signat' means 'marks him as a deity.'—H. N.] That the two-crested helmet was distinctive of Mars is, as Henry says, made probable by Val. Max. 1. 8. § 6, taken in conjunction with this passage, "cognitum pariter atque creditum est, Martem patrem tunc populo suo adfuisse. Inter cetera huiusce rei manifesta indicia galea quoque duabus distincta pinnis, qua caeleste caput tectum fuerat, argumentum praebuit." Heyne remarks that Romulus is constantly represented with a helmet. 'Suo' can only refer to 'pater,' as 'ipse' shows. The only difficulty is in the use of 'superum' in the singular in the sense which, as we have seen, it bears in the plural; but this is not invincible (comp. its application to things vv. 128, 680), and certainly need not lead us to construct 'superum' as gen. pl. with either 'pater' or 'honore,' to the detriment of the general sense, though it may make us see some plausibility in Peerlkamp's conj. 'puerum,' which in an author less well supported by MSS. authority might itself be confused with 'superum,' especially with 'suo' preceding. There is however great propriety in the sense of 'superum,' as explained above, while 'puerum' would add nothing which is not already contained in the line. ['Insignat' Rom. —H. N.]

781.] 'Auspiciis' is used not vaguely,

Imperium terris, animos aequabit Olympo,
Septemque una sibi muro circumdabit arces,
Felix prole virum: qualis Berecyntia mater
Invehitur curru Phrygias turrita per urbes,
Laeta deum partu, centum complexa nepotes,
Omnis caelicolas, omnis supera alta tenentis.
Huc geminas nunc flecte acies, hanc aspice gentem
Romanosque tuos. Hic Caesar et omnis Iuli
Progenies, magnum caeli ventura sub axem.

as in 4. 103, 341, but strictly, referring to the augury of the twelve vultures and the greatness promised thereby. Romulus takes the auspices, which are the cause of the future glories of his city. Thus we do not need Burmann's 'nata.' The apostrophe to Aeneas agrees with 'en,' and is in keeping with the feeling of the passage, the grandeur of Rome being represented as the culmination of all a Trojan's hopes.

782.] "Imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris" 1. 287. 'Animos,' her greatness of soul. Comp. with Forb. "regum aequabat opes animis" G. 4. 132, where the sense is parallel, though the construction is not the same. The expression may perhaps be regarded as an expansion of the common Virgilian phrase "tollere animos" G. 3. 207 &c. [Servius says that Trogus and Probus made a difficulty about this line: if so, it was probably connected with the historical question how far so great an empire could be due to the 'auspicia' of Romulus.—H. N.]

783.] See on G. 2. 535, where it should have been remarked that 'muro' is abl., 'sibi' an ethical dat., as against Peerlkamp, who constructs 'sibi' with 'circumdabit,' understanding 'muro' "by way of a wall."

784.] 'Felix prole virum' doubtless refers to the great Roman families, such as those mentioned G. 2. 169 foll., a passage to some extent parallel. Rome is not only the parent of men, but of heroes, as Cybele is the mother of gods. Henry's attempt to understand the passage of Rome as the mother of great nations, with which he aptly compares Byron's parallel of Rome, 'lone mother of dead empires,' to Niobe (Childe Harold, 4. 78, 79), is ingenious, but seems alien to Virg.'s thought, as in that case we should have had "felix prole gentium," or something similar. "Deum genetrix Berecyntia" 9. 82.

785.] This description of the progress of Cybele's statue is from Lucr. 2. 606 foll.:

"Muralique caput summum cinxere corona,
Eximiis munita locis quia sustinet urbes:
Quo nunc insigni per magnas praedita terras
Horrifice fertur divinae matris imago.
* * * * * *
magnas invecta per urbes
Munificat tacita mortalis muta salute."

786.] Virg. can hardly mean that the figures of the other gods appear along with Cybele in her car, though that is what his words would seem to suggest: we must suppose then that she is represented with the mien of a proud and happy mother.

787.] With 'supera alta tenentis' Germ. comp ὑπέρτατα δώματ' ἔχοντες. "Supera ardua" 7. 562. Ribbeck adopts 'super alta' from Rom., Pal., and Med. a m. p., which have 'superalta:' but the corruption is obvious.

788—807.] 'Anchises points out the Julian family, and especially Augustus, the destined conqueror of realms wider than were ever traversed by Hercules or Bacchus.'

788.] 'Huc geminas nunc flecte acies' in an ordinary passage would be thought either archaic or grandiloquent: but it suits the solemn prophetic enthusiasm of Anchises, as in the well-known passage in the Tempest "the fringed curtains of thine eye advance" suits the quaint seriousness of Prospero. 'Gentem,' the gens Iulia.

789.] 'Tuos' seems to be emphatic—Romans of your own stock. "Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo" 1. 288.

790.] 'Caeli axem' [probably means, as Henry says, the rolling heaven or sky, the sky regarded as turning on its axis.—H. N.]

Hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis,
Augustus Caesar, Divi genus, aurea condet
Saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva
Saturno quondam; super et Garamantas et Indos
Proferet imperium; iacet extra sidera tellus,
Extra anni solisque vias, ubi caelifer Atlas
Axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum.
Huius in adventum iam nunc et Caspia regna

792.] 'Divom genus' was once the reading, but it is found only in inferior MSS. 'Divi' refers to C. Julius Cæsar. 'Aurea saecula:' comp. E. 4. 9. "Condere saecla" occurs Lucr. 3. 1090, in the sense of living through ages, seeing them to their end, as in E. 2. 52. Here it can only mean to establish, like "condere urbem," &c., though the analogy is not very close.

793.] Saturn was the god of the golden age, 7. 324., G. 2. 538, Ov. M. 1. 113, as also the first ruler of Latium 7. 349. Virg. makes the two periods synchronize, which does not agree with Ov. l. c. "Regnata Lycurgo" 3. 14. Rom. reads 'per annos,' which would make a kind of sense, 'regnata' being taken with 'saecula;' but it is evidently no more than a slip.

794.] 'Super' seems best taken in its ordinary sense of 'beyond,' though Wagn. wishes here, and in Lucan 4. 333., 8. 164, to give it the meaning of reaching to a distant spot, as if it were "usque ad longinquos Garamantas"—a view which harmonizes with his interpretation of "super alta Cythera" 1. 680 note, and is certainly plausible: Peerlkamp however, cited by Forb., justly remarks that the glory of Augustus is enhanced by representing him as having conquered nations beyond the farthest known. "Extremi Garamantes" E. 8. 44. The Garamantes were conquered by L. Cornelius Balbus, who triumphed A.U.C. 735 (B.C. 19): they sent an embassy to Augustus and made a treaty, which in the language of Roman vanity is described as making submission. This passage then, as Heyne remarks, would be written in the last years of Virg.'s life. 'Indos' G. 2. 171 note. The reference may be, as Heyne remarks, to the restoration of the Roman standards by the Parthians and the Indian embassy to Augustus while in Syria A.U.C. 734. It seems best to change the comma after 'quondam' into a longer stop, with the earlier editors, so as to make 'et—et' mean 'both—and.' The sentence then will be independent, like that which follows in the next line, of which Heyne says "inversio facta enthusiasmum adiuvat."

795.] The meaning of course is 'beyond Garamantes and Indians and beyond the territory of Atlas;' but Anchises seems to point to the land as if he saw it in vision. The land seems to be that spoken of less hyperbolically 4. 480 foll., where v. 797 has already occurred, that of Ethiopia, though here Virg. seems to be speaking of the whole country, there only of the western extremity of it. 'Extra sidera,' like 'extra anni solisque vias,' refers to the Zodiac, called by Arat. Phaen. 321, ἠελίοιο κέλευθος. Serv. comp. Lucan 3. 253, where the image is characteristically amplified:

"Aethiopumque solum, quod non premeretur ab ulla
Signiferi regione poli, nisi poplite lapso
Ultima curvati procederet ungula tauri."

The reference is probably to the overrunning of Ethiopia by C. Petronius A.U.C. 732 (Heyne).

796.] "Maximus Atlas" 4. 481, a better epithet, as 'caelifer' anticipates the next line. Perhaps it may suggest a doubt whether that line is not an interpolation from Book 4: it seems however to be contained in all MSS., and is noticed by Serv.

798.] The MSS. vary between 'adventum' and 'adventu:' the former however is read by all the first class MSS., though in Pal. and Gud. the last letter is erased. 'In adventum' with 'horrent,' a peculiar construction, the meaning being 'shudder at the prospect of his approach,' which would not have been expressed by 'horrere' with acc. Comp. "in futurum."

799.] 'Responsis,' instr. abl., the predictions of Augustus' coming being the cause of their dread. 'Maeotia,' the

Responsis horrent divum et Maeotia tellus,
Et septemgemini turbant trepida ostia Nili.
Nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit,
Fixerit aeripedem cervam licet, aut Erymanthi
Pacarit nemora, et Lernam tremefecerit arcu;
Nec, qui pampineis victor iuga flectit habenis,

reading of the first class MSS., was restored by Heins. after Pierius for 'Maeotica.' ['Divom' Pal. originally.—H. N.]

800.] 'Turbant' intransitively, as Lucr. 2. 126, "Corpora quae in solis radiis turbare videntur," comp. by Germ. Other instances are given by Freund. "Septemgeminus Nilus" Catull. 11. 7. For the compound see on v. 287.

801.] Comp. v. 392. "Vagus Hercules" Hor. 3 Od. 3. 9. Heyne and Schrader remark that Virg. has shown want of judgment in mentioning those only of Hercules' labours which were connected with Arcadia, as of course they could afford no measure of the hero's travels. Wagn. thinks the mention of the brazen-footed stag admissible, as it appears from Pind. Ol. 3. 26 foll. that Hercules' chase after it led him into the Hyperborean country: the remainder he has no doubt Virg. would have corrected if he had lived. The truth seems to be that Virg. conceives of Hercules generally as a hero who put down the various monsters in various parts of the world (comp. Soph. Trach. 1011, *πολλὰ μὲν ἐν πόντῳ κατά τε δρία πάντα καθαίρων Ὠλεκόμαν ὁ τάλας*), and so compares him to Augustus, who in his progress received the submission of the various barbaric nations, the reference being to that expedition through the provinces, which occupied the emperor during the last four years of Virg.'s life, and from which he was returning when the poet met him. Comp. generally the depreciation of Hercules' exploits as contrasted with those of Epicurus, Lucr. 5. 22 foll., where one of the points dwelt on is the distance of the monsters destroyed from the abode of civilized man.

802.] The MSS. vary much in these tenses, Rom. having 'fixerat' and 'tremefecerat,' Rom. and Med. 'pacaret' or 'placaret,' while Pal., Rom., and the first reading of Med. and Gud. have 'obibit.' There is of course no real question about the true readings: but the varieties are worth mentioning as showing how little even first-class MS. evidence may be worth in such matters. A similar warning against absolute confidence in the authority, considerable as it is, of the ancient grammarians is afforded by the epithet 'aeripedem,' which Serv., Charisius, p. 249 P, Diomedes, p. 437 P, and others all explain as a contracted form of 'aëripedem,' *ποδήνεμον*, an impossibility not only in metre but in language, as "aër" is not the wind. Brazen feet are attributed to horses by Hom., Il. 8. 41, and other poets, the notion being that of strength and endurance, and, as a consequence, swiftness. 'Fixerit:' the common story was that Hercules had to bring the Cerynitian stag alive to Eurystheus, so Serv. thinks 'fixerit' = "statuerit:" Eur. H. F. 378 however represents him as killing it. "Figere cervos" E. 2. 29. For 'aut' Markland wished to read 'atque,' or else 'aut' for 'et' in the next line; but Virg., as elsewhere (see v. 609), prefers variety. The force of 'aut' is, 'whether we think of him when he killed the stag or,' &c. In 'Erymanthi' the reference is to the boar which Hercules slew.

803.] Some MSS. read 'placarit' ('placaret' Med.) a common confusion. Gossrau comp. Ov. M. 7. 405, "Qui virtute sua bimarem pacaverat Isthmon," of Theseus slaying the robbers. Not unlike is Hor. 1 Ep. 2. 45, "incultae pacantur vomere silvae," where the notion is that of wildness disappearing before cultivation. Contrast Lucr. 5. 39 foll., "ita ad satiatem terra ferarum Nunc etiam scatit et trepido terrore repleta est Per nemora ac montes magnos silvasque profundas." 'Arcu:' Virg. implies that the Hydra was shot to death, contrary to the common account, which represents the heads as crushed by Hercules' club. [Comp. Augustus' own words Mon. Ancyr. 5. 1 "mare pacavi a praedonibus."—H. N.]

804.] Alluding to Bacchus' famous Indian expedition. Comp. Hor. 3 Od. 3. 13 foll., where Bacchus is mentioned in the next stanza to Hercules. Bacchus was represented as driving a car of tigers or

Liber, agens celso Nysae de vertice tigris.
Et dubitamus adhuc virtute extendere vires,
Aut metus Ausonia prohibet consistere terra?
Quis procul ille autem ramis insignis olivae
Sacra ferens? Nosco crinis incanaque menta
Regis Romani, primam qui legibus urbem

lynxes with reins of vine or ivy branches, "Lyncem Macnas flexura corymbis" Pers. 1. 101. 'Iuga flectit,' like "currum," "equos flectit."

805.] From Catull. 64. 390, "Saepe vagus Liber Parnassi vertice summo Thyiadas effusis euantis crinibus egit." Nysa, the legendary mountain on which Bacchus was brought up, was identified with various places in Europe, Asia, and Africa (Dict. M. 'Dionysus:' Dict. G. 'Nysa').

806.] Comp. G. 2. 433, "Et dubitant homines serere atque impendere curam?" where Virg. has pointed out what nature offers, and asks whether man will not do his part. So here Anchises, after showing the glorious culmination of the Trojan fortunes in Augustus, asks whether Aeneas hesitates to take his place as a link in that vast chain of destiny. The reading of the concluding words is doubtful. Med. has 'virtutem extendere factis,' which is supported by Serv., [and apparently by Ti. Donatus] and is parallel to the expression afterwards used 10. 468, "famam extendere factis," except that while there the main thought is that of spreading and perpetuating fame by gallant deeds, here it is rather that of putting out inborn valour and making it felt in the world. But Rom., Pal., and two other of Ribbeck's MSS. have 'virtute extendere vires,' which is confirmed by Diomedes p. 411, whose MSS. have 'virtutem extendere vires,' an ungrammatical reading, found nevertheless in Gud. a m. p. The sense would be nearly the same, to extend our power by our bravery, to commence the career of conquest: but it is not altogether easy to see how the variation can have arisen. If Med. stood alone as the chief authority for 'factis,' there would be no difficulty, as elsewhere it repeats words from other passages, as in 5. 843, G. 2. 513 (see also on 1. 364., 4. 564, where the case is not so clear): but Serv. of course has an independent weight. On the whole, however, I have with Ribbeck preferred the reading of Rom. and Pal., as I see no plausible hypothesis on which its introduction can be accounted for, an argument which has similarly determined my judgment in the two passages just referred to. ['Athuc' Med.—H. N.]

807.] 'Consistere terra' 1. 541., 10. 75, to be distinguished from "considere," with which it is sometimes confounded in MSS., the one referring to entrance or invasion, the other to subsequent settlement.

808—835.] 'The kings of Rome are seen in order, and the worthies of the commonwealth, especially Pompey and Cæsar, the heroes of the civil war.'

808.] Ribbeck here inserts vv. 826—835 without authority, and with no sufficient reason. The order has been already disturbed in honour of Augustus, and the mention of Caesar after his successor does not restore it, while the tone in which the civil wars are spoken of is very different from that which celebrates the return of the golden age. With the latter Anchises identifies himself cordially: of the former he speaks with regret, and so naturally mentions it merely as one of the events of Roman history. Wagn. thought the question 'Quis' &c. was put by Aeneas, but it is evidently no more than a rhetorical variety in the narrative. Anchises sees Numa in the distance ('procul'), and begins to recognize him ('nosco'). Gossrau well remarks that no worse compliment could have been paid to Augustus than to make Aeneas interrupt the praises of his great descendant by a question about a figure in the distance.

809.] Numa, as the great author of the Roman worship, is naturally represented as a sacrificing priest. 'Incanaque menta' G. 3. 311. This picture of Numa with hoary hair and beard is seen on late coins. Serv. has a story that Numa's hair was hoary from his youth. Rom. gives 'noscor.'

810.] 'Primam' is the reading of the great majority of MSS.: 'primus' how-

Fundabit, Curibus parvis et paupere terra
Missus in imperium magnum. Cui deinde subibit,
Otia qui rumpet patriae residesque movebit
Tullus in arma viros et iam desueta triumphis
Agmina. Quem iuxta sequitur iactantior Ancus,
Nunc quoque iam nimium gaudens popularibus auris.
Vis et Tarquinios reges, animamque superbam
Ultoris Bruti, fascesque videre receptos?
Consulis imperium hic primus saevasque secures
Accipiet, natosque pater nova bella moventes

ever, though very inferior in authority (it is found in one MS. of the 15th century, and in a quotation by Serv. on 1. 1), took possession of the early editions, and was recalled by Burm. and Heyne. 'Primam' is much more in Virg.'s manner: comp. G. 1. 12, "cui prima frementem Fudit equum tellus." 'Legibus fundabit' [not 'shall found,' but, as Henry says, shall stablish, make firm and secure.—H. N.]

812.] "Mitteret in magnum imperium" 11. 47. With 'Curibus parvis missus' comp. G. 2. 385, "Troia gens missa." For 'cui' Ribbeck restores 'quoi,' the reading according to Pier. of some old copies, supported by 'qui' the first reading of Med. and 'quid' Rom. ('d' from 'deinde'): Pal. however has 'cui,' and the archaism is not one which Virg. can be proved to have affected, though there are a few passages, where, as here, it is found in some MSS.

813.] 'Otia rumpere' like "silentia rumpere," "somnum rumpere." 'Resides' joined with 'desueta' as in 1. 722., 7. 693, where the expression resembles this, "resides populos desuetaque bello Agmina in arma vocat." We might have expected "vocabit" or "ciebit" here: but the poet seems to have chosen a word which would especially suit 'resides,' at the same time that it might remind a reader of the expression "movere bellum," and so prepare him for "in arma." ['Resedes' Med.—H. N.]

814.] Henry remarks the effective manner in which 'Tullus' is brought late into the sentence, immediately before 'in arma.' For 'et iam desueta' Rom. has 'magnum deinde,' a strange aberration, not accounted for by Ribbeck's supposition that the transcriber thought of "magni magnum decus esse triumphi," Elegy to Messala, v. 3.

815.] The character here given to Ancus does not agree with the accounts of the historians, such as Livy and Dionysius: Pomponius Sabinus however has preserved a notice which says that Ancus valued himself on his birth as Numa's grandson, and courted the favour of the people in the hopes of destroying Tullus.

816.] 'Nunc quoque,' even in this lower world, the ruling passion being strong even before birth. Various attempts have been made to alter this line so as to understand it of Servius Tullius, "the commons' king," but Pomponius is doubtless right in supposing him to be included in in "Tarquinios reges." One inferior and interpolated M.S. gives 'hunc.' 'Popularis aura' is found in Cic., Livy, and Hor. (see Freund): Cicero also has "ventus popularis" Cluent. 47. The voice of the people is naturally spoken of as breath, as readers of Shakspere's Julius Caesar will remember, and this makes the metaphor of a favouring gale at sea more obvious.

817.] Anchises asks if he shall point out to Aeneas the later kings and Brutus. Virg. has not chosen to call Tarquin 'superbus,' but has transferred the epithet to Brutus, the majestic and inflexible founder of Roman liberty, doubtless intentionally, so that there is no ground to suspect the text with Peerlkamp and Ribbeck.

818.] 'Receptos' seems to be used like "recipere ex hoste." So at the beginning of Livy, Book 2, Brutus is made to say "libertatem recuperatam esse."

819.] 'Saevasque secures' Lucr. 3. 996., 5. 1234. ['Primum' Med.—H. N.]

820.] 'Nova' may either mean sudden and unexpected (comp. 2. 228., 8. 637), or renewed, because the object of the sons of Brutus was to bring back the Tarquins.

Ad poenam pulchra pro libertate vocabit,
Infelix! Utcumque ferent ea facta minores,
Vincet amor patriae laudumque immensa cupido.
Quin Decios Drusosque procul saevumque securi
Aspice Torquatum et referentem signa Camillum.
Illae autem, paribus quas fulgere cernis in armis,
Concordes animae nunc et dum nocte premuntur,

821.] 'At poenam vocabit' like "ad supplicium reposcunt" 8. 495.

822.] Macrob. Sat. 4. 6, [Servius, Ti. Donatus,] and Augustine De Civitate Dei 3. 16 connect 'utcumque' &c. with 'infelix,' the latter paraphrasing the line "quomodo libet ea facta posteri ferant, id est, post ferant et extollant, qui filios occidit infelix est." Heyne's interpretation however is evidently the right one, "In quamcunque partem hoc factum interpretaturi sint posteri, ipse in sumendo a filiis supplicio sequetur id quod patriae amor et gloriae cupiditas suadebunt." He remarks that probably Brutus' action was condemned by some in Virg.'s time, a very possible supposition, as the exploit of the younger Brutus would naturally provoke animadversion on the character of his supposed ancestor. For the use of 'ferre' where praise is not intended, comp. 7. 78, "Id vero horrendum ac visu mirabile ferri." 'Fata' the reading of some MSS., was the common one before Heins. (see on 4. 596), and 'nepotes,' the reading of one MS., is supported by Macrob. Voss, with some ingenuity but little probability, understood 'minores' of the younger generation in Brutus' own day.

823.] At first sight there may seem some incongruity between Brutus' indifference to the opinion of posterity and his unmeasured thirst of fame: but the meaning apparently is that he will risk being called cruel by posterity, so long as he forces them to acknowledge that he is great. "Laudumque arrecta cupido" 5. 138. ['Inmensa' Med.—H. N.]

824.] The Drusi are doubtless introduced out of compliment to Livia, as Heyne remarks, though Livius the conqueror of Hasdrubal was sufficiently remarkable on his own account. [Rom. has 'Brutos,' and so the scholia on Juv. 8. 254.] 'Saevum securi' refers of course to Torquatus beheading his son. Torquatus is doubtless represented with the axe, as Camillus with the recovered standards. [There are two accounts of the manner of the execution, Livy, 8. 7, and apparently Virgil here saying that young Manlius was beheaded, Valerius Maximus (2. 7. 6) that his father ordered him "a lictore abripi et in modum hostiae mactari." Is this what Servius means when he says that the young Manlius was killed "fustuario supplicio"? 'Saevom' Pal.—H. N.]

825.] 'Signa,' captured by the Gauls at the battle of the Allia, and recovered by Camillus when he conquered the enemy, according to the Roman account, on their leaving Rome.

826.] "Agmine partito fulgent paribusque magistris" 5. 562. 'Paribus armis:' they are represented as armed in the same manner, partly to show their natural concord, as mentioned in the next line, partly to point out that the war which they are hereafter to wage is a civil war (Cerda comp. G. 1. 489, "paribus telis"). There may also be a notion of their equality as great generals. 'Fulgĕre,' the antique third conjugation, found in Lucr. 5. 1095 &c. So "effulgĕre" 8. 677.

827.] 'Premuntur' Med., Gud., Pal. a m. s., 'prementur' Rom., Pal. a m. p. Either might stand, the sense being virtually the same, as 'prementur' would mean 'so long as they shall remain in darkness,' 'during the time that yet remains for them to be in darkness.' See also on 4. 336. On the whole I have preferred 'premuntur' with Wagn. and subsequent editors, as Virg. is likely to have used his tenses so as to bring out the distinction between the present and the immediate future on the one hand, and the ultimate future ('ciebunt') on the other. With 'nocte premuntur' Gossrau comp. Hor. 1 Od. 4. 16, "Iam te premet nox fabulaeque Manes." Here 'premere = "continere," restrain from emerging into the upper world. Serv. refers the words to the time before Caesar and Pompey were famous, reading 'prementur.' 'Nox' is used loosely, as Wagn. remarks, as we have been told v. 641 that the Elysian fields have a sun of their own.

Heu quantum inter se bellum, si lumina vitae
Attigerint, quantas acies stragemque ciebunt!
Aggeribus socer Alpinis atque arce Monoeci
Descendens, gener adversis instructus Eois.
Ne, pueri, ne tanta animis adsuescite bella,
Neu patriae validas in viscera vertite vires;
Tuque prior, tu parce, genus qui ducis Olympo,
Proice tela manu, sanguis meus!—
Ille triumphata Capitolia ad alta Corintho
Victor aget currum, caesis insignis Achivis.

828.] "Bella cient" 1. 541. 'Lumina vitae' 7. 771, and several times in Lucr. Here it is contrasted with 'nocte.' Some inferior MSS. give 'limina,' which Wakef. adopts.

830.] "'Aggeribus Alpinis:' a munimentis Alpium: haec enim Italiae murorum exhibent vicem," Serv. 'Socer' is of course Caesar, whose daughter Julia Pompey married. 'Monoeci,' the port of Hercules Monoecus, the modern Monaco, where was a promontory and a temple, whence 'arx,' as in 3. 531. There is a difficulty in this specification of the place, as this is not otherwise known to have been the way by which Caesar entered Italy. The most natural supposition seems to be that Virg. wrote as a poet, not as an historian. ['Menoeci,' Med.—H. N.]

831.] 'Arrayed against him with an Eastern army,' referring to the composition of Pompey's forces.

832.] Probably from Il. 7. 279, μηκέτι, παῖδε φίλω, πολεμίζετε, μηδὲ μάχεσθον, where Idaeus is addressing Ajax and Hector. 'Pueri' with reference to the difference in age between them and Anchises. 'Animis adsuescite bella,' a variety for "adsuescite animos bellis" ("bellis adsuetus" 9. 201). Perhaps we may say that the inversion calls more attention to the gentleness of their natures as a positive quality from which war is made to recoil: but we must not refine needlessly.

833.] Comp. Lucan 1. 2, "populumque potentem In sua victrici conversum viscera dextra," an imitation of this passage, Hor. Epod. 16. 2, "Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit," which show that 'patriae' goes both with 'vires' and with 'viscera.' Similarly Livy, Praef. "iam pridem praevalentis populi vires se ipsae conficiunt." By the position of 'patriae' Virg. has avoided the awkwardness of using 'suas' or 'sua.' For the alliteration see on 2. 494.

834.] The more illustrious can better afford to forgive. "Unde genus ducis" 5. 801.

835.] Caesar, B. C. 3. 98, "Caesar omnes eos . . . in planitiem descendere atque arma proicere iussit." 'Meus' nom. for voc., which perhaps was thought too familiar and colloquial. It gives a slight difference to the meaning, as Forb. remarks, making the words parallel to 'genus qui ducis Olympo,' and assigning a reason for forbearance. Rufinianus 265 R (p. 59 Halm), citing the passage, reads 'sanguis pius,' which Heyne rather approves. One MS., the first Hamburg, supplements the line with the words 'esse memento.' ['Proiice' Rom.—H. N.]

836—853.] 'Other republican heroes pass in review. Anchises declares the greatness of Rome to lie not in art or science, but in war and the practice of government.'

836.] The conquerors of Greece are now introduced, that being naturally one of the chief achievements of Rome in the eye of a Trojan. Comp. 1. 283 foll. The victor of Corinth is of course L. Mummius (Dict. Biog.), who had the surname of Achaicus. 'Triumphata Corintho' like "triumphatas gentes" G. 3. 33. The use of the past participle is not strictly consistent with the order of time, the expression being in fact a mixture of 'devicta Corintho aget currum,' and 'triumphans de Corintho aget currum.' The triumph of Mummius was peculiarly famous for the splendour of the booty carried in procession. Horace uses it as a synonym for a stage pageant, 2 Ep. 1. 193, "Captivum portatur ebur, captiva Corinthus."

837.] With the expression 'victor aget currum' comp. G. 3. 17.

Eruet ille Argos Agamemnoniasque Mycenas,
Ipsumque Aeaciden, genus armipotentis Achilli,
Ultus avos Troiae, templa et temerata Minervae.
Quis te, magne Cato, tacitum, aut te, Cosse, relinquat?
Quis Gracchi genus, aut geminos, duo fulmina belli,

838.] This second 'ille' has been variously identified. Hyginus, quoted by Gell. 10. 16, assumed that Mummius was still intended, and accused Virg. of confounding two distinct events, Mummius' campaign and the war with Pyrrhus, whom he supposes to be intended by 'Aeaciden,' his conclusion being that Virg. would doubtless have altered the passage had he lived, and that if v. 839 were excluded, all would be right. Gossrau still pleads for Mummius, contending with considerable ingenuity that Anchises in the preceding couplet has expressed himself in Roman imagery, and now repeats his meaning in words more intelligible to Aeneas, who knew nothing of Corinth or the Capitol, and would only conceive of the conquest of Greece as a victory over the descendants of Achilles or the destruction of the empire of Agamemnon. But Anchises is not elsewhere so considerate to his son's ignorance, referring as he does throughout to Roman exploits in Roman language: nor is it credible that 'ipsum Aeaciden' should have been used not for an individual but for the descendants of Achilles generally. The argument that if 'ultus' &c. v. 840 be referred to any one but Mummius, Virg. virtually denies that Mummius did execute this revenge, needs no refutation. So far as the language is concerned, it would certainly seem that the second 'ille' denotes a different person from the first. The most probable candidate for this honour appears to be L. Aemilius Paullus, the conqueror of Macedon, v. 839 being understood of his victory over Perseus, who is said by Prop. 5. 11. 39, Sil. 15. 291 (speaking of his father Philip) to have been a descendant of Achilles; though there still remains a difficulty, as Paullus was not the destroyer of Argos and Mycenae. [But 'Argos' and Mycenae' are, as elsewhere, poetical expressions for Greece in general, and Virg. identifies Greece with Macedonia.—H. N.] Heyne suggests that 'ipsum Aeaciden' may refer to Paullus' cruel destruction of the Epirots, supposed to be represented by their ancestor Pyrrhus (agreeably to the well-known line of Ennius, "Aio te, Aeacida, Romanos vincere posse," Ann. 6. fr. 7): but this is far less likely. Others have suggested that the person meant by 'ille' may be Q. Caecilius Metellus, surnamed Macedonicus, who conqured the pseudo-Philip, and began the war with the Achaeans which Mummius finished.

839.] 'Eruet' is transferred in a modified sense to 'Aeaciden.' ['Achillei' Pal.—H. N.]

.840.] 'Templa et temerata Minervae' refers to the sacrilege of Ajax (1. 41. &c.), and probably to the seizure of the Palladium also. Comp. Eur. Tro. 69, 85, *οὐκ οἶσθ' ὑβρισθεῖσάν με καὶ ναούς ἐμούς. . . . Ὡς ἂν τὸ λοιπὸν τἄμ' ἀνάκτορ' εὐσεβεῖν* Εἰδῶσ' Ἀχαιοί.

841.] 'Cato,' the censor. 'Cosse,' A. Cornelius Cossus, the winner of the "spolia opima." 'Tacitum' is used in its strict participial sense, "qui tacetur." So Cic. Ep. 3. 8, "Prima duo capita epistolae tuae tacita mihi quodammodo relinquenda sunt." ['Conse' Rom.—H. N.]

842.] 'Gracchi genus' probably refers not only to the two brothers, but to their ancestor who distinguished himself in the second Punic war. 'Geminos Scipiadas' is explained by Serv. of the two Scipios who fell in Spain, an interpretation supported, as Cerda remarks, by Cic. pro Balbo 15, "Cum duo fulmina nostri imperii subito in Hispania, Cn. et P. Scipiones, extincti occidissent," though there Ernesti's conjecture 'lumina,' would seem probable (comp. 11. 349, "Lumina tot cecidisse ducum"). Cerda himself however and the later commentators have rightly seen that the reference must be to the elder and younger Africanus, who alone could be called 'cladem Libyae.' The elder Africanus is evidently referred to by Lucr. 3. 1034, whom Virg. imitated,—"Scipiades, belli fulmen, Carthaginis horror, Ossa dedit terrae, proinde ac famul infimus esset." ['Fulmen,' as Henry rightly observes, is here the thunderbolt. Munro on Lucr. l. c. suggests that the name Scipio (= a

Scipiadas, cladem Libyae, parvoque potentem
Fabricium, vel te sulco, Serrane, serentem?
Quo fessum rapitis, Fabii? tu Maximus ille es,
Unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem.
<u>Excudent</u> alii spirantia mollius aera,

staff) may have been referred by the family to the meaning of thunderbolt; *σκηπτός* and *σκήπτω* being connected with *scipio* and *σκῆπτρον*.—H. N.]

843.] 'Scipiadas' G. 2. 170 note. 'Parvo potentem' is rightly taken by Forb. as virtually = "parvo opulentum,"—a sense of 'potens' for which he refers to Hor. 2 Od. 18. 12 "nec potentem amicum Largiora flagito," Phaed. 1. 24. 1 "Inops potentem dum vult imitari, perit." Comp. 12. 519. Cerda well refers to the language of Valerius Maximus 4. 3. about Fabricius, "Continentiae suae beneficio sine pecunia praedives, sine usu familiae abunde comitatus; quia locupletem illum faciebat non multa possidere sed modica desiderare." For the construction comp. 7. 56, "Turnus avis atavisque potens." [Henry prefers taking 'potentem' in its ordinary sense, and 'parvo potentem' as = 'powerful on little,' 'powerful without riches, by his virtue alone.'—H. N.]

844.] "Serranus was originally an agnomen of C. Atilius Regulus, consul B.C. 257, but afterwards became the name of a distinct family of the Atilia gens. The origin of the name is uncertain. Most of the ancient writers derive it from 'serere,' and relate that Regulus received the surname of Serranus because he was engaged in sowing when the news was brought him of his elevation to the consulship ('serentem invenerunt dati honores Serranum, unde cognomen,' Pliny 18. 20. Cic. pro Sext. Rosc. 18, Val. Max. 4. 4, § 5). It appears however from coins that Saranus is the proper form of the name, and Perizonius (Animadv. Hist. c. 1) thinks that it is derived from Saranum, a town of Umbria." Dict. Biog. 'Serranus.' We may wonder that Virg. did not rather think of Cincinnatus, who seems to have been the more famous of these heroes of the plough. 'Sulco serentem' like "conducta tellure serebat" 12. 520,—words immediately following the use of 'potens' cited in the last note, and noticeable as showing how Virg. in reproducing himself or others is apt to take words from the same context, even when they have no special connexion. See on 1. 375., &c. For the rhyme comp. 4. 189, 190, 256, 257.

845.] Alluding to the numbers and exploits of the Fabii (Dict. B. 'Vibulanus'), which tire the narrator who tries to count them. Comp. Johnson's celebrated line, "And panting Time toiled after him in vain." Rom. has 'gressum rapitis,' which, as Pierius remarked, might be understood as an address to the Fabii, supposed to be seen by Anchises in the act of undertaking their ill-omened expedition to the Cremera. 'Maximus:' Virg. follows the story which made Q. Fabius surnamed Cunctator, the dictator in the second Punic war, the first to bear the name Maximus. Others said that it was originally given to his great-grandfather, the general in the Samnite war. See Dict. B. 'Maximus.' 'You are the true Maximus, greatest of your race.'

846.] Taken almost verbally from the well-known lines of Ennius A. 9. fr. 8, preserved by Cic. Off. 1. 24, and others:

"Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem:
Noenum rumores ponebat ante salutem:
Ergo postque magisque viri nunc gloria claret."

Rom. and one or two others have 'restitues,' which has been recommended on the ground that Anchises is using throughout the predictive future. But the present is much more forcible, making it an attribute of Fabius that he saved the state by delay, and being in fact a translation of his name 'Cunctator.'

847.] "Est rhetoricus locus," remarks Serv. of this celebrated passage. The concessive fut., as Forb. calls it, is used elsewhere, as in Hor. 1 Od. 7. 1, 3 Od. 23. 13, instead of the more usual subj. Here it is more appropriate, as being the language of the prophecy. 'Aera' of bronze statues Hor. 2 Ep. 1. 240. "Spirantia signa" G. 3. 34. The reference throughout is to the Greeks, the natural

Credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus,
Orabunt causas melius, caelique meatus
Describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent:
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
Hae tibi erunt artes; pacisque inponere morem,

rivals of Rome. 'Mollius' expresses grace and delicacy, with some reference perhaps, as Forb. thinks, to giving the soft appearance of flesh.

848.] 'Credo equidem' 4. 12. Here it has almost the force of 'cedo,' which was conjectured by Markland, and is the first reading of Pal. 'Cedo equidem' occurs 2. 704., 12. 818, but not quite in this sense. 'Credo equidem' is not ironical, as Burm. thinks, but means 'I can well believe it,' i. e., I am quite ready to admit it. So Hor. 2 Ep. 1. 66 foll., "Si quaedam nimis antique, si pleraque dure Dicere credit eos, ignave multa fatetur," unless there we are to read "cedit" with Bentley from the Queen's Coll. MS. 'Ducere' is properly used of producing forms by extension, as in metal (7. 634), wax (Pers. 5. 40., Juv. 7. 237), or clay ("ducere lateres de terra" Vitruv. 2. 3). Hence it is transferred to marble, probably with the accessory notion of the form growing and spreading over the material under the sculptor's hand. 'De marmore' is a material abl., as in 4. 457, G. 3. 13, but it also stands in connexion with 'ducere,' like "lento argento" in 7. 634 just cited. ['Voltus' Pal.—H. N.]

849.] 'Orabunt causas melius' has perplexed commentators and critics, from Cerda to De Quincey (Works, vol. 14, p. 67, first Eng. ed.), who cannot understand why Virg. should have conceded to Greece superiority in oratory, and in some cases even insinuate that he must have been jealous of the fame of Cicero. But Virg.'s concession is made in a liberal and magnificent spirit, in order that the real fame of his countrymen as warriors and statesmen may appear greater: and it is not likely that he thought of the number of individual reputations that the position thus assumed compelled him to sacrifice. In the general proposition, that the real greatness of Rome lay in the arts of war and policy, all moderns will agree with him: and whether he has specified oratory among the pursuits in which other nations are allowed to excel or has left it to be inferred is a matter of little consequence. He would doubtless have specified poetry with equal or greater readiness, if he had not felt that the very mention of it would have implied a latent egotism. 'Caeli meatus' like "caeli vias" G. 2. 477, though there the addition of "et sidera" softens the expression. Henry understands the words specifically of the heavenly circles.

850.] "Descripsit radio totum qui gentibus orbem" E. 3. 41. 'Surgentia sidera dicent' seems to mean, will fix, or predict, the risings of the stars.

851.] 'Regere imperio' is a Lucretian expression, as Forb. remarks. 'Regere imperio res velle, et regna tenere," Lucr. 5. 1128. We have had "regis imperiis" above, 1. 230. 'Romane,' an address to the nation, as in Hor. 3 Od. 6. 2. 'Memento' is a mode of conveying an injunction of which Horace is fond, 2 Od. 3. 1, 3 Od. 29. 32, Epod. 10. 4, 1 Ep. 8. 16. 'Populos,' subject nations. Comp. generally 1. 263, "populosque ferocis Contundet, moresque viris et moenia ponet."

852.] 'Ars' or 'artes' is a common expression for pursuits or appliances of any kind: here however there is probably a reference to its stricter sense. 'These shall be *your* arts'—these shall stand to you in the place of sculpture, eloquence, and astronomy. Pal. a m. pr. and three inferior MSS. have 'haec,' and so Ribbeck: but though it is not unlikely that copyists should have been puzzled by the older form of the nom. fem. plural, as they doubtless were in G. 3. 305, where I would now read "Haec—tuendae," the external authority for the change is hardly sufficient. 'Inponere' &c. are in apposition with 'artes,' not, as some have taken them, dependent on 'memento,' 'hae—artes' being regarded as parenthetical. For 'pacis' all the best MSS. (Pal. and Gud. as well as Med. and Rom., if Ribbeck's silence is to be trusted) appear to give 'paci,' which Ribbeck adopts. [What 'paci inponere morem' should mean it is difficult to say. Is 'paci' the dat. of purpose or result?

Parcere subiectis, et debellare superbos.
Sic pater Anchises, atque haec mirantibus addit:
Aspice, ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis
Ingreditur, victorque viros supereminet omnis!
Hic rem Romanam, magno turbante tumultu,
Sistet eques, sternet Poenos Gallumque rebellem,
Tertiaque arma patri suspendet capta Quirino.

Servius, reading 'pacis morem,' explains it as = "leges pacis": but "leges pacis" (12. 112 note) means no more than the terms or conditions of peace. 'Pacis morem' must mean the law or settled custom of peace; this the Romans are represented as imposing on the nations; in other words, as compelling the nations to live according to the rule of peace and not of war. The "pax Romana" is to be the law of the world. 'Morem,' a rule or custom, must be carefully distinguished from 'mores,' habits. Comp. 8. 316 "quis neque mos neque cultus erat:" they had no law.—H. N.]

853.] Of this sentiment Cerda remarks "Deficiet me tempus memorantem testes huius praeconii, te legentem." The most apposite instances he gives are Livy 30. 42, where the Carthaginian ambassadors say of the Romans "plus paene parcendo victis quam vincendo imperium auxisse," and Hor. Carm. Saec. 51 (of Augustus), "Imperet bellante prior, iacentem Lenis in hostem," though there "impetret" is the more probable reading.

854—886.] 'Lastly, Anchises points out the elderly Marcellus, who is attended by a younger spirit. Aeneas inquires who the youth is, and learns that he is destined to die young, amid the general grief of the Roman people.'

854.] 'Mirantibus' seems to mean that Aeneas and the Sibyl are already penetrated by the grandeur of the vision and the prophecy, and so indicates, as has been remarked to me, Virg.'s own sense of the greatness of the elevation attained in the preceding passage.

855.] Marcellus is of course singled out for the sake of his namesake and descendant, soon to be mentioned. 'Spoliis opimis,' won from the general of the Insubrian Gauls Viridomarus.

856.] "Gradiensque deas supereminet omnis" 1. 501, where "deas" is supported against "dea" by 'viros' here.

857.] 'Res Romana' occurs twice in Enn., Ann. fr. inc. 10. 41. "Subito turbante tumultu" 9. 397. 'Tumultus' is here used in its technical sense of a Gallic war, for which see the celebrated passage Cic. 8 Phil. 1.

858.] 'Sistet,' ὀρθώσει, opposed to the shaking of the 'tumultus.' "Salvam ac sospitem rem publicam sistere in sua sede liceat . . . ut optimi status auctor dicar" is quoted from an edict of Augustus by Suet. Aug. 28. Comp. also the phrase "nec sisti posse," common in Livy (3. 9, 16, 20 &c.). So the epithet "stator," which was used not only of Jupiter as the stayer of flight (Livy 1. 12, comp. by Forb.), but of Jupiter and other gods as supporters of Rome. "Auctor ac stator Romani nominis, Gradive Mars" Vell. 2. 131. It is not altogether easy to say whether 'eques' should go with 'sistet' or with 'sternet.' The combat in which Marcellus gained the 'spolia opima' was a combat of cavalry (Dict. B. 'Marcellus'): and though 'sternet,' as Wagn. remarks, goes more naturally with 'eques' than 'sistet,' it does not seem certain that Marcellus' advantages against the Carthaginians had any special connexion with cavalry. Gossrau however refers to Sil. 12. 178 foll., who speaks as if the sally from Nola, memorable as the first success obtained against Hannibal, were chiefly one of cavalry: but this does not specially appear in the account in Livy 23. 16. If we take 'eques' with 'sternet' we shall do right to connect them closely, 'ride over,' καθιππάζεσθαι. Rom. has 'equis.' 'Rebellem:' the Insubrian Gauls had sued for peace, but their overtures were rejected: upon which they combined with another tribe, the Gaesatae, took the field in great force, and laid siege to Clastidium, where the battle happened.

859.] There is a difficulty about 'suspendet patri Quirino,' as the story was that Romulus, the author of the custom, dedicated the first 'spolia opima' to Jupiter Feretrius. Serv. explains it by referring to a law of Numa's, which is said

Atque hic Aeneas; una namque ire videbat
Egregium forma iuvenem et fulgentibus armis,
Sed frons laeta parum, et deiecto lumina vultu:
Quis, pater, ille, virum qui sic comitatur euntem?
Filius, anne aliquis magna de stirpe nepotum?
Qui strepitus circa comitum! quantum instar in ipso!

to have enjoined that on the first winning of 'spolia opima' they should be offered to Jupiter Feretrius, as has been already done by Romulus; on the second to Mars, which was done by Cossus; on the third to Quirinus. Livy however, 3. 20, distinctly speaks of the 'spolia opima' of Cossus as dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius: and Prop. 5. 10. 45 talks of "spolia in templo tria condita." Serv. proposes as an alternative to separate 'patri' from 'Quirino,' taking 'patri' of Jupiter, and connecting 'capta Quirino,' formerly won by Romulus, which is sufficiently unlikely. For 'tertia' Rom. has 'tristia.'

860.] 'Una' with Marcellus.

861.] "Egregii forma" 10. 435. Fragm. Vat. has 'formam.' It matters little whether 'fulgentibus armis' goes with 'egregium' or is taken separately.

862.] The construction is changed for variety's sake. 'Frons laeta parum,' saddened with the presage of death. Comp. v. 866 below. 'Deiecto lumina vultu,' a pleonastic variety for 'lumina deiecta' or 'vultus deiectus.' ['Voltu' Pal.—H. N.]

863.] 'Sic' seems merely to mean 'thus as we see.' To interpret it with Forb. "tam tristi specie" would anticipate v. 866.

864.] 'De stirpe' with 'nepotum.' "Praeclara stirpe deorum" G. 4. 322.

865.] 'Qui' which was restored by Heins., but removed by Wagn., is found in Pal., fragm. Vat. a m. pr., 'quis' in Med. Rom. Sense as well as euphony seems to be in favour of 'qui,' as it is not an interrogation that is wanted, but an exclamation. 'Comitum,' the shades of young Marcellus' future contemporaries crowd round him admiring and applauding. Heyne comp. Eur. Phoen. 148. ὡς ὄχλος νιν ὑστέρῳ ποδὶ Πάνοπλος ἀμφέπει, where Antigone is asking the names of the invading generals, and commenting on them as she sees them, and the imitation of Virg. in Sil. 13. 782 (speaking of the shade of Homer) "multaeque sequuntur Mirantes animae, et laeto clamore frequentant." Henry has a note on 'instar,' in which he attempts to prove that the word never means anything but 'amount.' [No doubt in the vast majority of instances it does convey the mathematical notion of measure, amount, or the easily derived one of value, worth. Of the original idea as good an instance as any is Ov. Epist. 2. 30, "sed scelus hoc meriti pondus et instar habet." Columella 7. 5. 15 says "trium heminarum instar infundere." In the derived sense of value or worth the word is very common from the time of Cicero onwards: take for instance Cic. Fam. 9. 6. 4 "hos Tusculanenses dies instar esse vitae puto." It is only rarely that it implies mere likeness, nor (if the lexicons may be trusted) does any one before Ovid use it thus. Virg. always uses it in connexion with size (2. 15., 3. 637., 7. 707). I would suggest that the original idea of the word is 'weight,' properly 'something put in,' from the base *sta*—to set, like the Greek σταθμός in its early use. Compare the use of "institor" for a dealer in goods. In this passage its use is clearly poetical. Serv. says it = "similitudo:" Ti. Donatus explains "placet mihi forma eius." Conington with Heyne took it to mean 'presence:' Henry paraphrases "what a greatness in himself: how much there is in that single man." The words are however capable of a somewhat different turn; "what a pattern, what an ideal" (of manly excellence) is in himself. He gives a standard by which others may measure and direct their conduct. So in Livy 28. 19, "parvum instar eorum, quae spe ac magnitudine animi concepisset, receptas Hispanias ducebat," 'instar' properly means measure; yet we might paraphrase "he thought the recovery of the Spains was a poor specimen of, gave but a poor idea of" &c.—H. N.] 'Ipso' is evidently meant to distinguish him from those about him, so that we should expect some attribute of distinction to be assigned to him, not simply similarity to his ancestor. Heyne edited 'ipso est,' the reading before Heins., but all the best MSS. omit the verb subst.

Sed nox atra caput tristi circumvolat umbra.
Tum pater Anchises, lacrimis ingressus obortis:
O gnate, ingentem luctum ne quaere tuorum;
Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata, neque ultra
Esse sinent. Nimium vobis Romana propago
Visa potens, Superi, propria haec si dona fuissent.
Quantos ille virum magnam Mavortis ad urbem
Campus aget gemitus! vel quae, Tiberine, videbis
Funera, cum tumulum praeterlabere recentem!
Nec puer Iliaca quisquam de gente Latinos
In tantum spe tollet avos, nec Romula quondam
Ullo se tantum tellus iactabit alumno.
Heu pietas, heu prisca fides, invictaque bello

866.] Partially repeated from 2. 360. Heyne comp. the words of Theoclymenus to the suitors, Od. 20. 351, ἆ δειλοί, τί κακὸν τόδε πάσχετε; νυκτὶ μὲν ὑμέων Εἰλύαται κεφαλαί τε πρόσωπά τε νέρθε τε γοῦνα, where as here the image is that of approaching death.

867.] 'Ingressus' 4. 107. It matters little whether it be taken here as a participle or as a finite verb.

868.] Wagn. restored 'gnate' from Med., agreeably to his opinion that Virg. prefers the archaic spelling in solemn passages, and I have not thought it worth while to disturb it, though fragm. Vat., Pal., Rom., and Gud. have 'nate.' 'Tuorom' like "suorum" above v. 681. For the well-known story about these lines see vol. i. p. xxvi. (Life of Virgil).

869.] Peerlkamp comp. Tac. Agr. 13, "D. Iulius potest videri (Britanniam) ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse." [Livy 37. 7. "si *dare* vere pacem, non tantum ostendere vellent."—H. N.] For 'neque' Med. and Rom. give 'nec.' which was the reading of Heins. 'Ultra,' beyond this mere glimpse. Marcellus was in his twentieth year when he died.

870.] "Sit Romana potens Itala virtute propago" 12. 827. The construction seems to be 'Romana propago visa (est) nimium potens (futura fuisse).'

871.] Rom. has 'Superis,' only one of many errors that occur in it in this part of the book. 'Propria,' note on E. 7. 31. 'Had it been allowed to call these gifts all its own.' Taubm. has an unseasonable reminiscence of logic, "propria, id est, perpetua: . . . proprium enim numquam avellitur ab essentia."

872.] 'Virum' with 'gemitus.' 'Mavortis' seems as if it might both go with 'urbem' (comp. "Mavortia moenia" 1. 276) and with 'campus,' a double reference which is perhaps less common in Virg. than in Horace. Comp. G. 1. 273.

873.] 'Aget gemitus,' shall send forth groans, like "spumas aget" G. 3. 203, comp. by Forb., perhaps with an accessory notion of celebration ("agere triumphum" &c.), which is Heyne's suggestion. The mourning for Marcellus is described by Dion 53. 30 foll.

874.] 'Funera' for "funus" as in 4. 500, doubtless to enhance the dignity of the thought. There were 600 couches in Marcellus' funeral procession. 'Tumulum recentem,' the mausoleum which Augustus had erected in the Campus Martius for the Julian family five years before.

875.] ['Latinos avos' was taken by Conington to mean the shades of the heroes of Latium: but it is surely more natural to explain the passage 'no boy of Ilian stock shall ever so exalt in hope his Latin grandsires,' i. e., as Henry says, shall reflect glory on his ancestors by the hopes he holds out of future performance. So Servius, "eriget generis antiquitatem."—H. N.]

876.] With 'spe tollet' Heyne comp. ἐλπίσιν ἐπαίρειν. 'Spe' might be conceivably understood as a gen., like "fide" &c., but no instance of the form is quoted. Rom. has 'spes.' 'Romula tellus' like "Romulae gentis" Hor. 4. Od. 5. 1. The form of the noun is used as an adj.: see on "cineri Sychaeo" 4. 552.

878.] 'Pietas,' to gods and men, refer-

Dextera! non illi se quisquam inpune tulisset
Obvius armato, seu cum pedes iret in hostem,
Seu spumantis equi foderet calcaribus armos.
Heu, miserande puer! si qua fata aspera rumpas,
Tu Marcellus eris. Manibus date lilia plenis,
Purpureos spargam flores, animamque nepotis
His saltem adcumulem donis, et fungar inani
Munere.—Sic tota passim regione vagantur
Aëris in campis latis, atque omnia lustrant.

ring perhaps specially to his relation to Augustus. 'Prisca fides;' Gossrau comp. Hor. Carm. Saec. 57, "Iam Fides et Pax et Honos Pudorque Priscus et neglecta redire Virtus Audet," and reminds us from 1. 292 above that Augustus wished to be regarded as the restorer of ancient virtues. "Vivida bello dextra" 10. 609. Virg. as Henry remarks, lamenting the budding virtues which are never to blossom.

879.] No one would have been his match in fight, had he been destined to live. "Obvius ardenti sese obtulit" 10. 552. 'Quisquam se' was the order before Heins. ['Impune' Rom.—H. N.]

880.] Perhaps from Od. 9. 49, ἐπιστάμενοι μὲν ἀφ' ἵππων Ἀνδράσι μάρνασθαι, καὶ ὅθι χρὴ πεζὸν ἐόντα. "Pedes ire" 7. 624., 10. 453.

881.] Instead of repeating 'cum,' Virg. has chosen to express himself differently, as if the doubt expressed by 'seu' were about the fact of Marcellus fighting on horseback. Comp. Hor. A. P. 63 foll. "sive receptus Terra Neptunus classis Aquilonibus arcet" &c. 'Armos" seems to be used widely for the flank.

882.] 'Miserande puer' 10. 825., 11. 42. Henry rightly prefers the old pointing to Wagner's, who makes 'si qua—rumpas' a wish. The sense clearly is, 'if you can overcome your destiny, you shall be Marcellus.' 'Rumpere fata' like "rumpere legem," "foedus" &c. Comp. generally "si quem Numina laeva sinunt" G. 4. 6.

883.] 'Tu Marcellus eris' implies, as Henry thinks, that the youth is not Marcellus yet, but only his promise: but it is also meant to include all the glories of the family, as if we were to say 'You shall be a true Marcellus.' 'Date—spargam' &c. See on 4. 683. The sense here, as Wagn. remarks, is probably the same as if he had written "date lilia ut spargam flores," the lilies and the 'purpurei flores' being identical. Gossrau makes 'date' parenthetical, taking 'manibus lilia plenis' with 'spargam,' which is of course out of the question. "Dant fruges manibus salsas" 12. 173, where as here 'manibus' is abl., not, as in 1. 701, dative.

884.] 'Purpureos' may either be understood generally as bright (see on E. 5. 38), or in its strict sense, as Pliny 21. 25 says, "sunt et purpurea lilia." "Purpureos flores" 5. 79 (note), which also illustrates the custom. 'Nepotis' is of course used vaguely.

885.] "Acesten Muneribus cumulat" 5. 531. Comp. also 11. 25, "egregias animas . . . decorate supremis Muneribus," and with the feeling expressed in 'saltem' ib. 23, "qui solos honos Acheronte sub imo est," Hom.'s τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων. Virg. may have thought of Eur. Iph. Aul. 1239, ἵν' αλλὰ τοῦτο κατθανοῦσ' ἔχω σέθεν Μνημεῖον. 'Munus' of funeral rites G. 4. 520 &c. 'Inani munere' like "vano honore" 11. 52. Anchises identifies himself with Augustus and those who are conducting the funeral of Marcellus on earth. ['Atcumulem' Pal., 'accumulem' Rom.—H. N.]

886—901.] 'Anchises explains to Aeneas what awaits him in Italy, and then dismisses him and the Sibyl through one of the gates of sleep. Aeneas sails to Caieta.'

887.] 'Aëris' with 'campis' not, as Ruhkopf thinks, with 'regione.' W. Ribbeck cites Auson. Cupido Crucifixus v. 1, "Aëris in campis, memorat quos Musa Maronis." It seems to be a general expression for the place of the dead, 'the shadowy plains,' 'aër' probably including the notion of mist as well as of air. Elsewhere Elysium has aether and light as the rest of the infernal regions have darkness: here a neutral word is chosen.

Quae postquam Anchises natum per singula duxit,
Incenditque animum famae venientis amore,
Exin bella viro memorat quae deinde gerenda,
Laurentisque docet populos urbemque Latini,
Et quo quemque modo fugiatque feratque laborem.
Sunt geminae Somni portae, quarum altera fertur
Cornea, qua veris facilis datur exitus Umbris;
Altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,
Sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia Manes.

Stat. Silv. 5. 3, 286 seems to have taken it exclusively of the Elysian fields, "Et monstrate nemus, quo nulla inrupit Erinys, In quo falsa dies caeloque simillimus aër."

888.] "Perque omnia duxit" v. 565 above.

889.] Med. has 'famae melioris amore,' evidently from 4. 221, an error which takes away from its authority in such passages as v. 806 (see note there). 'Venientis,' in the future. He was to be inspired with a passion for the long line of historic glories which depended on his valour in Italy. Comp. vv. 718, 806., 4. 232.

890.] ['Exim,' Ribbeck, from the first reading of fragm. Vat.—H. N.] 'Viro' is introduced for the sake of the juxtaposition with 'bella.' 'Deinde' from this time, v. 756. Here and in the next two lines Virg. almost repeats 3. 458, 459, the difference being that there the Sibyl is to tell Aeneas what he learns from Anchises. See note there.

891.] 'Laurentis populos,' the towns of the Laurentian territory. Serv. on 7. 667 says "Laurentum civitas plurimum potuit, nam omnia vicina loca eius imperio subiacuerunt."—H. N.] 'Urbem Latini' 12. 137.

893.] "Sunt geminae Belli portae" 7. 607. The gates of Sleep are from Hom.'s gates of dreams, which are similarly described Od. 19. 562 foll. Much ingenuity has been expended in searching for a symbolical meaning in them. Heyne seems right in saying that Virg. wanted to dismiss Aeneas from the shades by some other way than that by which he had entered, and that Hom.'s gates fortunately occurred to him. See Introduction to this Book. Turnebus and others wanted to understand 'somni' as "somnii:" but "somnii" would not be the same as "somniorum." Here, as elsewhere (e. g. v. 702 above), Virg. evidently substitutes sleep for dreams, on account of the metrical unmanageableness of "somnium." 'Fertur' might conceivably be understood as = 'surgit' or 'tollit se;' but it is simpler to understand it 'is reported to be,' Virg. speaking doubtfully of things that mortals have no direct means of knowing. 'Fertur cornea' like "non sat idoneus Pugnae ferebaris" Hor. 2. Od. 19. 26.

894.] 'Veris Umbris,' real spirits appear in sleep. How far the existence of such apparitions agrees with Virg.'s philosophy may be doubted: see on 4. 353., 5. 722. In Hom. the distinction is between truthful and lying dreams; and perhaps Virg. means to include this as well. See on v. 896.

895.] 'Perfecta nitens' seems = "perfecte nitens," like "saxosus sonans," "lenis crepitans" &c. though 'perfecta elephanto' would naturally go together, like "Cymbia argento perfecta" 5. 267. 'Gleaming with the polish of dazzling ivory.'

896.] Beautiful as the ivory gate is, the apparitions that pass through it are false. For the power of the shades to send dreams comp. Clytaemnestra's dream, which was sent by Agamemnon, Soph. El. 459, *οἶμαι μὲν οὖν, οἶμαί τι κἀκείνῳ μέλον Πέμψαι τάδ' αὐτῇ δυσπρόσοπτ' ὀνείρατα.* Wagn. Comp. Tibull. 2. 6. 37, "ne tibi neglecti mittant mala somnia Manes," which Virg. may have thought of, if it was published before his death. 'Falsa' probably refers both to the quality of the apparition and to the message that it brings. Both may be illustrated from the dreams of Hom.: in Od. 4. 796 the apparition of Iphthime is made by Athene: in Il. 2. 6. foll. the Dream-god is sent to give false counsel. There is apparently a similar combination of the two notions in Hor. 3. Od.

His ibi tum natum Anchises unaque Sibyllam
Prosequitur dictis, portaque emittit eburna:
Ille viam secat ad navis sociosque revisit;
Tum se ad Caietae recto fert litore portum.
Ancora de prora iacitur; stant litore puppes.

. 40 foll., "imago Vana, quae porta giens eburna Somnium ducit."
897.] It is difficult to choose between ›i' (fragm. Vat., Rom., Gud. a m. p., d probably Pal.) and 'ubi' (Med.). ıe former is the more simple, the latter ə more artificial. On the whole I have lowed Ribbeck in preferring 'ibi,' as ortaque emittit eburna' loses force by ing thrown into the protasis, and even agn. does not propose to treat it as ming the apodosis, though in 12. 81 makes "rapidusque" the apodosis to bi." "Natumque unaque Sibyllam" 752 above.
398.] "Prosequitur votis" 9. 310. lis' is explained by what precedes, vv.) foll. Anchises continues his instrucns till they part at the gate.
399.] "Viam secat" 12. 368. So ιυειν ὁδόν. [Sen. Ben. 6. 15. 6 "cera secanti viam et prospicienti futuras opestates."—H. N.] "Post hinc ad ris graditur sociosque revisit" 8. 546. e sense is from Od. 11. 636, αὐτίκ' ιτ' ἐπὶ νῆα κιὼν ἐκέλευον ἑταίρους τούς τ' ἀμβαίνειν ἀνά τε πρυμνήσια ται, of Ulysses leaving the shades.

900.] 'Recto litore,' sailing straight along the shore, like "recto flumine" 8. 57. He follows the line of coast, and it takes him to Caieta. Heyne read 'limite' from three or four inferior MSS., to avoid the repetition of 'litore' in the same part of the next verse: but though the repetition is certainly awkward it seems better to suppose a slight carelessness on Virg.'s part than to question the reading of all the great MSS. Ribbeck cuts the knot by bracketing v. 901, which is repeated from 3. 277. Perhaps we may say that Virg. inserted it as a piece of his own epic commonplace, whether as a stop-gap or not, and that this accounts for the repetition of 'litore.' The mention of Caieta has been objected to, as inconsistent with the opening of the next Book, where it is said that the death of Caieta, Aeneas' nurse, was the occasion of the name. But this is natural and Virgilian enough; and we can hardly wish that the poet had rivalled the accuracy of Ovid, who in his brief narrative of Aeneas' adventures (M. 14. 157) says "Litora adit nondum nutricis habentia nomen."

APPENDIX.

HEN, binding round their brows the mystic branch of bay, they rose, and in nce entered upon holy ground. . . . Fronting them rose the high altar, wned, like the rest, with laurel, on which all must lay tribute who would inquire ;ht of Phoebus. Here the priests took of their offering and burnt it upon the ›. If the day were one of consultation, lots then were drawn for precedence, he whom fortune favoured moved on, past the Omphalos, where Apollo had ›sed in early days, past the tomb of Neoptolemus, past the image of Pallas, to steps of the shrine itself. At the foot he left his train of servants, and mounted alone, wondering at the marvels round, the open colonnades, the wondrous lptures filling the pediments of the noble tympana, each commemorating the and labours of a god. . . . And now the jubilant trumpets of the priests pealed , with notes that rang round the valley, and up among the windings of the ımpeian cliff. Awed into silence by the sound, he crossed the garlanded :shold: he sprinkled on his head the holy water from the fonts of gold, and ›red the outer court. New statues, fresh fonts, craters, and goblets, the gift of ıy an Eastern king, met his eye: walls emblazoned with dark sayings rose ut him as he crossed towards the inner adytum. Then the music grew more

loud: the interest deepened: his heart beat faster. With a sound as of many thunders, that penetrated to the crowd without, the subterranean door rolled back: the earth trembled: the laurels nodded: smoke and vapour broke commingled forth: and, railed below within a hollow of the rock, perchance he caught one glimpse of the marble effigies of Zeus and the dread sisters, one gleam of sacred arms; for one moment saw a steaming chasm, a shaking tripod, above all, a Figure with fever on her cheek and foam upon her lips, who, fixing a wild eye upon space, tossed her arms aloft in the agony of her soul, and, with a shriek that never left his ear for days, chanted high and quick the dark utterances of the will of Heaven."

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